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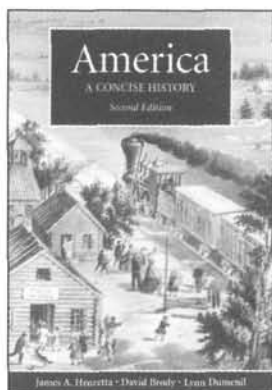
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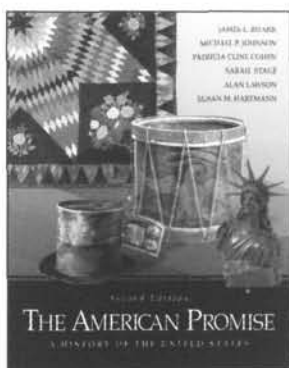


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## In This Issue

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This issue contains three articles, an *AHR Forum Essay*, and a review essay. The articles analyze the nature and experience of the Black Death, the origins of Anglo-American anti-Catholicism, and the emergence of an Ottoman Orientalism. The *Forum Essay* argues that the reach of environmental history must be extended to ensure that historians incorporate the natural world into their narratives. It is the fifth of a series that we call *Forum Essays*. Instead of commissioning comments on the essay, as is our usual practice with *Forums*, we are opening up the commentary process to readers by soliciting their reactions to the article. And this year rather than print a few replies, we will take advantage of the new online *AHR* to hold a moderated discussion between the author and commentators in early September. Details can be found in the *Forum Essay* introduction on page 797. The article section concludes with an assessment of the current state of historiography on emotions. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

### Articles

**Samuel K. Cohn, Jr.**, reexamines the European Black Death of 1347–1351. He makes two basic arguments. First, the social, political, and psychological reactions to the Black Death did not recur with successive strikes of the plague as historians often assume. Later plagues of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries did not provoke attacks against Jews or lead to widespread flagellant movements outside the church's control. Chroniclers turned from supernatural and religious explanations of the plague increasingly to one grounded in social and political realities, and doctors went from utter despair in 1348 to claim with confidence afterward that their cures had "triumphed over the plague." Second, Cohn challenges the standard assumption that the Black Death and its successive waves were the same disease as the subtropical rat plague transmitted by fleas, whose bacillus (*Yersinia pestis*) was first cultured in Hong Kong in 1894. One key difference between them was the adaptation between pathogen and human hosts. While humans possess no natural immunity to *Yersinia pestis*, they adapted rapidly to late medieval plagues, as illustrated by the sharp and steady declines in plague mortalities and increasing proportions of victims who were children, unexposed to previous bouts of the disease. Cohn contends that this adaptation helps to explain a fundamental enigma of the early Renaissance mentality: why a new culture of secularism, state-building, and "fame and glory" should have sprung forth in the midst of mass mortality. His article thus raises

compelling questions about the social and political implications of epidemiological evidence.

**Anne McLaren** tells us that virulent anti-Catholicism became a hallmark of Anglo-American political culture during the early modern period. And, she reminds us, the effects of that development are still with us. McLaren traces its genesis in late sixteenth-century England and considers some of its implications, in particular the move to republicanism and “constitutional” monarchy in the seventeenth century. She notes that in his seminal study *Foxe’s “Book of Martyrs” and the Elect Nation* (1963) William Haller asserted that anti-Catholicism was a “functional tool” in Elizabethan state formation. McLaren argues that Haller arrived at the right conclusion, but from anachronistic premises. During Elizabeth’s reign, it was female rule that was at issue, specifically the specter of a female succession: the English crown, and the British Empire, handed from Elizabeth to her cousin Mary Queen of Scots on the basis of blood right. In this specific historical context, McLaren contends, Mary’s Catholicism proved to be an effective tool for mobilizing the male political nation to disallow this outcome. She tracks the deliberate construction of Catholicism as a stigma sufficiently powerful to undermine the blood claims to political authority of a female ruler. This undertaking drew on existing conceptions of gender to articulate Protestantism, nationalism, and the civic capacity for virtue, which was defined as an exclusively male entitlement. The men engaged in this endeavor, she concludes, did not intend to open the gateway to republicanism but rather to secure a male Protestant succession, specifically a line of godly kings. McLaren’s article thus provides yet another example of the critical role of gender beliefs and practices in political history.

**Ussama Makdisi** explores the emergence of an Ottoman Orientalism. He argues that the nineteenth century saw a fundamental shift from an earlier Ottoman imperial paradigm based on a hierarchal system of subordination along religious, class, and ethnic lines into an imperial view suffused with nationalist modernization rooted in a discourse of progress. Ottoman modernization, he explains, supplanted an established discourse of religious subordination with a temporal subordination in which an advanced imperial center reformed and disciplined backward peripheries of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire. By showing how the temporal categories of Western Orientalism were appropriated by non-Western elites, Makdisi begins to explore now non-Western modernization and resistance to Western imperialism engendered its own interrelated forms of representation and domination.

### ***AHR Forum Essay***

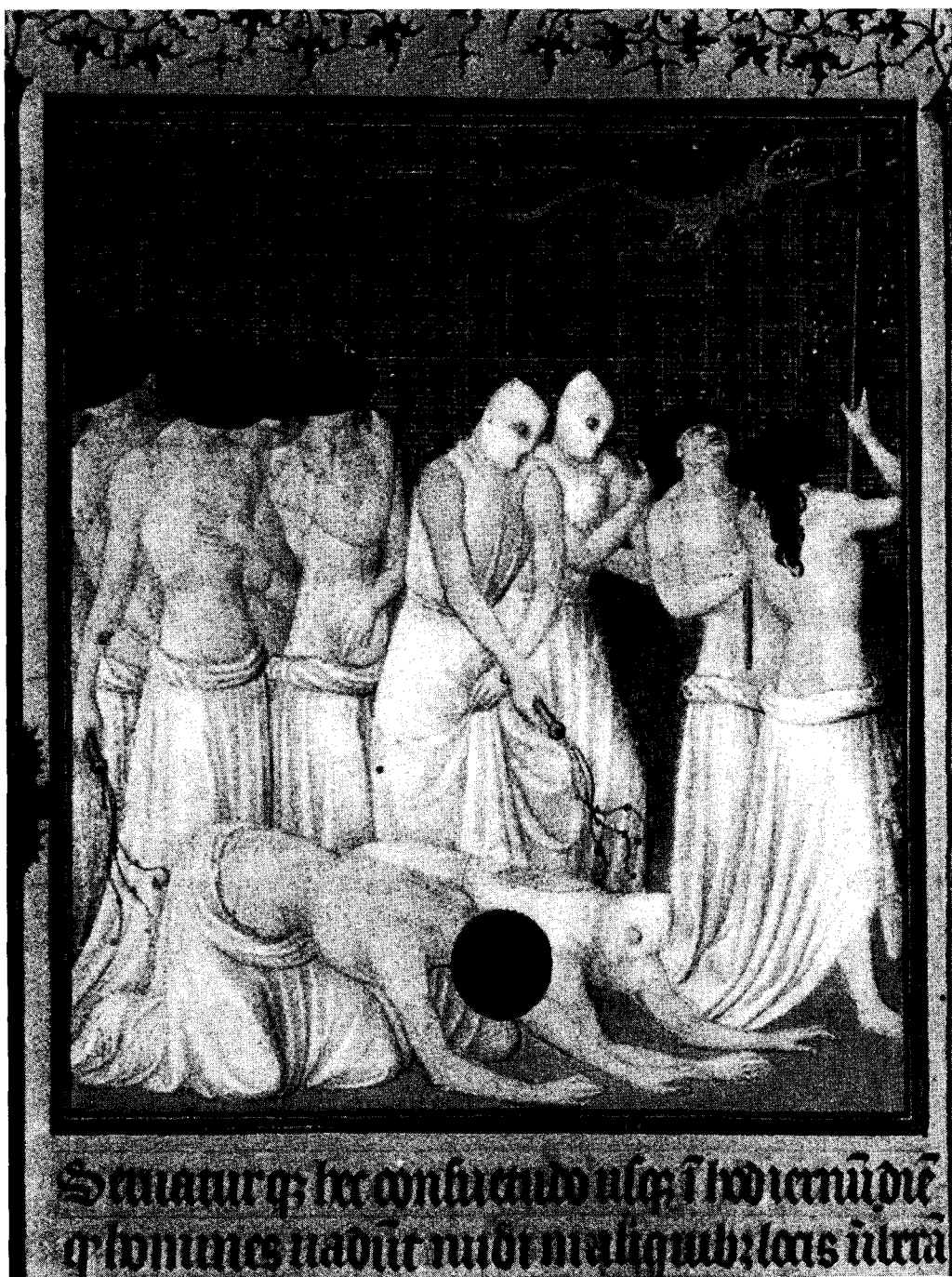
**Ted Steinberg** argues that despite the growing recognition of environmental history as a field of study, historians have largely failed to incorporate the natural world into their narratives. He maintains, however, that adopting an ecological approach can change how we view some of the most venerable topics in history. He develops that point with examples from the history of the United States, including industrialization, agrarian change in the post-Civil War South,

Progressive Era urban reform, and the conservation movement. Moving nature from the background to the foreground, Steinberg shows that the enclosure of common resources—river fisheries, pastureland, city streets, and hunting grounds—emerged as a major theme in nineteenth-century America. And he reveals how attention to environmental issues can result in a different and more satisfying understanding of how power operates in society. Building on the theoretical work of Anthony Giddens and William H. Sewell, Steinberg challenges readers to rethink their views on agency, urging those concerned with oppression to supplement the categories of race, class, and gender with some respect for the dynamics of the world of nature. Rather than commission commentators for this *Forum*, we invite interested readers to participate in an online discussion of Steinberg's essay during the first two weeks of September 2002. Details can be found in the introduction to the *Forum*.

### ***Review Essay***

**Barbara H. Rosenwein** contends that the current historiography of emotions is disquieting. Without explicitly articulating its own assumptions, it traces a progressive evolution that begins with a childish, violent, and unrestrained Middle Ages and moves to the present, when emotions are disciplined and supposedly under control. This grand narrative, already found in the work of the turn-of-the-century medievalist Johan Huizinga, is powerfully bolstered by theories of the sociologist Norbert Elias and by the penchant of modernists to bracket off the Middle Ages. It relies, however, on a mistaken view of the nature of emotions, a hydraulic model in which emotions are pressing for release and difficult to contain. The cognitive and social constructionist paradigms of emotions, elaborated by psychologists and anthropologists over the last several decades, have overturned this hydraulic model in scientific circles. Rosenwein argues that these new paradigms can be very useful for historians. She explains that they allow historians to recognize that there is no such thing as “untrammeled” and “pure” emotion. Emotions are evaluations that depend on social norms, mores, and perceptions—and that in turn affect such norms, mores, and perceptions. She calls on historians to jettison the evolutionary model and concentrate instead on “emotional communities,” which exist in every period, and which have their own shape and style of emotional feeling and expression. By bringing to the fore the largely hidden assumptions that have lain behind emotions history as it has been practiced, Rosenwein not only repositions the Middle Ages but also frees historians of any period to explore emotions without being in thrall to the radically simplifying binaries of discipline and indiscipline.





FRONTISPIECE: Procession of Flagellants, from the *Belles Heures* by the Limbourg brothers for Jean, duc de Berry (circa 1410), fol. 74v. One of four illustrations of Gregory the Great's plague (sixth century), the penitents are depicted here using a scene from plague in the late fourteenth–early fifteenth century. The dragon up above them represents Satan. Courtesy of The Cloisters, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, accession number 54.1.1.

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## The Black Death: End of a Paradigm

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SAMUEL K. COHN, JR.

HIV/AIDS AND THE THREAT OF BIOLOGICAL WARFARE have refueled interest in the Black Death among professional historians, biologists, and the public, not only for assessing the toxic effects of the bacillus but for understanding the psychological and longer-term cultural consequences of mass death. This article makes two arguments. Against the assumptions of historians and scientists for over a century and what continues to be inscribed in medical and history texts alike, the Black Death was not the same disease as that rat-based bubonic plague whose agent (*Yersinia pestis*) was first cultured at Hong Kong in 1894. The two diseases were radically different in their signs, symptoms, and epidemiologies. The proof of these differences forms the major thrust of this article. The second argument stems from the epidemiological differences between the two diseases. Humans have no natural immunity to modern bubonic plague, whereas populations of Western Europe adapted rapidly to the pathogen of the Black Death for at least the first hundred years. The success of their immune systems conditioned a cultural response that departs from the common wisdom about “plagues and peoples.” As far back as Thucydides, historians have seen the aftershocks of pestilence as raising the levels of violence, tearing asunder secular cultures, and spawning pessimism and transcendental religiosities.<sup>1</sup> A fresh reading of the late medieval sources across intellectual strata from merchant chronicles to the plague tracts of university-trained doctors shows another trajectory, an about-face in the reactions to the plague after its initial onslaught. This change in spirit casts new light on the Renaissance, helping to explain why a new emphasis on “fame and glory” should have arisen in the wake of the West’s most monumental mortality.

One of the many memorable phrases coined in Johan Huizinga’s *The Waning of the Middle Ages* is the title of its first chapter—“The Violent Tenor of Life.” While this attempt to sum up the collective psychology of post-plague Burgundy and

I presented a version of this article at the 19th International Congress of Historical Studies in Oslo, August 2000. I wish to thank Professors Lawrence Weaver, Rudolph Binion, Bernard Wasserstein, William Bowsky, Arthur Field, Jeffrey Wasserstrom, and Michael Grossberg for their help, patience, encouragement, and insights.

<sup>1</sup> William H. McNeill’s *Plagues and Peoples* (New York, 1976) best illustrates this relationship between plague and culture in world history, but the kernel of his thesis reaches back much further, with many restatements of it in Western culture; see Raymond Crawford, *Plague and Pestilence in Literature and Art* (Oxford, 1914), 39. Also see Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900–1900* (Cambridge, 1986). For the argument about mass slaughter more generally, see James Westfall Thompson, “The Aftermath of the Black Death and the Aftermath of the Great War,” *American Journal of Sociology* 26 (1921): 565–72; rpt. in *The Black Death: A Turning Point in History?* William M. Bowsky, ed. (1971; rpt. edn., New York, 1978), 19–24.



northern France hardly mentioned the plague,<sup>2</sup> others following Huizinga's lead have argued that society became more violent precisely because of the plague, that the mass mortality cheapened life and thus increased warfare, crime, popular revolt, waves of flagellants, and persecutions against the Jews.<sup>3</sup> But few have gone beyond recounting dramatic episodes taken almost exclusively from the first wave of plague to compare levels of violence before and after the Black Death, and few have hinted at differences in reactions between the Black Death of 1348 and its subsequent strikes in the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries.<sup>4</sup>

In Florence, Genoa, Venice, and most of northern Italy, expenditures on warfare increased exponentially after the Black Death to the fifteenth century, as shown by the soaring of state indebtedness.<sup>5</sup> In Siena, these fiscal pressures led in 1355 to the toppling of the most durable political regime in the history of the Italian city-states—the Nove—which had ruled since 1287.<sup>6</sup> Afterward, popular unrest, factional conflict, and a rapid succession of governments filled the city's political chronicle. In one year alone, 1368, popular uprisings overthrew three regimes.

Yet the Italian post-plague political experience cannot be generalized. For England, the trend is nearly the opposite. Richard II's post-plague reign of peace (1386–1399) contrasts with the previous three Edwards' expenditures on war, their military operations in France and Scotland, and their new and horrific uses of violence, plunder, and torture to quell civilians and knights alike.<sup>7</sup> Even within Tuscany, Siena's political history of stability followed by instability was not the norm. By contrast, factional strife riveted the political narrative of Florence during the first part of the fourteenth century to the extent that on two occasions its ruling elites forfeited their independence for stability by handing the government over to foreign rulers—Charles of Calabria in the 1320s and Walter of Brienne in 1342.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, F. Hopman, trans. (New York, 1924), 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Michel Mollat and Philippe Wolff, *Ongles bleus, Jacques et Ciompi: Les révolutions populaires en Europe aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris, 1970), chap. 6; Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages*, rev. edn. (London, 1970), 49–139; Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Harmondsworth, 1970), 85–111; Barbara W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century* (New York, 1978), chap. 5, pp. 82–127 and 172–89; David Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 65–67; William L. Langer, "The Next Assignment," *AHR* 63 (1958): 283–304, esp. 298–99; and Langer, "The Black Death," *Scientific American*, no. 210 (1964): 114–21, esp. 117–18.

<sup>4</sup> In terms of cultural and religious change, see Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Death and Property in Siena, 1205–1800: Strategies for the Afterlife* (Baltimore, 1988); and *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore, 1992); for plague regulation, sanitation, and the attitudes of doctors, see Anna Maria Nada Patrone and Irma Naso, *Le epidemie del tardo medioevo nell'area pedemontana* (Turin, 1978); and Naso, "Individuazione diagnostica della 'pesta nera': Cultura medica e aspetti clinici," in *La peste nera: Dati di una realtà ed elementi di una interpretazione; Atti del XXX Convegno storico internazionale, Todi, 10–13 ottobre 1993* (Spoleto, 1994), 349–81.

<sup>5</sup> See Anthony Molho, "Lo stato e la finanza pubblica: Un'ipotesi basata sulla storia tardomedioevale di Firenze," in *Origini dello Stato: Processi di formazione statale in Italia fra medioevo ed età moderna*, Giorgio Chittolini, Molho, and Pierangelo Schiera, eds. (Bologna, 1994), 225–80.

<sup>6</sup> William M. Bowsky, *The Finance of the Commune of Siena, 1287–1355* (Oxford, 1970); and William Cafero, *Mercenary Companies and the Decline of Siena* (Baltimore, 1998).

<sup>7</sup> Michael Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272–1377* (London, 1980); Fiona J. Watson, *Under the Hammer: Edward I and Scotland, 1286–1306* (East Linton, 1998); and Matthew Strickland, "A Law of Arms or a Law of Treason? Conduct in War in Edward I's Campaigns in Scotland, 1296–1307," in *Violence in Medieval Society*, R. W. Kaeuper, ed. (Woodbridge, 2000), 39–77.

<sup>8</sup> Gene Brucker, *Renaissance Florence*, 2d edn. (Berkeley, Calif., 1983), 132–33.

After the plague, Florence's political history changed: the Albizzi reforms of 1393 heralded a new constitution and structure of political control that endured through most of the fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

Further, while political conflict may have increased among the new regional states of Italy from the Black Death to the Peace of Lodi (1454), internecine war between the great families in Florence declined; "the tenor of life" became less, not more, violent. Before the Black Death, magnate rituals of violence and tower warfare regularly brought Florence's ruling families into the streets, pitching one neighborhood against another, even after the victory of the *popolani grassi* and their laws of 1292 to curb magnate violence. The judicial sentences of the early 1340s show Florence's inability to end this violence or prevent its noble youth from riding out of town, pillaging the countryside, and killing peasants simply for the sport of it. But after the plague, the city government began effectively to curb these acts of violence, and by 1400 such raids disappear from the judicial ledgers.<sup>10</sup> Conversely, in Genoa, it was after the Black Death that the number of "general, popular, and noble revolts" increased.<sup>11</sup>

While the medium and long-term consequences may continue to defy generalization, a sense of the immediate psychological consequences of the Black Death and its subsequent strikes can be scrutinized with greater clarity. The first sweep of plague, 1347 to 1351, provoked as close to a universal chorus as one hears in history. Merchant chroniclers, priests, and university-trained doctors claimed that this malady was new to world history, that doctors and medicine were useless, and that all that could be done was to pray for God's mercy. Explanations of the plague were not sought in the human sphere but in God's wrath and the configuration of planets. A chronicler of Viterbo called it "a divine plague from which no doctor could possibly liberate the stricken."<sup>12</sup> Man's only contribution had been his sins. Not only those on the margins of Europe, such as the Olivetan friar of Prussia,<sup>13</sup> but also humanists such as Petrarch's close friend Louis Sanctus of Beringen (called Socrates)<sup>14</sup> and chroniclers such as the friar Bartolomeo of Ferrara, who claimed to have received his evidence from eyewitness merchant accounts,<sup>15</sup> reported similar tales of the plague's origins—floods of snakes and toads, snows that melted mountains, black smoke, venomous fumes, deafening thunder, lightning bolts,

<sup>9</sup> See Riccardo Fubini, *Quattrocento fiorentino: Politica, diplomazia, cultura* (Pisa, 1996); and Giudubaldo Guidi, *Il governo della città-repubblica di Firenze del primo Quattrocento*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1981).

<sup>10</sup> Samuel Kline Cohn, Jr., *The Laboring Classes in Renaissance Florence* (New York, 1980), chap. 8. Also, the violence among other social classes as measured by numbers of assaults and batteries declined steeply from the 1340s to the fifteenth century.

<sup>11</sup> Steven Epstein, *Genoa and the Genoese, 958–1528* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1996), 325–27.

<sup>12</sup> *Notae Veronenses, 1328–1409*, in *Antiche Cronache Veronesi*, vol. 1, Carlo Cipolla, ed., *Monumenti storici pubblicati dalla R. Deputazione Veneta di Storia Patria*, ser. 3: *Cronache e diarii* (Venice, 1890), 475.

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, *Chronica Olivensis auctore Stanislao, abbate Olivensi*, in *Monumenta Poloniae historica* 1, ser. 6 (Lvov, 1893): 345.

<sup>14</sup> *Breve Chronicon Clerici Anonymi*, in J. J. De Smet, ed., *Corpus chronicorum Flandriae*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1856), 14.

<sup>15</sup> *Polyhistoria fratris Bartholomaei Ferrariensis ordinis Prædicatorum ab an. MCCLXXXVII usque ad MCCCLXVII*, in Lodovico Muratori, ed., *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* [hereafter, *RIS*], vol. 24 (Milan, 1738), col. 806.

hailstones, and eight-legged worms that killed with their stench.<sup>16</sup> While the butchering and burning of the Jews and the flagellant movements of frenzied half-naked men and women were not universal throughout Europe, they swept across wide swathes of it from the east, Germany, Spain, southwest France, the Swiss cantons, and parts of the Low Countries.<sup>17</sup>

Historians have taken these first explanations and psychological manifestations of mass hysteria as the plague's enduring characteristics.<sup>18</sup> Few have sought to compare the psychological reactions to plague over time, and when they do so (as René Baehrel did for epidemics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), they find an "immobile history" of "constantes psychologiques."<sup>19</sup> A reading of chronicles and doctors' plague tracts over the Black Death's first hundred years charts a different history: the initial explanations and attitudes did not persist. From chroniclers, merchants, and clerics alike, the floods of snakes and black snows that melted mountains vanish altogether from the "aetiologies" of subsequent strikes of the plague, and even though God and the stars as explanations continue with some, they rapidly decline even with monastic chroniclers of later plagues. Thomas Walsingham, a monk at St. Albans, retold a story of "a silly wretch" who during the fifth plague at Cambridge in 1389 danced grotesquely in front of the Host and was struck down immediately. Skeptical of hearsay evidence, Walsingham brushed aside "all sorts of explanations" and refrained from drawing moral lessons. Instead, his *exemplum* was clinical: the plague "attacked healthy men, who then died raving."<sup>20</sup> The verse chronicler of the Premonstratensian abbey of Floreffe in Namur explained the plague of 1437 by pointing to the war in Liège, Namur, and Hainault. He reasoned that these political circumstances "gave rise to high prices, grain shortages, and famine," which ignited the plague.<sup>21</sup> God was not mentioned.

While the Black Death may have initiated a new intensity in the history of Jewish persecutions, as David Nirenberg has recently argued for late medieval Spain,<sup>22</sup> I know of only one instance of an outbreak of plague for the next hundred

<sup>16</sup> Among others, see *Annales Pistorienses sive Commentarii Rerum Gestarum in Thuscia . . . Ab anno MCCC usque ad An MCCCXLVIII auctore Anonymo Sychrono*, in *RIS*, vol. 11 (Milan, 1727), col. 526. Similar tales are well known to historians of the later Middle Ages and are often repeated in general texts.

<sup>17</sup> On the geography of these persecutions, see Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1975), 57–65; and, more recently, Carlo Ginzburg, *Ecstasies: Deciphering the Witches' Sabbath*, R. Rosenthal, trans. (London, 1992), chap. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Implicitly, this is the sense of Biraben's survey and Philip Zeigler's *Black Death*; more recently, historians have become more explicit, not only for the later Middle Ages but for the early modern period as well; see Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident, XIV<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles: Une cité assiégée* (Paris, 1978), 357–64; and Ginzburg, *Ecstasies*, 70–73. C. M. Cluse, "De Jodenvervolgingen ten Tijde van de Pest (1348–9) in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden," *Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België* 61, no. 2 (1999): 135–73, has argued that the flagellants in the Low Countries did not provoke the Jewish pogroms of 1349. But neither he nor R. Jansen-Sieben, "Ooggetuigen en Flagellanten anno 1349," *Koninklijke Academie*, 175–98, has denied their unsanctioned and disruptive marches across Europe; Jansen-Sieben has seen them as indicative of "the chaos, general panic, the flight of countless people" in 1349.

<sup>19</sup> René Baehrel, "La haine de classe en temps d'épidémie," *Annales: E.S.C.* 7 (1952): 360.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana 1272–1422*, 185–86, in Rosemary Horrox, ed. and trans., *The Black Death* (Manchester, 1994), 91.

<sup>21</sup> *Chronique de l'Abbaye de Floreffe, de l'Ordre des Prémontrés dans l'ancien comté de Namur*, in *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire des Provinces de Namur, de Hainaut et de Luxembourg*, Le Baron De Reiffenberg, ed., vol. 8 (Brussels, 1848), 147–49.

<sup>22</sup> David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*

years that sparked a massacre of the Jews: in Poland in 1360, where, at least for Krakow and its surroundings, this appears to have been the region's first plague.<sup>23</sup> By the mid-fifteenth century, rather than being targets, Jews participated alongside Christians in processions to forestall the plague.<sup>24</sup>

Similarly, subsequent plagues of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries failed to set off those wild and unsanctioned displays of emotion—the flagellant movements—that had frightened churchmen and secular authorities in 1349 and 1350. Instead, later movements such as the semi-nude flagellants at Liège, who attacked Simonists and fornicators in 1376, were local events and had no relation to plague,<sup>25</sup> while other movements associated with plague were highly controlled, having been organized top down by town councils or the church.<sup>26</sup> Some have supposed that the Bianchi movement of 1399–1400 in northern and central Italy was a revival of the 1348 religious hysteria,<sup>27</sup> but insofar as it was associated with plague, it represented the opposite—a form of popular orthodoxy sanctioned by the church and praised for its orderliness. The Bianchi's mission was the preservation of public order.<sup>28</sup>

The change with the successive strikes of plague was not just one of a silence in the sources that replaces the earlier signs of desperation. From skepticism about remedies, cures, and preventive measures, doctors and chroniclers increasingly supplied solutions. One manifestation of the new confidence was the blossoming of what was effectively a new genre in late medieval writing, the plague tractatus, written mainly by doctors but also by clerics (and at least in one case by a schoolteacher).<sup>29</sup> A census of this genre has yet to be taken, but while around fifteen

(Princeton, N.J., 1996), 231–49. Anna Foa, *The Jews of Europe after the Black Death*, Andrea Grover, trans. (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 13–16, has seen 1348 in a similar vein: “for the medieval Ashkenazic world, the material, cultural, and psychological consequences of the dramatic events of 1348 were truly a point of no return” (p. 16). However, an older historiography sees this post-plague history as more variegated and complex at least for the Jews in Spain. See, for instance, Angus MacKay, “Popular Movements and Pogroms in Fifteenth-Century Castile,” *Past and Present*, no. 55 (1972): 33–67, who shows that after the persecutions of 1391, the Jewish communities and especially those of the *conversos* were protected by church and monarchy and prospered until a sharp reversal in their fate in 1449.

<sup>23</sup> For 1349, *Rocznik Miechowski*, in A. Bielowski, ed., *Monumenta Poloniae historica*, series 1 (1872), 2: 885–86, describes the plague in Hungary but does not mention it afflicting Poland. Also Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste*, 1: 104, maintains that no source mentions the plague in southern Poland during its first wave, 1347 to 1351.

<sup>24</sup> Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 249.

<sup>25</sup> Francis Rapp, *L'église et la vie religieuse en Occident à la fin du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1971), 158.

<sup>26</sup> Chroniclers and other sources, literary as well as artistic, point to numerous examples of such processions organized by a local bishop or town council at the time of plague from the late fourteenth to the seventeenth century. For examples in late fourteenth and fifteenth-century Italy, see Daniel E. Bornstein, *The Bianchi of 1399: Popular Devotion in Late Medieval Italy* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), 22, 61.

<sup>27</sup> Benjamin Kedar, *Merchants in Crisis: Genoese and Venetian Men of Affairs and the Fourteenth-Century Depression* (New Haven, Conn., 1976), 113–17.

<sup>28</sup> Bornstein, *Bianchi*, esp. 165–69.

<sup>29</sup> The largest collection of these tracts are found in “Pestschriften aus den ersten 150 Jahren nach der Epidemie des ‘schwarzen Todes’ 1348,” in Karl Sudhoff, ed., *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, vols. 4–28 (1910–25) [hereafter, Sudhoff], numbering 288 tracts, of which only about two-thirds have been edited and many of these only in part. The bibliography on plague tracts is extensive, but most have focused on those of 1348 or immediately afterward. See above all Dorothea Waley Singer, “Some Plague Tractates (Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries),” *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 9, pt. 2 (1916): 159–214; Anna Campbell, *The Black Death and Men of Learning* (New York, 1931); Charles-Edward Amory Winslow, *The Conquest of Epidemic Disease* (Princeton, N.J., 1943), 95–116;

are known in Western Europe for the first plague, over two hundred have been listed or edited from the 1360s to 1450, some with numerous manuscripts. The first tracts of 1348 explained the plague by planetary constellations. Later ones heeded what the famous doctor Gentile of Foligno may have suggested but failed to deliver in his own plague tracts of 1348: doctors ought to leave the stars behind and get down to the business of healing patients.<sup>30</sup> By the second plague, the tracts rarely indulged in the long philosophical discussions of the plague's "remote causes"; instead, they began by prescribing specific cures and preventive measures—long lists of recipes, herbs and foods to eat or not eat, ointments to apply to plague swellings, instructions for lancing boils and for which veins to tap when letting blood.

One of the most famous of these tracts is that by the doctor of three popes, Guy de Chauliac, located within his *Great Surgery*, which remained a central medical text until the sixteenth century. Written in the immediate aftermath of the second plague at Avignon, it reflected first on 1348, concluding that nothing had been comparable in world history, that it was brought on by a certain configuration of Saturn and Jupiter, and that medical remedies were of no use.<sup>31</sup> But with the second plague, his argument took a radical about-face. Instead of resignation, he offered specific procedures and prescriptions. They were, in fact, the ones Guy had used on himself while infected with "continuous fever and an ulcer in the groin" and that allowed him "to evade God's Judgment."<sup>32</sup>

By the second plague, other doctors reported similar medical success and wished to make their remedies known. At the end of the fourteenth century, another doctor, Stephanus of Padua, also turned to personal experience in his tract, describing his own and his wife's affliction with plague—four days "of horrendous fevers and the detestable signs," himself "at the head of the bed and she at the foot." With his regime of cures, he announced that they had "triumphed over plague." He now wrote down these tested cures to benefit his fellow citizens of Padua, to whom he dedicated his tract.<sup>33</sup>

With similar confidence, other doctors, such as John of Tornamira in the third plague at Montpellier, illustrated successful surgical procedures, by recounting

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SérAPHINE GUERCHBERG, "The Controversy over the Alleged Sowers of the Black Death in the Contemporary Treatises on Plague," in *Change in Medieval Society: Europe North of the Alps 1050–1500*, Sylvia Thrupp, ed. (New York, 1965), 208–24; MELISSA P. CHASE, "Fevers, Poisons, and Apostemes: Authority and Experience in Montpellier Plague Treatises," in *Science and Technology in Medieval Society*, Pamela O. Long, ed. (New York, 1985), 153–69; and JON ARRIZABALAGA, "Facing the Black Death: Perceptions and Reactions of University Medical Practitioners," *Practical Medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, Luis García-Ballester, Roger French, Jon Arrizabalaga, and Andrew Cunningham, eds. (Cambridge, 1994), 237–88.

<sup>30</sup> For this claim, see Campbell, *Black Death and Men of Learning*, 11; however, I do not find any evidence in Gentile's tracts that he made any such suggestions. For his various tracts, see Sudhoff, 5 (1911), 83–87, 332–40.

<sup>31</sup> Guy von Chauliac, *Chiurgia*, Tract. 2, cap. 5, in Heinrich Haeser, *Geschichte der epidemischen Krankheiten*, in *Lehrbuch der Geschichte der Medizin und der epidemischen Krankheiten*, vol. 2 (Jena, 1865), 175.

<sup>32</sup> Chauliac, *Chiurgia*, 176.

<sup>33</sup> "Ein Paduaner Pestkonsilium von Dr. Stephanus de Doctoribus," in Sudhoff, 6 (1913), 356.



clinical histories of his patients who survived the plague.<sup>34</sup> A late fourteenth-century Venetian doctor claimed to have saved one hundred patients from plague with his recipes.<sup>35</sup> The Portuguese physician of Cardinal Philip of Alenzolo boasted that none had died under his care in “a big plague” at the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>36</sup> At about the same time, a doctor from Danzig said that a concoction he invented mixed with weak wine had cured many plague victims.<sup>37</sup> At the end of the fifteenth century, a doctor from Cologne began his tract by saying that his “little work” had proven itself a success in treating plague patients in Rome and elsewhere throughout Italy. Others such as John of Burgundy in 1365 praised not only themselves but also their generation of new plague doctors. As a doctor from Cologne declared at the end of the fifteenth century, “through their industry and medical procedures [doctors] have liberated many plague victims from the illness.”<sup>38</sup>

From these alleged successes, doctors such as Johannes Jacobi of Montpellier and John of Burgundy toward the end of the fourteenth century claimed to have surpassed the ancients in the art of healing.<sup>39</sup> From the unknowable, even the unspeakable, plague was now seen as beneficial to medical progress: it had given post-Black Death doctors a new range of practical experience. Through the fifteenth century, doctors from Lübeck and elsewhere in Germany saw the plague in much the same terms, pointing to the experience and experimentation it provided.<sup>40</sup> Far from being slavish followers of ancient or later Arabic authorities, as historians often assert,<sup>41</sup> doctors of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century plagues were now often disdainful of these authorities, Hippocrates and Galen included. The new plague doctors relied on their own “experience” in place of the “auctores” in curing plague patients. Nor did these doctors represent a Renaissance intellectual elite from central or northern Italy; indeed, in at least one text, distance from the centers of the Renaissance was seen as an advantage. A fifteenth-century country doctor from a village within the diocese of Besançon asserted that in Bologna, where he had previously practiced, the doctors had no remedies for plague because they relied on Hippocrates and other ancients, who had no knowledge of the present plague. “Without wasting words” as he put it, he

<sup>34</sup> Johannes of Tornamira, “Praeservatio et cura apostematum antrosum pestilentialium,” in Sudhoff, 5 (1911), 53.

<sup>35</sup> Gian Maria Varanini, “La peste del 1347–50 e i governi dell’Italia centro-settentrionale: Un bilancio,” in *La peste nera*, 305. Unfortunately, Varanini neither names the doctor nor cites a source.

<sup>36</sup> “Eine Pestbeulenkur unter dem Namen des Kardinals Philipp von Alenzolo,” in Sudhoff, 6 (1913), 342.

<sup>37</sup> “Ein Compendium epidemiae, aufbewahrt in Danzig,” in Sudhoff, 11 (1919), 174.

<sup>38</sup> “Kölner Pestinkunabel kurz vor 1500,” in Sudhoff, 16 (1925), 152.

<sup>39</sup> “Die Pestschriften des Johann von Burgund und Johann von Bordeaux,” in Sudhoff, 5 (1911), 58–75; and Johannes Jacobi, “Tractatus de peste ad honorem sancte et individue Trinitatis,” in Sudhoff, 17 (1925), 16–32.

<sup>40</sup> Sudhoff, 17 (1925), 20.

<sup>41</sup> Andreina Zitelli and Richard J. Palmer, “Le teorie mediche sulla peste e il contesto veneziano,” *Venezia e la peste 1348–1797* (Venice, 1979), 21–28; R. Jansen-Sieben, “Het Pestregimen van Arent Schryer,” *Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België* 61, no. 2 (1999): 199–230; and E. La Croix, “Vergelijkende studie van de opvattingen omtrent oorzaken, ziektemechanismen en therapieën van pest op basis van de Pesttraktaten van de Medische Faculteit te Parijs (1348–1349), van Joannes de Vesalia (na 1454), en van Thomas Montanus (1669),” *Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België* 61, no. 2 (1999): 325–61. See most recently John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the Later Middle Ages* (New York, 2000), 117–19.

then described his own many remedies, by which he claimed to have cured patients of plague.<sup>42</sup>

With the fourth plague in 1382, the Avignon doctor Raymundus Chalin de Vivario was even less respectful of the ancients. Not only did they fail to understand the causes of plagues and “plainly could not cure” plague cases, they had “left everything in confusion.”<sup>43</sup> In 1406, the physician of the king of Aragon added other Greek and Arabic authorities to the list of hopeless ancients who had nothing of value to say about plague, and he ended by trumpeting his own credentials—forty years of plague diagnosis in Toulouse, Montpellier, and Sicily.<sup>44</sup>

By the early fifteenth century, the doctors were not alone in proclaiming their “triumph over plague.” From utter despair, stargazing, and prayers to God, chroniclers began to proffer practical lessons and specific herbal remedies for facing plague. As the early fifteenth-century Florentine diarist Giovanni Morelli advised his heirs: those well armed against the plague stood a better chance of survival than the unprepared. He then defined being “well armed” as “observing diligently the remedies of valiant doctors.”<sup>45</sup> His view of doctors contrasts sharply with that of chroniclers of 1348 such as Matteo Villani or Agnolo di Tura del Grasso of Siena, who saw them as useless, desiring quick profits, and succeeding only in leading their patients more quickly to the grave. The sharp rise in doctors’ salaries in Florence and probably elsewhere in Europe after the plague and into the fifteenth century shows that Morelli was not alone in praise and increased reliance on the medical profession.<sup>46</sup>

Chroniclers of later plagues turned to causes other than the stars, snakes, toads, or even God to understand the plague’s origins and transmission. While Matteo Villani still considered sin at the root of the second wave of plague that spread through Germany and the north of Europe in 1357–1358, he also understood it in terms of human immunity, observing that it struck most vigorously those areas such as Brabant and Bohemia that had not been infected the first time around. Others, such as the Gatari chroniclers of Padua, pointed to war. In addition to corrupt vapors spreading from decaying corpses, war forced peasants and their animals into cities, causing overcrowding and unhygienic conditions that quickly erupted into plague and mass mortality. Their description of the preconditions of the plague in Padua of 1405, the war-inflicted overcrowding of peasants into the city with their animals, the ensuing mounds of mud, manure, and dead carcasses, sounds more like the analysis of an early epidemiologist’s description of an infectious crowd disease such as typhus than a medieval chronicler explaining the moral and cosmic conditions that presaged plague. How do we explain the change in mentality? Could it have hinged on the character of the disease?

<sup>42</sup> “Der Tractatus pestilentialis eines Theobaldus Loneti aus Aurigny in der Diözese Besançon,” in Sudhoff, 17 (1925), 54. Later in his plague tract, he claimed much the same as Johannes Jacobi and others that since this plague had not struck in their times, they had nothing to say (p. 55).

<sup>43</sup> “Das Pestwerkchen des Raymundus Chalin de Vivario,” in Sudhoff, 17 (1925), 38–39.

<sup>44</sup> “Die Pestschrift des Blasius Brascinensis (Barcelonensis),” in Sudhoff, 17 (1925), 104.

<sup>45</sup> Giovanni Morelli, *Ricordi*, in *Mercanti Scrittori: Ricordi nella Firenze tra medioevo e Rinascimento*, Vittore Branca, ed. (Milan, 1986), 209.

<sup>46</sup> Katherine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton, N.J., 1985), 81.

THROUGHOUT THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, historians and scientists alike have assumed that the “third” pandemic that struck Hong Kong in 1894 and spread across the oceans was the same disease that halved Europe’s population in the mid-fourteenth century. Their assumption has rested on the supposed similarity of signs and symptoms between the late medieval and modern pandemics. According to Ann Carmichael, who combines an expertise in medieval history with one in medicine, “Boccaccio leaves no doubt that bubonic *Y. pestis* ravaged Florence in 1348. If the bubo predominated as a sign, we could still be reasonably comfortable after five centuries that there was not much error in the ascription of a death to plague.”<sup>47</sup> Nobel laureate and immunologist Sir Macfarlane Burnet has emphasized that diagnosis of diseases in the past must be assessed by epidemiology and not by signs or symptoms alone. But when he came to the Black Death, he forgot his lesson: “The symptoms are characteristic enough to make it easy to recognize the disease from classical or medieval descriptions, and we can be sure that the two greatest European pestilences, the plague of Justinian’s reign (A.D. 542) and the Black Death of 1348, were both the result of the spread of the plague bacillus.”<sup>48</sup> As health workers in the subtropics are taught, the bubo or swelling in the lymph glands is not unique to bubonic plague. As early as the 1920s, editions of *Manson’s Tropical Diseases* insisted that the presence of the bubo was not a sure sign that the malady was bubonic plague and advised doctors to take cultures of the infected area before treating for plague. The sign could equally well signify numerous other diseases: relapsing fever, severe cases of malaria, typhoid, typhus, glandular fever, tularaemia, lymphogranuloma inguinale, and various forms of filariasis.<sup>49</sup>

For some time, scholars have been puzzled by the inconsistencies between what contemporary doctors and chroniclers reported in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and what scientists observed on the microscopic and macro-sociological levels in mostly subtropical zones after the discovery of the plague bacillus. One might even argue that the cultural sophistication of doctors at the turn of the century—their knowledge of the late medieval past<sup>50</sup>—was a factor that delayed for a decade or more their acceptance of the complex rat-flea-human vector in the

<sup>47</sup> Ann G. Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence* (Cambridge, 1986), 26, 79. A decade later, Carmichael, “Bubonic Plague: The Black Death,” in *Plague, Pox, and Pestilence*, Kenneth F. Kiple, ed. (London, 1997), was more emphatic: “Because of these sudden and abnormal swellings on different places of victim’s bodies, we can now confidently identify the epidemic’s cause as *Yersinia pestis*” (p. 60). Elizabeth Carpentier, *Une ville devant la peste: Orvieto et la Peste Noire de 1348* (Paris, 1962), 113, uses the Florentine chronicler Marchionne di Coppo Stefani to draw the same conclusion: “the bubonic plague is here briefly but exactly described.” Many others have said the same, even doctors who are plague specialists; see Jacqueline Brossollet and Henri H. Mollaret, *Pourquoi la peste? Le rat, la puce et le bubon* (Paris, 1994), 19: “Cervical, axillary or inguinal bubo, fever, delirium, rapid death, these are the precise symptoms of bubonic plague and which cannot be confused with any other diseases.”

<sup>48</sup> Macfarlane Burnet, *Natural History of Infectious Disease*, 3d edn. (Cambridge, 1962), 323.

<sup>49</sup> *Manson’s Tropical Diseases: A Manual of the Diseases of Warm Climate*, Philip H. Manson-Bahr, ed., 7th edn. (London, 1921), 270; *Manson’s Tropical Diseases*, P. E. C. Manson-Bahr and D. R. Bell, eds., 19th edn. (London, 1987), 594–95; Michael Smith and Nguyen Duy Thanh, “Plague,” in *Manson’s Tropical Diseases*, 20th edn., Gordon Cook, ed. (London, 1996), 920.

<sup>50</sup> Most notably, see P.-L. Simond, “La propagation de la peste,” *Annales de l’Institut Pasteur* 12 (1898): 625–87; E. H. Hankin, “On the Epidemiology of Plague,” *Journal of Hygiene* 5 (1905): 48–83; W. J. Simpson, *A Treatise on Plague Dealing with the Historical, Epidemiological, Clinical, Therapeutic and Preventive Aspects of the Disease* (Cambridge, 1905), 1–32; L. Fabian Hirst, *The Conquest of Plague: A Study of the Evolution of Epidemiology* (Oxford, 1953); Robert Pollitzer, *Plague* (Geneva, 1954), 1–16.

transmission of modern plague. Such a slow and inefficient transmission did not square with the medieval plague, which from contemporary descriptions and the speed it traveled must have been an airborne disease, communicable person to person, and possibly transmitted as well by infested clothing and other objects, as chroniclers reported and governments tried to curb with new plague legislation.<sup>51</sup> Without the assistance of the railway or the steamship, the fourteenth-century disease spread almost as fast per day over land as modern plague does per annum.<sup>52</sup>

Even after repeated observations and experiences of the plague ward as “the safest place” to be in times of plague,<sup>53</sup> early twentieth-century doctors were reluctant to distinguish this disease from the rapidly infectious plague of the Middle Ages or to push aside the lessons they thought they had learned from the past. In India, even though relatives and friends crowded around plague victims, using their hands and clothing to wipe away discharges from the patients’ mouths, and practicing “the common custom of receiving the sputa of the sick in their hands,”<sup>54</sup> plague wards remained almost completely free of further infection. Yet until around 1907, doctors continued to treat the disease as though it were highly contagious.<sup>55</sup>

Nor does the pneumonic form of plague help solve the riddle, as modern historians continue to assume. First, with modern plague, cases of person-to-person transmission—pneumonic plague or secondary pneumonic complications after the onset of the buboes—have been rare. Secondly, unlike measles or influenza, “droplet” transmission of *Yersinia pestis* in its pulmonary form is extremely

<sup>51</sup> With repeated experimentation, scientists of the Indian Plague Commissions discovered that, in contrast to the overwhelming importance of grain, modern plague does not spread effectively through clothing or luggage; see E. H. Hankin, “La propagation de la peste,” *Annales de l’Institut Pasteur* 12 (1898): 760; J. Ashburton Thompson, “A Contribution to the Aetiology of Plague,” *Journal of Hygiene* 1, no. 2 (1901): 159, 165–66; Thompson, “On the Epidemiology of Plague,” *Journal of Hygiene* 6 (1906): 541; W. B. Bannerman, “The Spread of Plague in India,” *Journal of Hygiene* 6 (1906): 202–03; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 308–14; J. Isgaer Roberts, “The Relation of the Cotton Crop to Plague and Its Role as a Vehicle for Rats and Fleas in East Africa,” *Journal of Hygiene* 34 (1934): 388–403; Roberts, “Plague Conditions in an Urban Area of Kenya,” *Journal of Hygiene* 36 (1936): 467–84.

<sup>52</sup> According to Graham Twigg, *The Black Death: A Biological Reappraisal* (London, 1982), 133–35, the Black Death spread at five miles per day, while in South Africa, 1899–1925, plague spread at eight to twelve miles a year; on the slowness of modern plague and its gradual movement in China from 1866 to 1894, see Pollitzer, *Plague*, 15; and for the plague in New Orleans in 1915, Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 304–05. In certain Indian villages in the early twentieth century, the infection took six weeks to spread 300 feet; *Journal of Hygiene* 7, no. 3: Extra “Plague Number” (1907): 839.

<sup>53</sup> The first observation of this fact that I have spotted comes from W. F. Gatacre, *Report on the Bubonic Plague in Bombay, 1896–97* (Bombay, 1897), 51–52, even though the plague commissioners continued until the first decade of the twentieth century to believe that the disease was communicable. See Thompson, “Contribution to the Aetiology of Plague,” 153–67; Thompson, “On the Epidemiology of Plague,” 537; Hankin, “On the Epidemiology of Plague,” 77; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 118; Bannerman, “Spread of Plague in India,” 180–81; and “General Considerations regarding the Spread of Infection, Infectivity of Houses, etc. in Bombay City and Island,” *Journal of Hygiene* 7 (1907): 875–76: “that one of the safest places during the epidemic is the ward—the ‘acute ward’ we might add—of a plague hospital.” Similarly, the bacillus is not particularly dangerous in the laboratory; see Simond, “La propagation de la peste,” 665.

<sup>54</sup> Rajnarayan Chandavarkar, “Plague Panic and Epidemic Politics in India, 1896–1914,” *Epidemics and Ideas*, T. Ranger and P. Slack, eds. (Cambridge, 1992), 230–31; cited in J. K. Condon, *The Bombay Plague . . . September 1896 to June 1899* (Bombay, 1900), 72.

<sup>55</sup> See the contradictory conclusions from Gatacre, *Report on the Bubonic Plague in Bombay*. After reports from the hospital at Parel and many others of the remarkable absence of contagion in hospitals, the report nevertheless concluded: “The disease appears to be both infectious and contagious” (p. 231).

ineffective.<sup>56</sup> The worst manifestations of modern pneumonic plague—Northern Manchuria in 1911 and 1921—were limited, the proportions killed under 0.3 percent.<sup>57</sup> With both epidemics, the disease broke out among tarabagan fur hunters crammed in underground inns, 12 by 15 feet, where as many as forty men slept without adequate ventilation to protect themselves against the Siberian cold. Further, in packed railway cars between Harbin and Changchun, the spread and infectivity of this disease remained low. Comparing the Manchurian pneumonic plague and the late medieval pestilence that swept through Europe and Asia, the foremost authority on pneumonic plague, Wu Lien Teh, had doubts about the connection and speculated that the Black Death might have been “a virulent type of influenza such as that encountered in 1918.”<sup>58</sup> Such a speculation finds some support in the diagnosis of plague in Kashmir in 1903–1904, where the symptoms of pneumonic plague resembled influenza<sup>59</sup> and occasionally the two accompanied one another.<sup>60</sup> Yet no historian or medical researcher has dared to investigate further these possible connections, and few have suggested other alternatives.<sup>61</sup>

Even if this disease had been intercurrent with other diseases or triggered them, as some have speculated to resolve the discordance between what the sources say and what the epidemiology of modern bubonic plague may demand,<sup>62</sup> the total absence in the documents or from archaeological evidence of any prior or accompanying spread of the disease among rats must be explained.<sup>63</sup> Not only in

<sup>56</sup> Wu Lien Teh, “Plague in the Orient with Special Reference to the Manchurian Outbreaks,” *Journal of Hygiene* 21 (1922–23): 62–76: “Rooms where patients have died of Pneumonic Plague are not particularly dangerous,” and “sick patients travelling in railway carriages have not infected their fellow passengers.”

<sup>57</sup> Wu Lien Teh, “First Report of the North Manchurian Plague Prevention Service,” *Journal of Hygiene* 13 (1913–14): 237–90; Wu, “Plague in the Orient with Special Reference to the Manchurian Outbreaks,” 62–76; Wu, J. W. H. Chun, and R. Pollitzer, “Clinical Observations upon the Manchurian Plague Epidemic,” *Journal of Hygiene* 20 (1920–21): 389–06.

<sup>58</sup> Wu, Chun, and Pollitzer, “Clinical Observations,” 289. Scientists continue to assert that pneumonic plague “is highly contagious” but without supplying any new evidence or apparent knowledge of Wu’s work; see B. J. Hinnebusch, “Bubonic Plague: A Molecular Genetic Case History of the Emergence of an Infectious Disease,” *Journal of Molecular Medicine* 75 (1997): 648; and Stewart T. Cole and Carmen Buchrieser, “Bacterial Genomics: A Plague of Both Your Hosts,” *Nature*, no. 413 (October 4, 2001): 469.

<sup>59</sup> Wu, Chun, and Pollitzer, “Clinical Observations,” 289–90.

<sup>60</sup> William C. Hossack, “Influenza and Plague,” *British Journal of Medicine* 2 (1900): 1244–47.

<sup>61</sup> The most prominent exception is Twigg, *Black Death*, who in the last section of his book speculated that the disease might have been anthrax. See most recently Susan Scott and Christopher J. Duncan, *Biology of Plagues: Evidence from Historical Populations* (Cambridge, 2001), 5, 385, who suggest that it may have been a filovirus like Ebola. Following Twigg, they explain convincingly the improbability of the late medieval and early modern plague as having *Yersinia pestis* as its agent. They produce little, however, to support any filovirus as the substitute.

<sup>62</sup> This is the central thesis of Carmichael, *Plague and the Poor*; also J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1970), reasoned that, since the bubonic plague could not have possibly killed so many in Britain, a cluster of other diseases must have accompanied the plague.

<sup>63</sup> Some such as S. R. Ell, “Interhuman Transmission of Medieval Plague,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 54 (1980): 497–510, have speculated that the human flea was the vector of a person-to-person transmission of the plague, but despite claims of such transmission in Morocco in the 1940s and Egypt in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scientists remain doubtful that plague could be spread in epidemic proportions by such a weak conveyor. Even in laboratory cases, the human flea is very unlikely to spread the disease; see “Further Observations on the Transmission of Plague by Fleas,” *Journal of Hygiene* 7 (1907): 415, 881; Thomas Butler, “A Clinical Study of Bubonic Plague: Observations of the 1970 Vietnam Epidemic,” *American Journal of Medicine* 53 (1972): 51: “The human



England and Scotland, where rats existed (even if in insufficient numbers for an epidemic of plague<sup>64</sup>), historians have insisted that this disease was bubonic plague in areas where no evidence of rats appears for the late Middle Ages, as well as in arctic winters, where the spread of modern bubonic plague in epidemic proportions is impossible.<sup>65</sup>

To resolve the inconsistencies past and present, scholars such as the bacteriologist J. F. D. Shrewsbury questioned contemporary accounts rather than the disease. He reasoned that England could not have possibly possessed the population densities of people or rats to sustain a bubonic plague with the massive mortality figures claimed by chroniclers or shown by the replacement rates of the clergy.<sup>66</sup> Yet instead of challenging the bubonic plague as the root disease, he dismissed the sources of England's late medieval demographic history. From the biological "laws" of modern plague, he concluded that nowhere did more than 20 percent of the population perish, and for England as a whole, as few as 5 percent died in 1348–1349. Further, he argued, the Black Death, along with subsequent plagues, must have been a disease of towns, despite evidence to the contrary from archaeology and from bishops' and manorial rolls. Some of the highest counts of mortality anywhere come from rural areas such as those around St.-Flour (Auvergne) and in Cambridgeshire, where as much as 76 percent of populations died in the Black Death.<sup>67</sup>

Robert Gottfried questioned the accuracy of Gabriele de Mussis's account of the plague's spread in 1347, when soldiers of the Golden Horde lobbed infected bodies into the besieged Genoese trading port of Caffa on the Black Sea. He rightly pointed out that modern bubonic plague does not spread from dead bodies but requires a rat flea to ingest large concentrations of the bacterium from a diseased rat and afterward to bite a human, regurgitating the bacillus into the human blood stream. But from his knowledge of bubonic plague, Gottfried chose to dismiss the chronicle rather than question what the disease may have been.<sup>68</sup> Finally, Ole Jørgen Benedictow has argued against the general consensus that plague in Nordic countries was pneumonic, by pointing out that even in its airborne form modern plague is not highly contagious. Instead of rejecting or questioning the disease's identity as modern plague, however, he turned to a more unlikely solution, especially for the colder climates of Scandinavia, arguing that it was bubonic plague

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fleas *Pulex irritans* is not an efficient plague vector and rarely, if ever, has transmitted plague from man to man."

<sup>64</sup> See Shrewsbury, *History of Bubonic Plague*.

<sup>65</sup> See Ole Jørgen Benedictow, *Plague in the Late Medieval Nordic Countries: Epidemiological Studies* (Oslo, 1992); and the criticisms of Gunnar Karlsson, "Plague without Rats: The Case of Fifteenth-Century Iceland," *Journal of Medieval History* 22–23 (1996): 263–84.

<sup>66</sup> Shrewsbury, *History of Bubonic Plague*, chap. 1.

<sup>67</sup> Henri Dubois, "La dépression: XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles," in *Histoire de la population française*, Jacques Dupâquier, ed. (Paris, 1988), 1: 321; F. M. Page, *The Estates of Crowland Abbey* (Cambridge, 1934), 120–25. Also W. Rees, "The Black Death in Wales," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, series 4, vol. 3 (1920): 115–35, showed that the sparsely populated mountainous zones of Wales suffered heavier losses than the more densely populated plains.

<sup>68</sup> Robert Gottfried, *The Black Death: Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe* (London, 1983), chap. 3; on this event, see Vincent Derbes, "De Mussis and the Great Plague of 1348: A Forgotten Episode of Bacteriological Warfare," *Journal of the American Medical Association* 196, no. 1 (1966): 59–62.

(even though none of these Nordic sources describe buboes) with secondary pneumonic complications, as though secondary pneumonic plague were more contagious than primary pneumonic plague (which it is not).<sup>69</sup>

LET US RETURN TO THE SUPPOSED "CERTAIN" SIGNS of the two plagues—the buboes. Do the two periods of plague match so "unmistakably" as scientists and historians continue to claim? Chroniclers, storytellers, poets, and doctors of the later Middle Ages described swellings as large as onions but also pointed to smaller "carbuncles, rashes, freckles, scabs, and other similar things," which preceded, accompanied, or followed the telltale boils.<sup>70</sup> This additional complication of the late medieval plague is found even in that passage most often cited in support of the Black Death's identity as bubonic plague, that of Giovanni Boccaccio: "From the two areas already mentioned [the groin and the armpit], the aforementioned deadly *gavòcciolo* would begin to spread, and within a short time would appear at random on every part of the body. Afterwards, the illness would change with the appearance of black or blue spots (*macchie nere o livide*) forming on their arms, thighs, and other parts of the body, sometimes large and few in number, at other times tiny and closely spaced."<sup>71</sup>

The largest repository of clinical descriptions of plague after the discovery of the bacillus comes from the first Bombay Report in 1896–1897, conducted by Brigadier-General W. F. Gatacre. Twenty-seven hospitals in and around Bombay City submitted reports, and seven classified their clinical data according to the positions and number of plague boils that formed on their patients.<sup>72</sup> Of 3,752 plague patients admitted to these seven hospitals, 2,883 (or 77 percent) developed plague boils. Of these, less than 6 percent had more than a single boil, and not in a single case did spots, blisters, or rashes spread all over the body. This pattern remained much the same when plague spread to Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century. Of thirty-eight hospitalized cases in Glasgow in 1900, none showed spots spreading over the body, and only two had more than a single boil.<sup>73</sup> Later editions of *Manson's Tropical Diseases* note that the spread of "carbuncles," though rare, has been known to accompany the formation of plague boils; the latest case it cites, however, comes from the London plague of 1665.<sup>74</sup>

Nor should we assume that Boccaccio's description of pustules was poetic

<sup>69</sup> Benedictow, *Plague in the Late Medieval Nordic Countries*. In India and elsewhere in the subtropics, around 3 percent of cases have secondary pneumonic complications, yet person-to-person spread of the plague even in these cases remains rare.

<sup>70</sup> See, for instance, the chronicler of Santa Maria Novella's description of plague in 1348: "seva peste videlicet inguinarie vel subascelle, carbunculi, seu antracis aut alicuius similis, ex quibus bidaunis aut triduanis ergitudinibus fere due partes hominum decesserunt"; Stefano Orlandi, O.P., "Necrologio" di S. Maria Novella (Florence, 1955), 1: 65.

<sup>71</sup> Giovanni Boccaccio, *Decameron*, Vittore Branca, ed. (Milan, 1976), 10–11.

<sup>72</sup> *Report of the Bombay Plague Committee*, W. F. Gatacre, ed. (Bombay, 1898).

<sup>73</sup> A. K. Chalmers, Corporation of Glasgow, *Report on Certain Cases of Plague Occurring in Glasgow in 1900 by the Medical Officer of Health* (Glasgow, 1901), 14–15, 43–56, 65–66. Also see Smith and Thanh, "Plague," 920; and Thomas Butler, *Plague and Other Yersinia Infections* (New York, 1983), 17. I know of no other reports for later plagues that include clinical descriptions of plague victims.

<sup>74</sup> *Manson's Tropical Diseases*, Philip H. Manson-Bahr, ed., 10th edn. (London, 1935), 254; and the 19th edn., 593.

invention aimed to heighten the horror of plague. For the second plague in Wales in the 1360s, the Welsh poet Llywelyn Fychan<sup>75</sup> described a similar course: after the “swelling under the armpit, grievous sore lump” came “the shower of peas,” “seaweed scales, a grim throng, berries, it is painful that they should be on fair skin.” More prosaically, other fourteenth and early fifteenth-century observers—the Franciscan friar of Messina, Michele da Piazza, the Piacentine Giovanni de Mussis, Giovanni of Parma, a canon at Trent, the Saint-Denis chroniclers of Paris, Marcha di Marco Battagli of Rimini, the chroniclers of the Dominicans of Florence (Santa Maria Novella), the Florentine merchant Giovanni Morelli, the compiler of an obituary in Friuli, a chronicler of Split on the Dalmatian coast, a monastic chronicler of Neuberg in southern Austria, and the Englishman Geoffrey le Baker—described the same pustules, *antrachi*, or spots spreading over the bodies of plague victims.<sup>76</sup> When plague arrived at Catania in October 1347, Michele da Piazza distinguished between *antrachi* (pustules) and the “glandule” “as big as goose eggs,” both of which spread over the body.<sup>77</sup> Geoffrey le Baker and Giovanni Morelli maintained that, of the two signs, the smaller carbuncles were the more deadly, giving little hope of survival.<sup>78</sup>

In plague tracts, doctors went further in describing and classifying these pustules by size, color, and type. The distinctions were important for their treatments. The famous doctor Giovanni da Santa Sofia, a professor of medicine at the University of Padua, wrote a tract for the town council of Udine in 1367, advising that plague boils be treated with a plaster of pig fat, but for the smaller *antraci* and carbuncles, he recommended a plaster made from pigeon dung (*de stercore columbino*) because of the spots’ more “vehement heat.”<sup>79</sup> Like the chroniclers, the doctors found the smaller spots the more deadly.<sup>80</sup>

Further discrepancies emerge when comparing the positions of the plague boils. With modern bubonic plague, between 57 and 75 percent of the buboes form in the groin, because fleas, although they can jump a hundred times their own height,

<sup>75</sup> *Galar Y Beirdd: Marwnadau Plant/Poets' Grief: Medieval Welsh Elegies for Children*, Dafydd Johnston, ed. and trans. (Cardiff, 1993), 56–58. Some have previously attributed this poem to Jeuan Gethin.

<sup>76</sup> Michele da Piazza, *Cronica*, Antonino Giuffrida, ed. (Palermo, 1980), 82, 86; *Chronicon Placentinum ab Anno CCXXII usque ad Annum MCCCCII auctore Johanne de Mussis Cive Placentino*, in *RIS*, vol. 16 (1730), cols. 506–07; *Cronica inedita di Giovanni da Parma Canonico di Trento*, in Angelo Pezzana, *Storia della città di Parma*, vol. 1 (Parma, 1937), Appendix, 52; *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis, contenant le règne de Charles VI, 1380 à 1422*, M. L. Bellaguet, ed., 6 vols. (Paris, 1839–52), 6: 270; *Marcha di Marco Battagli da Rimini [AA. 1212–1354]*, Aldo Francesco Massera, ed., in *RIS*, vol. 16/3 (Città di Castello, 1913), 54; “Necrologio” di S. Maria Novella, 1: 65; Morelli, *Ricordi*, 207; J. F. B. M. de Rubeis, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquilejensis* (Argentina, 1740), Appendix X, “Fragmenta Historica, ex eodem vetustissimo Necrologio deprompta,” 43; *Ecclesia Spalatensis*, in *Illyrici sacri*, vol. 3 (Venice, 1765), 324; *Codex Novimontibus in Continuatio Novimontensis*, in *Monumenta Germaniae historica*, vol. 9, G. H. Pertz, ed. (Hanover, 1851), 675; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, Edward Maude Thompson, ed. (Oxford, 1889), 100.

<sup>77</sup> Michele da Piazza, *Cronica*, 82, 86.

<sup>78</sup> Morelli, *Ricordi*, 207; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, 100.

<sup>79</sup> “Ein Pestkonsilium des Giovanni Santa Sofia an den Rat der Stadt Udine,” in Sudhoff, 6 (1913), 348.

<sup>80</sup> “Ein ‘Regimen contra febrem pestilencie simplicem,’” in Sudhoff, 8 (1915), 269; “Mag. Hermann Schedels aus Nürnberg für seinem Dienstherrn Bischof Johann von Aich zu Eichstädt, 1453,” in Sudhoff, 14 (1923), 95; *Practica Antonii Guainerii papiensis doctoris clarissimi et omnia opera* (Florence, 1517), 107r.

usually reach no higher than the shins and most often bite around the ankles.<sup>81</sup> Thus the first glandular node met by the multiplying bacillus is in the groin. Yet not a single late medieval doctor or chronicler privileged the groin as the place where the medieval bubo most often formed, not even Boccaccio and a handful of others who pointed to the groin and the armpits. Nor were these the only sites for the swellings. Doctors, chroniclers, and plague miracle cures often described them in non-glandular areas—on the shins, the back, the face, on arms, and under the breasts. With modern plague, such formations are extraordinarily rare: only fifteen of the plague boils from the 2,886 patients in Bombay in 1896–1897 were located outside the lymph nodes (0.05 percent).

In addition, the late medieval boils' pride of place was in neither the groin nor the armpits, as historians now claim. For the plague of 1361, the chronicler of Parma described them as forming in only one general area—"on the neck, under the ears, that is near the throat."<sup>82</sup> In counseling where to let blood from plague patients, doctors were especially attentive to the positions of the boils. Almost without exception, they saw them growing in three glands—the neck, the armpits, and the groin—and began their prescriptions by turning first to the neck, if they did not form there, then to the armpits, and lastly to the groin.<sup>83</sup> From thirty-eight miracle cures between 1348 and 1500 found scattered through the *Acta Sanctorum* that indicated the place of the plague boils, more are found in the neck (fifteen cases) than anywhere else. Finally, the Lucchese doctor Iacopo di Coluccino has left us a rare, if not unique, source for the care of plague patients before 1450. Slipped in his diary (*ricordanze*) was a two-page insert (*cedole*) with his clinical notes on seven plague patients he attended twice daily during the plague of 1373. Three of the seven formed boils; all of them were in the neck or behind the ears; none were in the armpits or groin.<sup>84</sup> Although small in number, the cases corroborate the impressions gained from the doctors' tracts and the miracle cures.

Similarly, the symptoms of the two plagues do not agree as well as historians would like to think. They have seen in the Black Death's Janus face the pneumonic and bubonic phases of the modern plague (even if in modern times the bubonic almost invariably precedes the pneumonic and not vice versa as in 1347–1349). This duality has been invoked to resolve the enigmas of the absence of a prior spread among rodents, the speed of infection, and the disease's rapid movement across Europe and Asia, which can be explained only by person-to-person transmission.<sup>85</sup> Most important for this identity has been Guy de Chauliac's description of the plague in Avignon in 1348:

The plague (*mortalitas*) began with us in January and lasted seven months. It had two phases (*modos*). The first was for two months with continuous fever and the spitting of blood, from

<sup>81</sup> The former comes from my calculations derived from the Bombay Report of 1896–97, the latter from Alexandre Yersin's estimates from the plague in Hong Kong in 1894, "La peste bubonique à Hong-Kong," *Annales de l'Institut Pasteur* 8 (1894): 663.

<sup>82</sup> *Storia della città di Parma continuata da Angelo Pezzana*, vol. 1 (1346–1400), P. Ireneo Affò, ed. (Parma, 1837), 69.

<sup>83</sup> I have found fifty-five such examples in the plague tracts edited by Sudhoff.

<sup>84</sup> *Il memoriale di Iacopo di Coluccino Bonavia Medico Lucchese (1373–1416)*, in Pia Pittino Calamari, ed., *Studi di Filologia Italiana* 24 (Florence, 1966), 397.

<sup>85</sup> Many chroniclers and doctors described much the same signs. In addition to Guy de Chauliac, see Gabriele de Mussis in Haeser, *Lehrbuch*, 2: 157–62.

which the victims died within three days. The second lasted for the remainder of the period, was also with continuous fever, and abscesses and carbuncles formed in the extremities, namely in the armpits and the groin. These victims died within five days. The disease was extremely contagious, especially with the spitting of blood, so that one caught it from another, not only through close proximity but also through receiving a glance from another. As a consequence, people died without assistance and were buried without priests.<sup>86</sup>

The passage does not fit the bubonic/pneumonic paradigm, nor does it resolve the problem of the rapid spread of bubonic plague or the "second phase" described by Guy de Chauliac. First, in the twentieth century, septicemic and pneumonic plagues (which kill so fast as not to produce buboes) reached epidemic proportions only in tropical zones such as Ceylon<sup>87</sup> or near Arctical ones such as in Northern Manchuria, not in temperate zones such as Western Europe or even in the subtropics of China, India, and Latin America. Second, those stricken with the highly virulent pneumonic form of modern plague rarely survive for more than twenty-four hours,<sup>88</sup> not three days as reported by Guy or as with one of Iacopo's plague patients in 1373, who spat blood continuously for four days and certainly had had the disease before coming under Iacopo's care,<sup>89</sup> or the eight days reported by doctors in Rome for a plague with only pulmonary symptoms in 1424.<sup>90</sup> Further, while a number of medieval chroniclers and doctors can be found who described the dual symptoms of plague—skin disorders with the spitting of blood—Guy was unique in separating the two into two distinct seasons. The others described them as concurrent. In Iacopo's patient log of 1373, bubonic and pneumonic patients became ill at the same time, even within the same families.

More problematic, Guy de Chauliac's description of a winter or pneumonic phase followed by a late spring or summer bubonic phase does not help to explain the plague's rapid spread and high mortalities either in 1348 or for the later epidemics. Throughout the warmer Mediterranean zones, where deathbed testaments, necrologies, and burial records survive in large numbers—Florence, Arezzo, Perugia, Siena, Bologna, Orvieto, Rome, Barcelona, Valencia,<sup>91</sup> Millau (southern France), Perpignan<sup>92</sup>—plague spread rapidly not in winter but at the hottest point of the year, consistently peaking in June or July (see Figures 1–11). The only exception to this Mediterranean pattern comes from Marseilles in 1348, when testaments reached their apex in March.<sup>93</sup> From his vantage point in the second decade of the fifteenth century, the Florentine Giovanni Morelli left advice to his future heirs on how to defend against plague, seeing the plague's seasons as predictable: "in the winter before a plague you will hear some whispers of plague

<sup>86</sup> Guy de Chauliac, in Haeser, *Lehrbuch*, 2: 175.

<sup>87</sup> W. M. Philip and L. Fabian Hirst, "A Report of the Outbreak of the Plague in Colombo, 1914–1916," *Journal of Hygiene* 15 (1915–17): 527–64; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 148.

<sup>88</sup> *Manson's Tropical Diseases*, 20th edn. (London, 1996), 921.

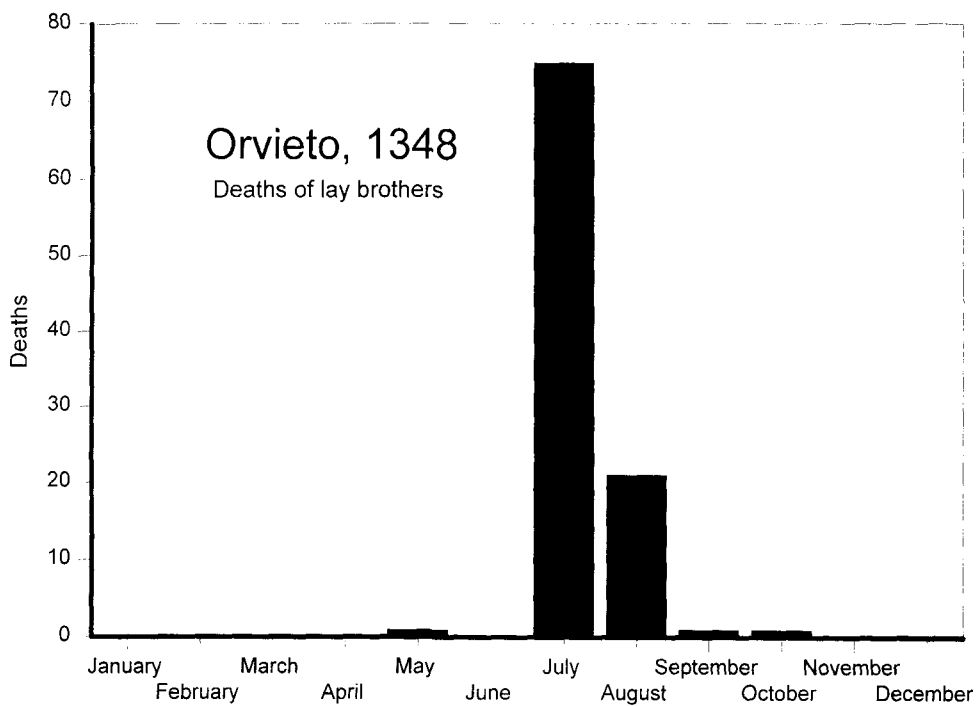
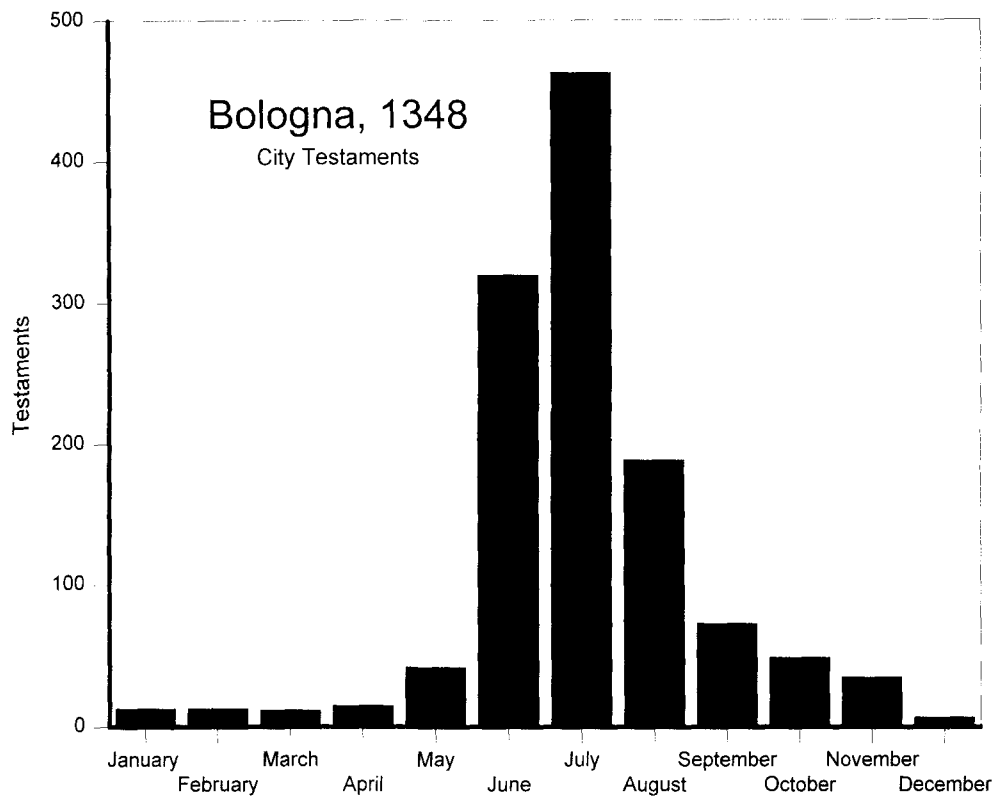
<sup>89</sup> *Il memoriale di Iacopo di Coluccino*, 397.

<sup>90</sup> "Tractatus de epidemia anni 1424 (cuiusdam Papiensis scriptus anno 1431)," in Sudhoff, 16 (1925), 155.

<sup>91</sup> Agustín Rubio, *Peste negra, crisis y comportamientos sociales en la España del siglo XIV: La ciudad de Valencia (1348–1401)* (Granada, 1979), 25–29.

<sup>92</sup> Richard W. Emery, "The Black Death of 1348 in Perpignan," *Speculum* 42, no. 4 (1967): 611–23.

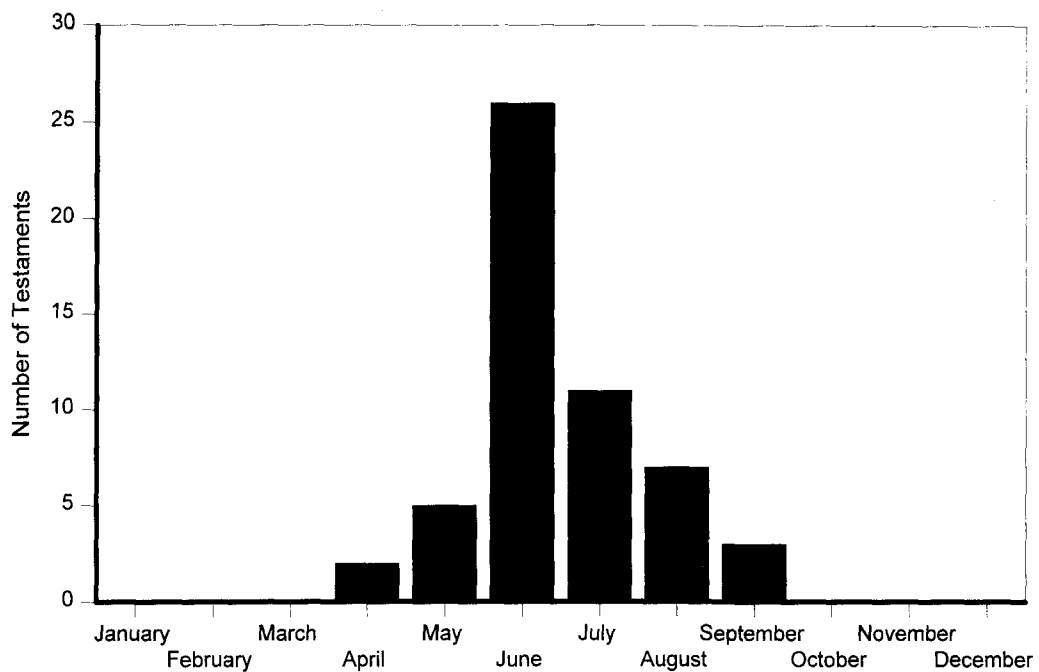
<sup>93</sup> Francine Michaud, "La peste, la peur et l'espoir: Le pèlerinage jubilaire de romeux marseillais en 1350," *Le moyen âge* 104 (1998): 399–434.



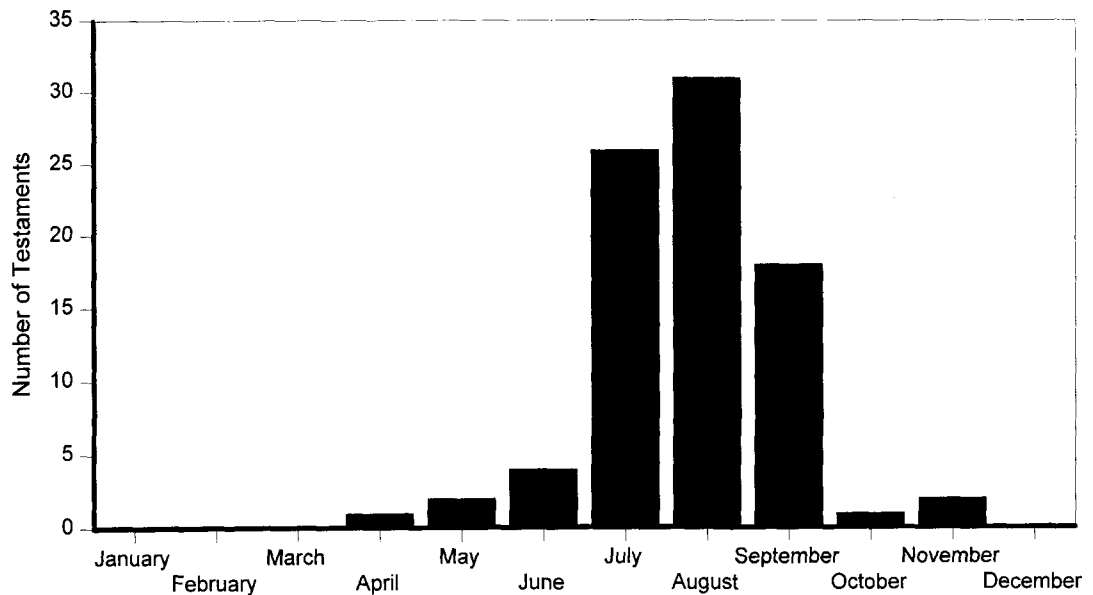
Figures 1 and 2



## The Plague, 1348: Siena

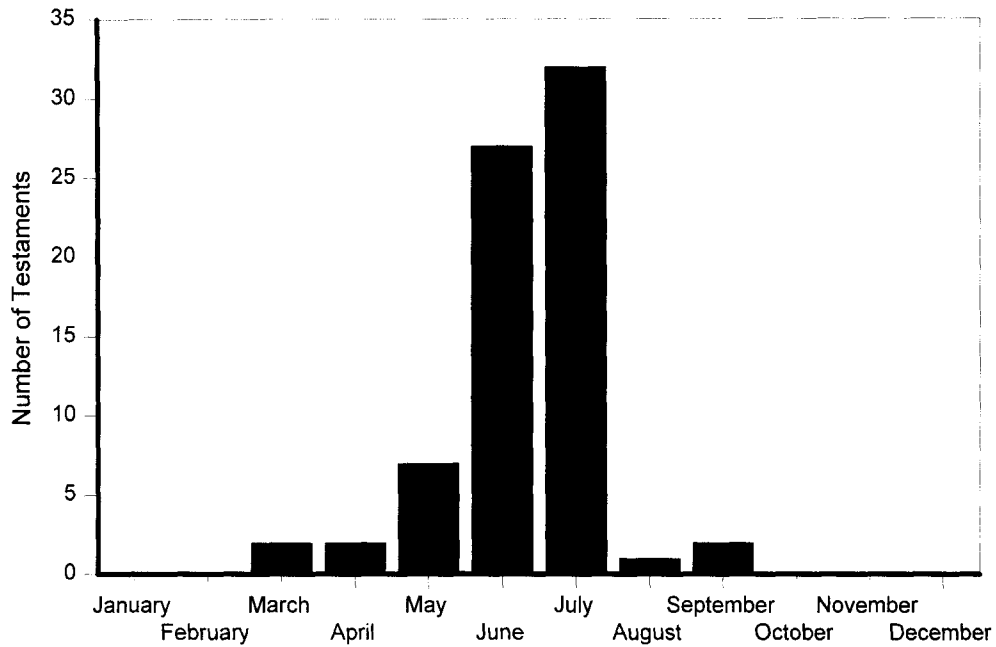


## The Plague 1348: Arezzo

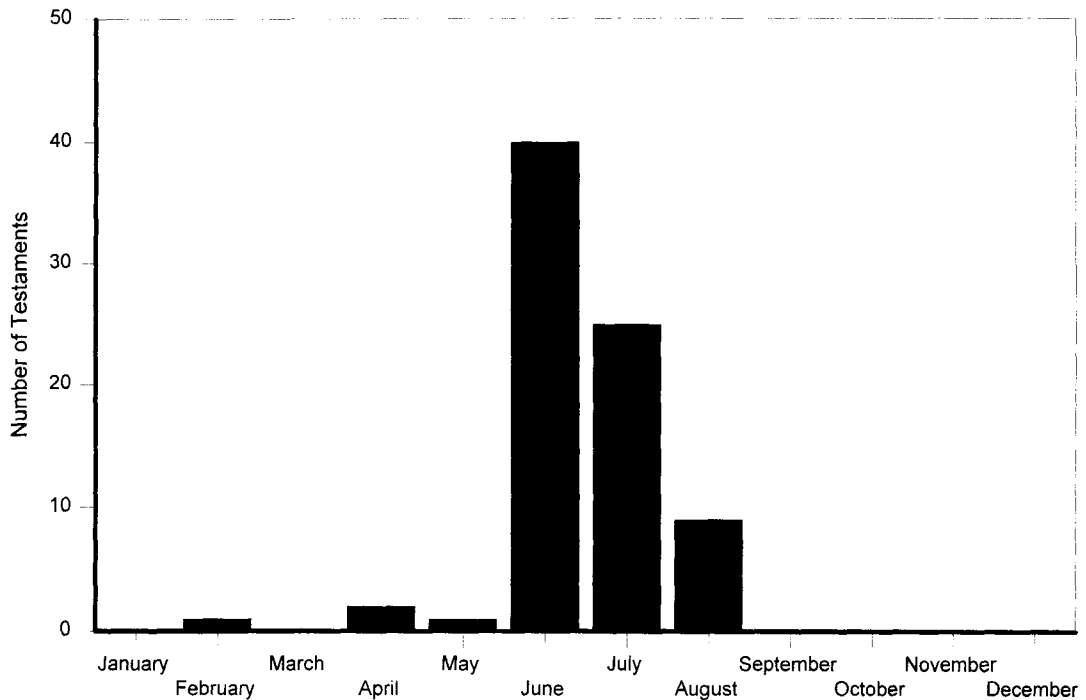


Figures 3 and 4

## The Plague, 1348: Florence



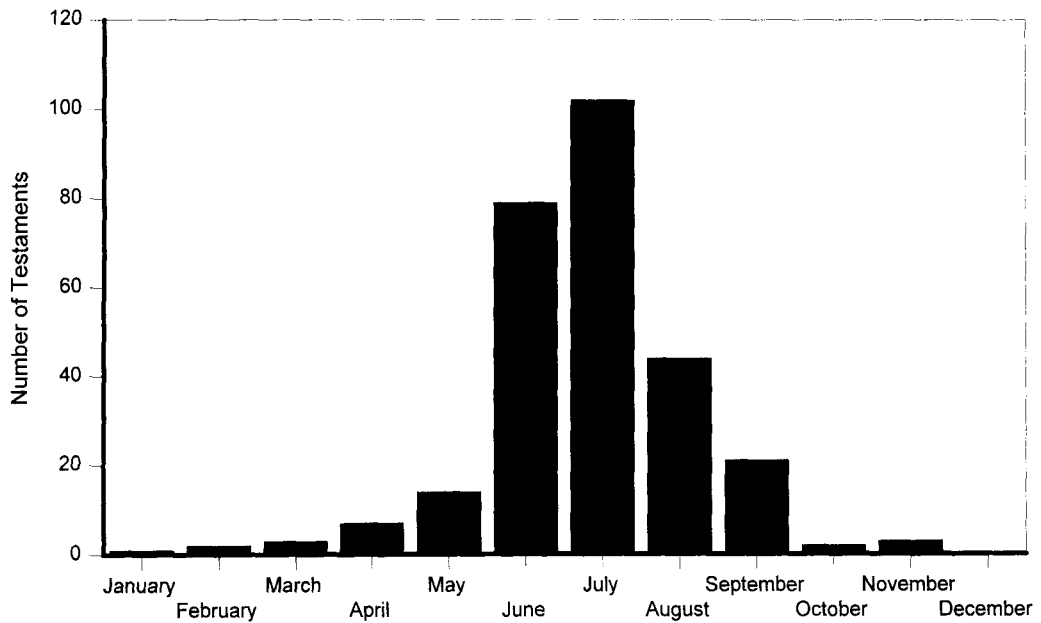
## The Plague, 1348: Perugia



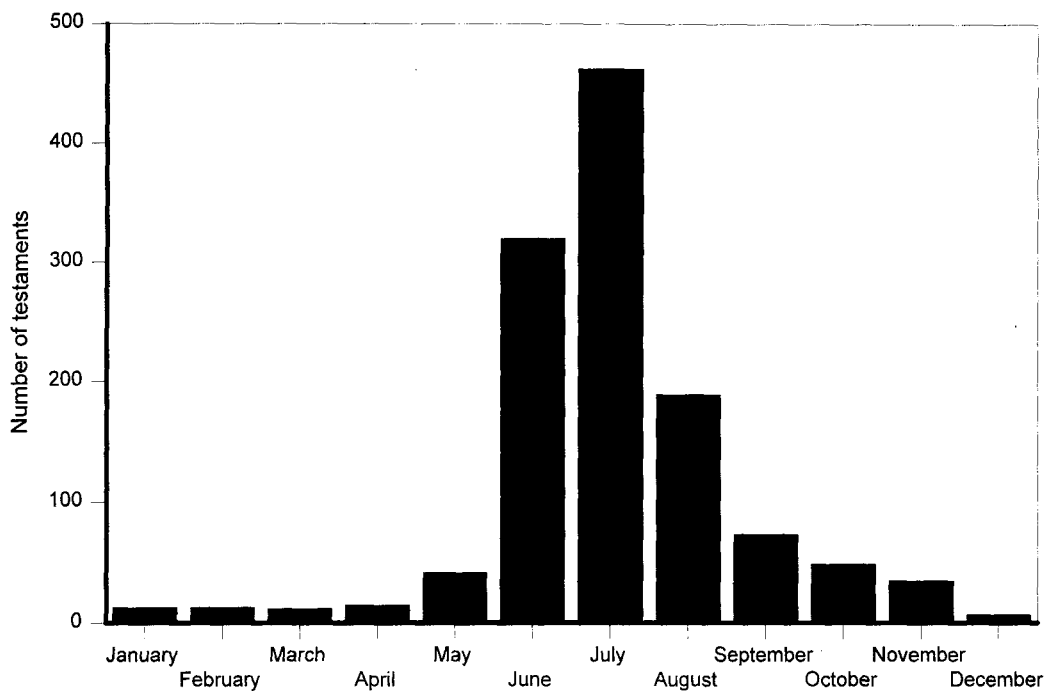
Figures 5 and 6

## The Plague, 1348: Six Cities

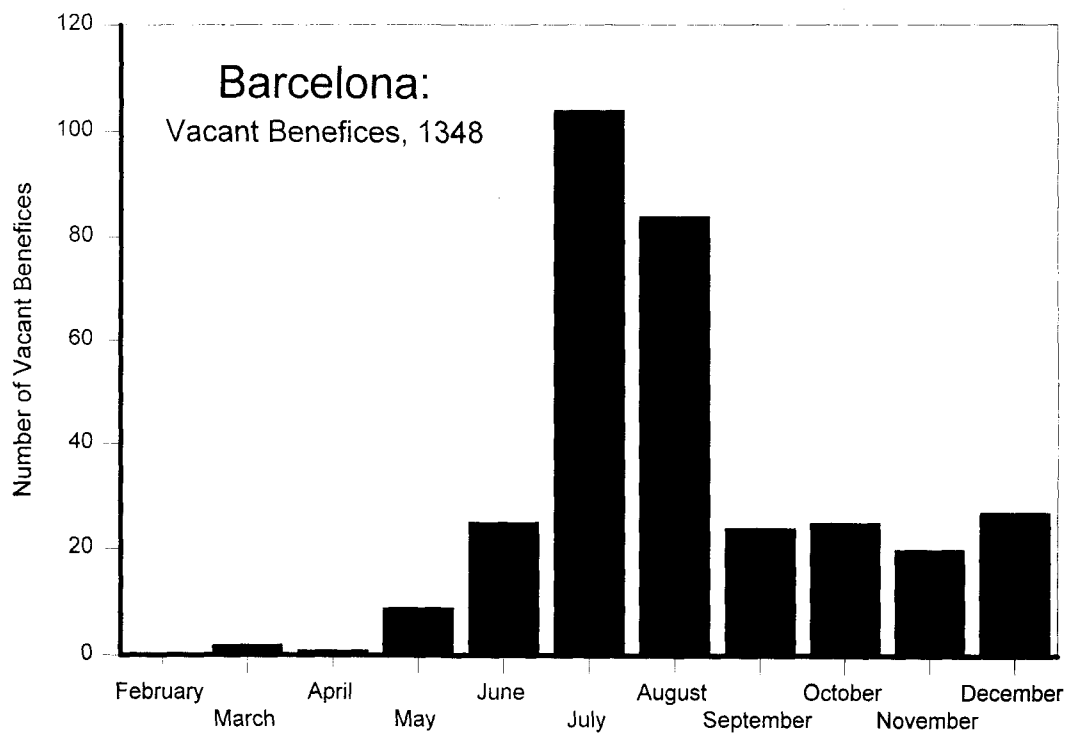
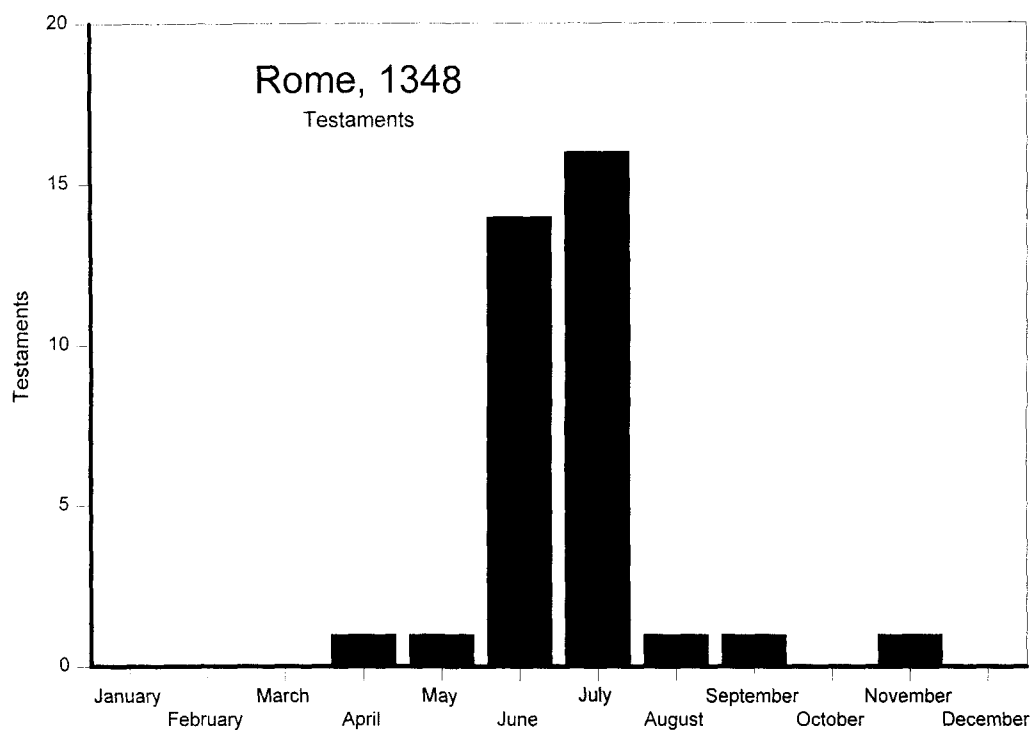
Arezzo, Assisi, Florence, Perugia, Pisa, Siena



## The Plague, 1348: Bologna



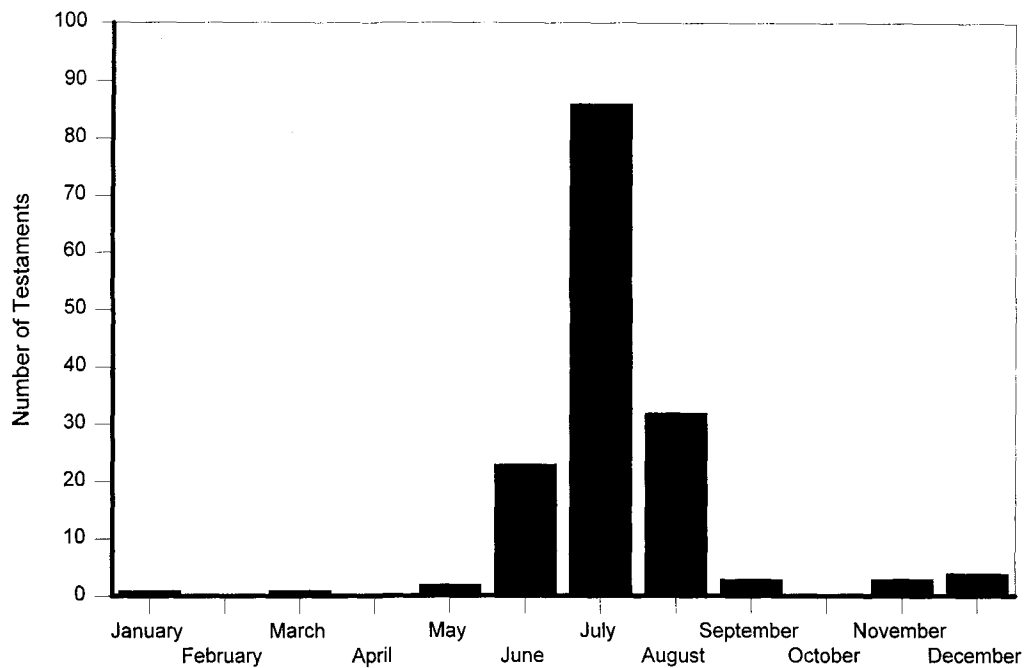
Figures 7 and 8



Figures 9 and 10

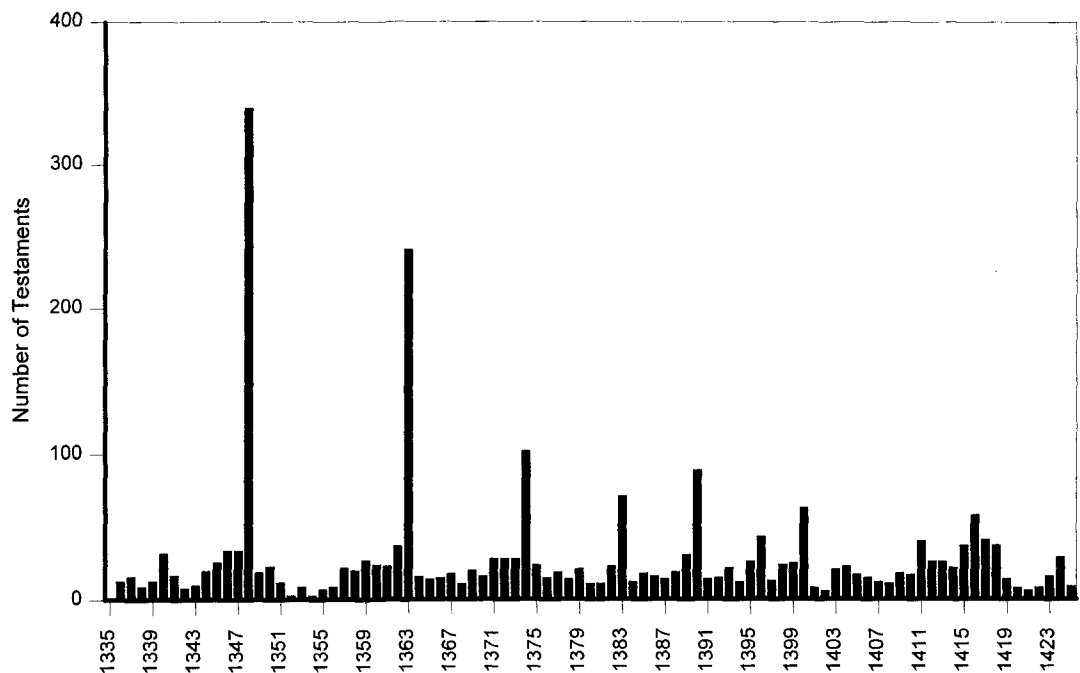
## Millau (Aveyron), 1348

Plague Testaments



## Number of Testaments: Six Cities

Arezzo, Assisi, Florence, Perugia, Pisa, Siena



Figures 11 and 12



in the surrounding countryside [*contado*] or on the periphery of our territory, and it would be correct to assume that the disease must also be somewhere in Florence. And if you know this in February, people will begin to know of it within the city. [But] deaths from the plague will mount in July and peak by the middle of July.”<sup>94</sup>

The first burial records for entire city populations during plague time—those for Arezzo in 1390 with 1,085 deaths and those for Florence in 1400 with over 12,000—illustrate the soundness of Morelli’s advice; a few cases may have sputtered in late winter or early spring, producing a slight rise in these cities’ normal levels of mortality, but the explosion awaited summer. In March 1400, Florence’s mortalities increased from an average of around 125 deaths to 164; in June, they soared to 2,697, then peaked in July with 5,005 and fell in August to 1,947.<sup>95</sup> This pattern persisted;<sup>96</sup> in 1461, Pope Pius II named the plague “that summer contagion.”<sup>97</sup> In contrast to the highly contagious summer plague of the later Middle Ages, the warm weather bubonic plague of the twentieth century, despite its virulence, is “one of the least infectious of all epidemics” because of the complexity of its transmission, its reliance on rats and fleas.<sup>98</sup>

On first impression, the striking seasonal regularity of plague in late medieval Italy might suggest that it was the same as modern plague. In late nineteenth and early twentieth-century China, India, and other subtropical places, plague recurred in a particular place with remarkably seasonal regularity.<sup>99</sup> Its window of opportunity must fit within the narrow limits of humidity and temperature in which the fertility cycle of rat fleas (principally *X. cheopis*) revolves. Such conditions are most favorable at warm but not hot temperatures (between 50 and 78 degrees Fahrenheit) and high humidity.<sup>100</sup>

The seasonal peaks of deaths in late medieval plague years found from wills, necrologies, and burial records chart an even more consistent seasonality for Mediterranean zones than that found for India in the first decades of the twentieth century. In India, the plague pattern was bi-modal, occurring either in spring or autumn, punctuated abruptly by the summer’s heat. But was the late medieval summer consistency of plague indicative of modern bubonic plague? Historians have failed to point out that the dry and hot summers of Rome, Florence, Perugia, Bologna, Valencia, Barcelona, or Millau are hardly ideal for the rat flea, *X. cheopis*, and even less so for Europe’s most common rat flea, *C. fasciatus*.<sup>101</sup> Nor has global

<sup>94</sup> Morelli, *Ricordi*, 210–11.

<sup>95</sup> Archivio di Stato, Firenze, Ufficiali della Grascia, I Libri dei morti, n. 187: 1398–1412; for Arezzo in 1390, mortality also edged upward in March (24 deaths over the monthly normal 10 to 15 deaths) and reached its peak of 437 deaths in June. By September, mortality had returned to normal; Archivio di Fraternità dei Laici, Libri di morti, no. 882.

<sup>96</sup> Carlo Cipolla, *Miasmas and Disease: Public Health and the Environment in the Pre-Industrial Age*, Elizabeth Potter, trans. (New Haven, Conn., 1992), 5; and *I pidocchi e il Granduca: Crisi economica e problemi sanitari nella Firenze del '600* (Bologna, 1979), 73.

<sup>97</sup> Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II), *I Commentarii*, Luigi Totaro, ed. (Milan, 1984), 1: 1615.

<sup>98</sup> Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 29.

<sup>99</sup> “On the Seasonal Prevalence of Plague in India,” *Journal of Hygiene* 8 (1908): 275; and L. Otten, “The Problem of the Seasonal Prevalence of Plague,” *Journal of Hygiene* 32, no. 3 (1932): 396–405.

<sup>100</sup> Among other places, see Graham Twigg, “Bubonic Plague: Doubts and Diagnoses,” *Journal of Microbiology* 42 (1995): 384.

<sup>101</sup> There is some debate on the effectiveness of *C. fasciatus* as a transmitter of plague. The early researchers thought it was effective, but later L. Fabian Hirst challenged their conclusions. See “Plague

warming changed these matters; indeed, average temperatures have been estimated at +1 degrees Celsius hotter in the fourteenth-century zones south of Germany than in the 1970s.<sup>102</sup>

As found in India, the combination of dryness and high temperatures limits flea fertility, cuts short "the life of free-wandering fleas," hampers the bacillus's survival, and curtails its infectivity.<sup>103</sup> By high temperatures, the plague commissioners meant ones above 78 degrees Fahrenheit.<sup>104</sup> Above this threshold, "plague does not maintain itself in epidemic form" even with favorable levels of humidity.<sup>105</sup> Despite great differences in winter temperatures, the average daily high temperatures in July are higher in Florence (89 degrees Fahrenheit) than in Bombay City (85 degrees Fahrenheit).<sup>106</sup> Even more astounding, the peak months of plague in the later Middle Ages (June and July) are the driest months of the year. Correspondingly, they are also the very months when flea life in cities such as Florence or Marseilles reaches its nadir.<sup>107</sup> Reflecting these conditions, the flea month in Italy and the Mediterranean more generally is September and October,<sup>108</sup> after the rains and the cooling off at the end of the summer.<sup>109</sup> Thus the only bubonic plague in Italy observed by Robert Pollitzer in his survey of twentieth-century plagues, which occurred at Taranto in 1945, spread between September and November.<sup>110</sup> Yet none of the fourteenth or early fifteenth-century plagues charted by the death records for Barcelona, Valencia, the cities of central Italy or southern France began or peaked in September. By then, all of them had already subsided, and, in most of these, mortality levels had even returned to normal.<sup>111</sup>

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Fleas with Special Reference to the Milroy Lecture, 1924," *Journal of Hygiene* 24 (1925): 5; Giovanni Berlinguer, *Aphaniptera d'Italia: Studio Monografico* (Rome, 1964); Carlo Tiraboschi, "Les rats, les souris et leurs parasites cutanés," *Archives de parasitologie* 8 (1904); Harriette Chick and C. J. Martin, "The Fleas Common on Rats in Different Parts of the World and the Readiness with Which They Bite Man," *Journal of Hygiene* 11, no. 1 (1911): 122–36; N. C. Rothschild, "Note on the Species of Fleas Found upon Rats in Different Parts of the World," *Journal of Hygiene* 6 (1906): 483–95.

<sup>102</sup> H. H. Lamb, *Climate: Present, Past, and Future*, Vol. 2: *Climatic History and the Future* (London, 1977), 436, table 17.1.

<sup>103</sup> Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 227, 280; *Journal of Hygiene* 8 (1908): 262.

<sup>104</sup> *Journal of Hygiene* 8 (1908): 275.

<sup>105</sup> *Journal of Hygiene* 7 (1907): 717; "Influence of Climate," *Journal of Hygiene* 15 (1915): 713–51; Ralph Brooks, "The Influence of Saturation Deficiency and of Temperature on the Course of Epidemic Plague," *Journal of Hygiene* 15 (1915): 881–89; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 263. In some areas of India, the plague peaks with average temperatures as low as 58 degrees Fahrenheit when levels of humidity are favorably high; see "The Severe Epidemics in Muttra in 1904–5 and in Muzaffarnagar in 1906–7," *Journal of Hygiene* 15 (1915): 876; Otten, "Problem of the Seasonal Prevalence of Plague."

<sup>106</sup> *Washington Post*, Historical Weather Data (last ten years).

<sup>107</sup> *Journal of Hygiene* 13 (1913): 7; J. C. Gauthier and A. Raybaud, "Des variétés du pulicidés trouvés sur les rats à Marseille," *Comptes-rendus hebdomadaires des séances et mémoires de la Société de Biologie* 67 (1909): 196–99.

<sup>108</sup> Hans Zinsser, *Rats, Lice, and History* (London, 1935), 93; for Marseilles, the rat flea (*X. cheopis*) comes to the fore only in August and reaches its peak in September followed by October; its lowest numbers are in May and June; Gauthier and Raybaud, "Des variétés du pulicidés."

<sup>109</sup> Even for a much cooler area, San Francisco in 1907, plague did not reach its peak until September; Rupert Blue, "Anti-Plague Measures in San Francisco, California, U.S.A.," *Journal of Hygiene* 9 (1909): 7.

<sup>110</sup> Pollitzer, *Plague*, 30.

<sup>111</sup> Richard Gyug, "The Effects and Extent of the Black Death of 1348: New Evidence for Clerical Mortality in Barcelona," *Medieval Studies* 45 (1983): 385–98; Rubio, *Peste negra*, 26–27; in addition to my study of wills in Millau, see Emery, "Black Death of 1348," for Perpignan and other surrounding villages.

A second epidemiological feature that distinguishes the late medieval from the twentieth-century plague is its cycle of recurrence. Before 1450, plague rarely hit a locality two years running, at least in epidemic proportions, and the interval separating plagues ranged between five and fifteen years (see Figures 12–16). By contrast, once modern plague flares up, it remains for the next eight to forty years (as in the case of India), with regular yearly bouts, before mysteriously disappearing.

Third, the trajectory of the fourteenth and fifteenth-century plague mortalities differs from the trends of modern plague. Death tolls from the latter (even after effective preventive rat-proofing and health measures have been implemented) do not decline progressively. Instead, annual mortalities first rise for five to ten years, then jump erratically from year to year before falling. Such were the mortality patterns in India from 1896 to 1907 and from 1939 to 1947 (see Figures 17 and 18), in Vietnam in the 1960s, in Thailand from 1944 to 1952, and in other places Pollitzer charted for the twentieth century.<sup>112</sup> These trends reveal the absence of any natural or acquired immunity against *Yersinia pestis* among humans,<sup>113</sup> and without it, scientists have yet to discover an effective long-term vaccination against modern plague.<sup>114</sup> Unlike most infectious diseases, in terms of case or mortality levels, it does not matter whether modern plague hits a “virgin-soil” population or not. The downturn depends on rats, not humans, acquiring immunity.<sup>115</sup>

By contrast, the figures given by chroniclers and doctors and drawn from late medieval wills, necrologies, and burials show plague mortalities declining sharply over the Black Death’s first hundred years, characteristic of a disease in which pathogen and host are rapidly adapting to one another. Having survived four plagues, Raymundus Chalin de Vivario, papal doctor at Avignon, looked back over his plague experience: in 1348, two-thirds were afflicted and almost all died; in 1361, half the population caught it and few survived; in 1371, only one tenth were sick and many survived; in 1382, only one twentieth of the population became sick and almost all survived.<sup>116</sup> Although Raymundus’s retrospective appears overly optimistic, the trends from testaments and burials trace a similarly progressive, long-term decline in the plague’s mortality, at least until around 1450. Surviving

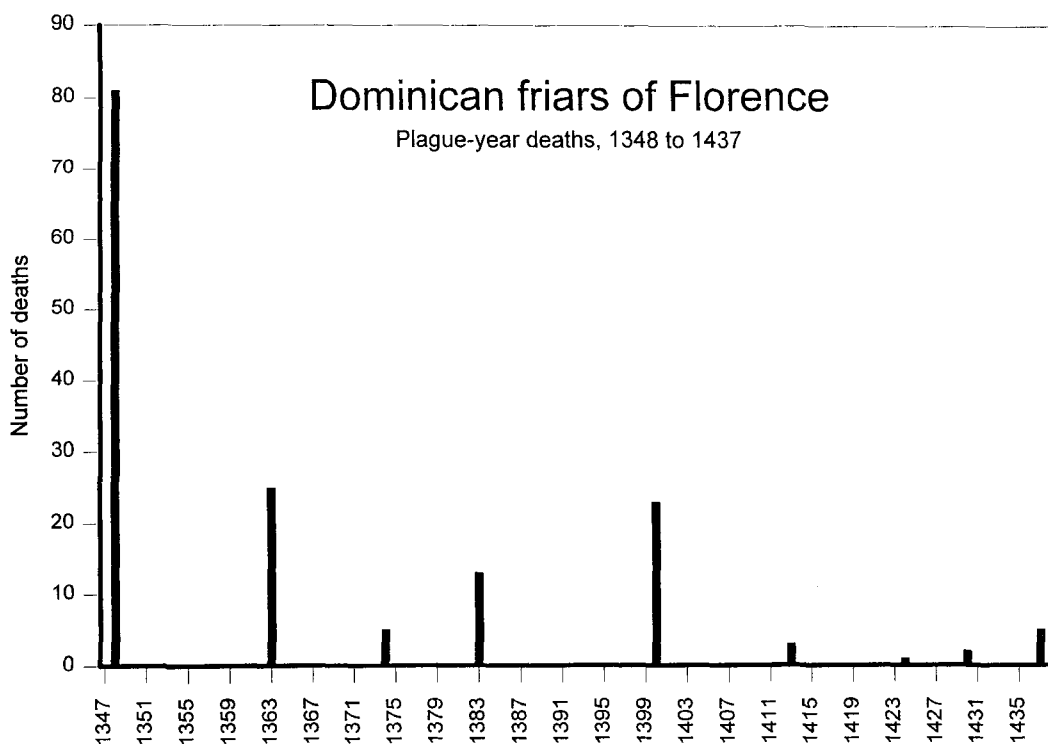
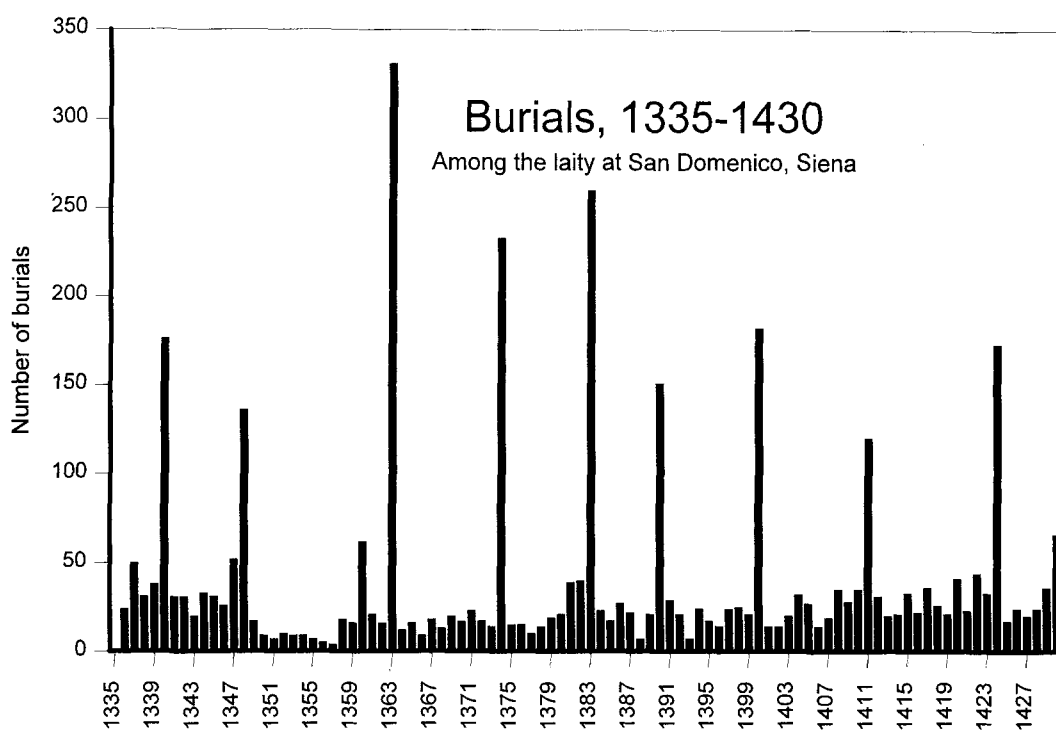
<sup>112</sup> After low mortalities from plague in the opening years, the number of fatal cases climbed to 1,328,249 in 1905 and continued at more than a million deaths per annum until 1908. Between 1904 and 1908, 4,325,237 in India died of plague; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 105, 300. In Vietnam, deaths climbed from 1961 to 1965: 8, 32, 110, 242 to 4,503, with already 2,649 deaths in 1966 before the onset of the worst months of the plague season; J. D. Marshall, Jr., R. J. Joy, N. V. Ai, D. V. Quy, J. L. Stockard, and F. L. Gibson, “Plague in Vietnam, 1965–1966,” *American Journal of Epidemiology* 86, no. 2 (1967): 603–16.

<sup>113</sup> Manson’s *Tropical Diseases*, 19th edn., 591.

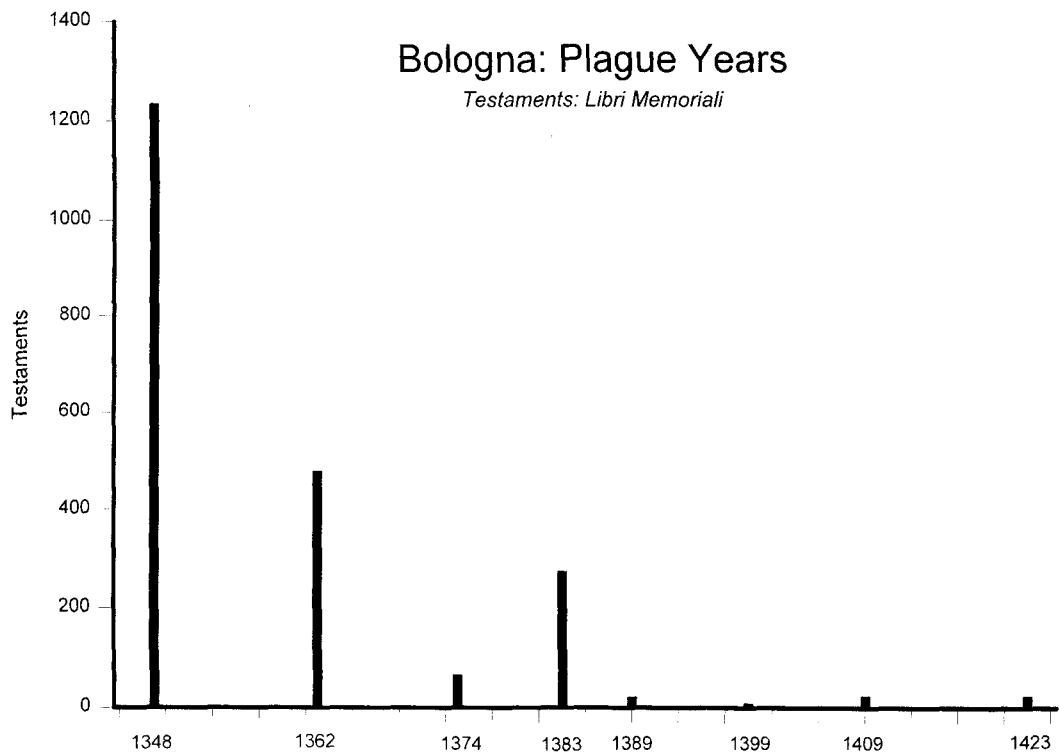
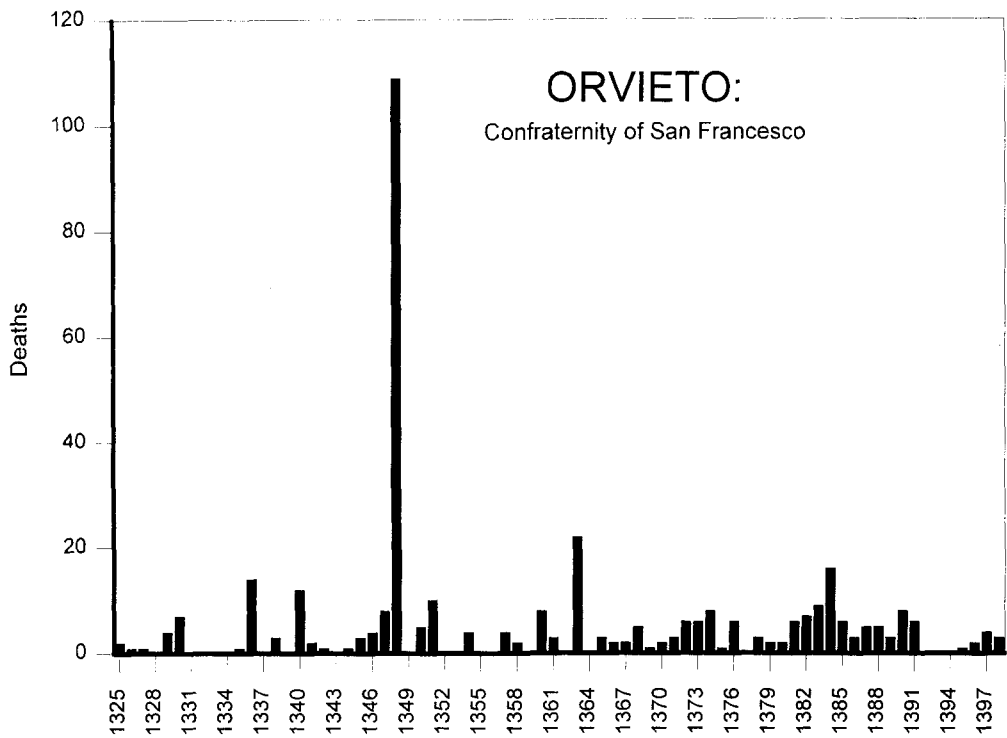
<sup>114</sup> Only today are scientists seemingly on the verge of developing a long-term vaccine against *Yersinia pestis*, but it has yet to be tested or licensed; see Charles Arthur, “Germ Warfare: Vaccine for Plague Starts Human Trials,” *Independent* (August 22, 1999): 4. On the early attempts to produce a vaccine, see Sidney Rowland, “First Report on Investigations into Plague Vaccines,” *Journal of Hygiene* 10 (1910): 536–65; Rowland, “Second Report on Investigation into Plague Vaccines,” *Journal of Hygiene* (1912): 20–46; Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 86; C. Huygelen, “Attempts to Inoculate against Plague in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Koninklijke Academie voor Geneeskunde van België* 61, no. 2 (1999): 385–409.

<sup>115</sup> See “Resolving (Chronic) Plague in Rats,” *Journal of Hygiene* 10 (1910): 335–48; “Chronic or Resolving Plague,” *Journal of Hygiene* 12 (1912): 266–91; and “Experimental Plague Epidemics among Rats,” *Journal of Hygiene: Plague Supplement*, no. 6 (1912): 292–318.

<sup>116</sup> *De peste libri tres, opera Jacobi Dalechampii* (Leiden, 1552); Zinsser, *Rats, Lice, and History*, 89.

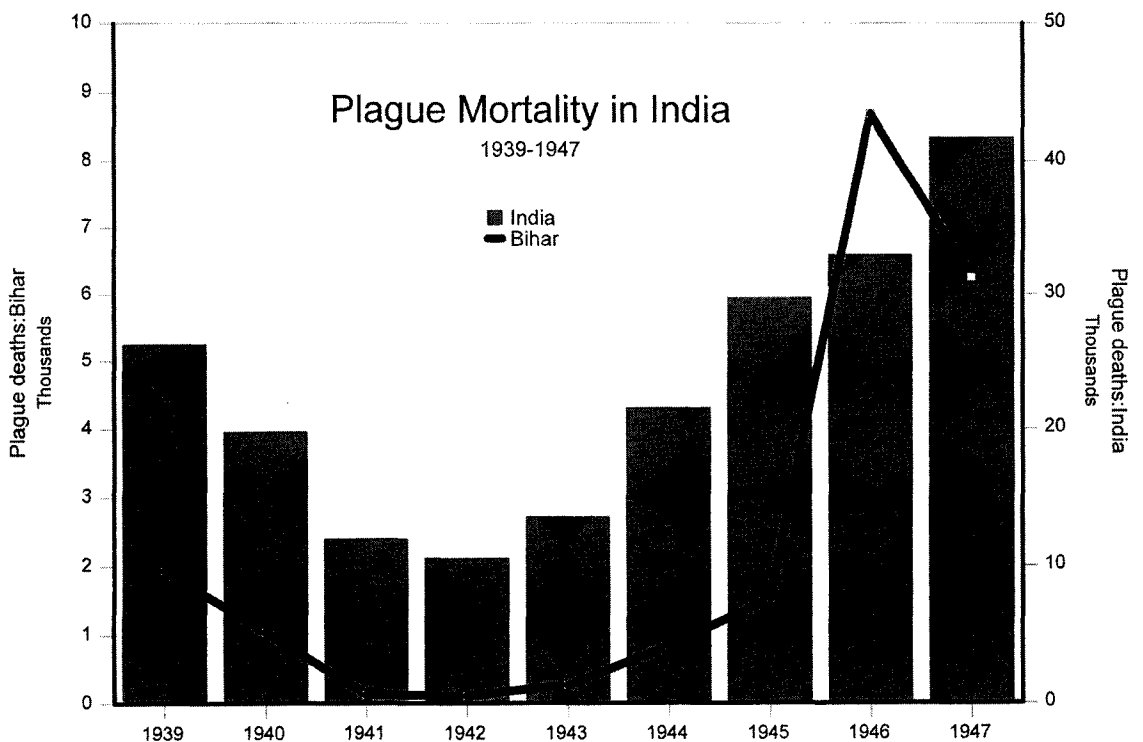
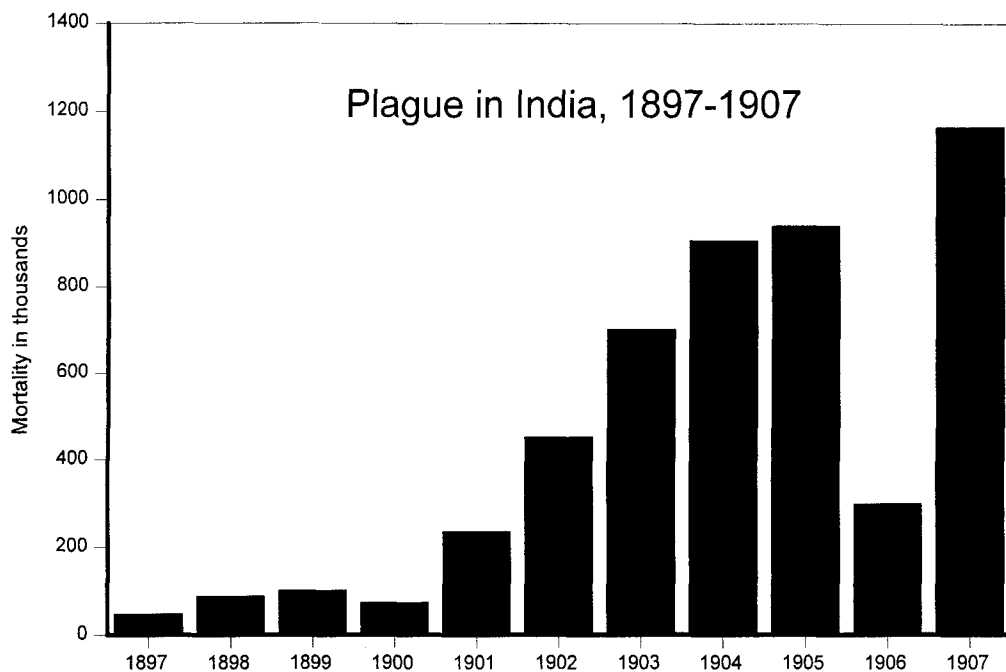


Figures 13 and 14



Figures 15 and 16





Figures 17 and 18

testaments taken from six cities in Tuscany and Umbria (Arezzo, Assisi, Florence, Perugia, Pisa, and Siena) declined from 340 in 1348 to less than three-quarters that figure in 1363 (241), to less than a third in 1374 (102), to a fifth in 1383 (71). And for no plague of the first quarter of the fifteenth century did the number of deathbed testaments exceed the 1383 number. For Dominicans born in the province of Florence, the decline in mortality over the first three plagues was even steeper. While the plague of 1363 claimed a third of those friars killed in 1348, the third plague of 1374 claimed little more than a twentieth (5), and after 1400, no plague killed more than that fraction.<sup>117</sup>

The records of the laity buried at the Dominican cemetery, Camporegio, in Siena, on first observation appear to deviate from the patterns traced above. Here, the peak death rate came in 1363, not 1348. But the reason for this discrepancy stems from the cessation of records in 1348 caused by the pervasive fear and overwhelming magnitude of the task faced by the friars as well as by the civil authorities. As Boccaccio and numerous chroniclers lamented, fathers abandoned sons, wives husbands, and sons fathers, resulting in mass burials without proper funerals. By the end of June, at the peak of the plague, the Sienese burial records cease altogether and do not resume until the plague had abated in August. Yet, according to Siena's principal chronicler, Agnolo di Tura, the plague raged during the three summer months, when he claimed three of every four in Siena died. In the summer, the chronicler was forced to bury his five children with his own hands because no one would assist him.<sup>118</sup>

With later plagues, civil and religious authorities adjusted to problems of the deadly contagion and the sudden increases in burials. Institutions such as the Florentine Grascia recorded and regulated burials across all the city's parishes. In Siena, with the plagues after 1348, the Dominicans even added new information to their burial ledgers, such as the addresses of the dead, perhaps in an attempt to understand the plague's spread. Yet, despite this greater care in record keeping, after 1363 burials and other death documents show a steep decline in the plague's triumph over life.

Did these declines in mortality simply result from a general decline in population? Quick rises in fertility compensated to some extent for the population losses,<sup>119</sup> and, more important, immigrants from the countryside rushed to cities (where these death records are found) to realize new social and economic opportunities. In one place—Florence—where sufficient figures on population were taken and survive, the urban population showed a remarkable capacity to rebound after successive strikes of plague, at least through the fourteenth century. First, its numbers may have dropped from as high as 120,000 before the Black Death to around 40,000 immediately afterward. (The tax surveys [*estimi*] of 1352 and 1355 numbered around 10,000 households.) Yet, on the eve of the third plague of 1374,

<sup>117</sup> I have compiled these figures from Orlandi, *"Necrologio" di S. Maria Novella*, vol. 1.

<sup>118</sup> *Cronache Senesi*, A. Lisini and F. Iacometti, eds., in *RIS*, new series, vol. 15, pt. 4 (Bologna, 1931–37), 148.

<sup>119</sup> Many preachers and chroniclers such as Jean de Venette and John of Reading decried the promiscuous sex and multiple births that followed the Black Death. Such rebounds in fertility continued to follow in the wake of later plagues; see David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Toscans et leurs familles: Une étude du catasto florentin de 1427* (Paris, 1978), 426–27.

the chronicler Stefani put the population of Florence at 60,000 or more. The city responded again with remarkable speed to the losses incurred from this third plague. By the tax records of 1379, its population tallied 13,779 households. Given a household multiplier of around four (slightly less than in 1427), Florence had recouped most of its losses within five years. After the fourth plague of 1383 and on the eve of the fifth of 1400, Florence's population once again stood at 60,000.<sup>120</sup>

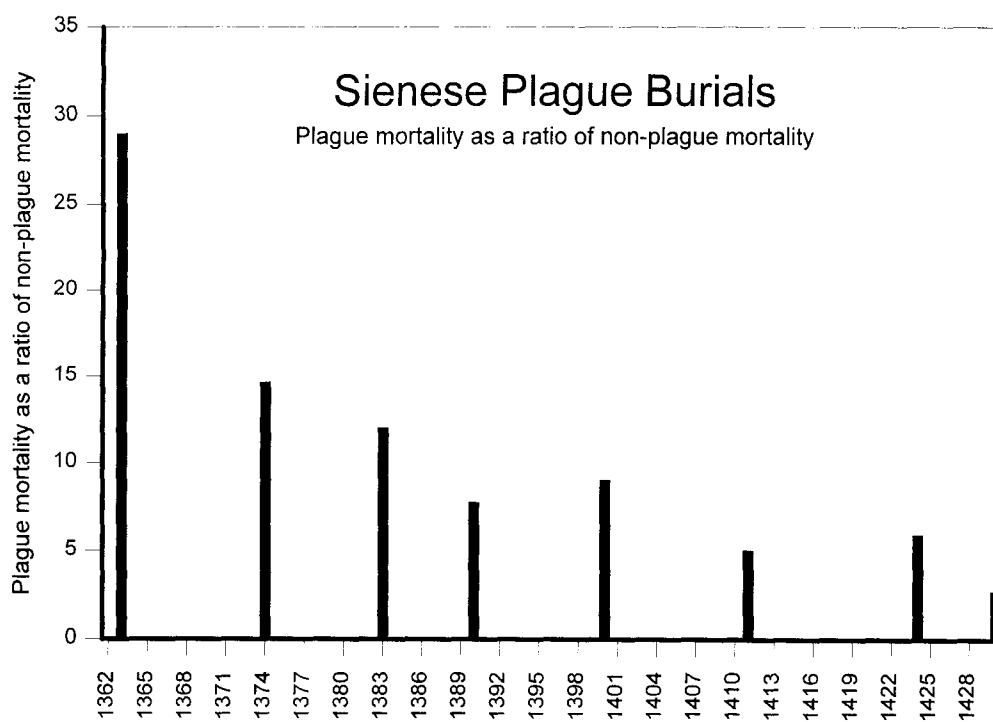
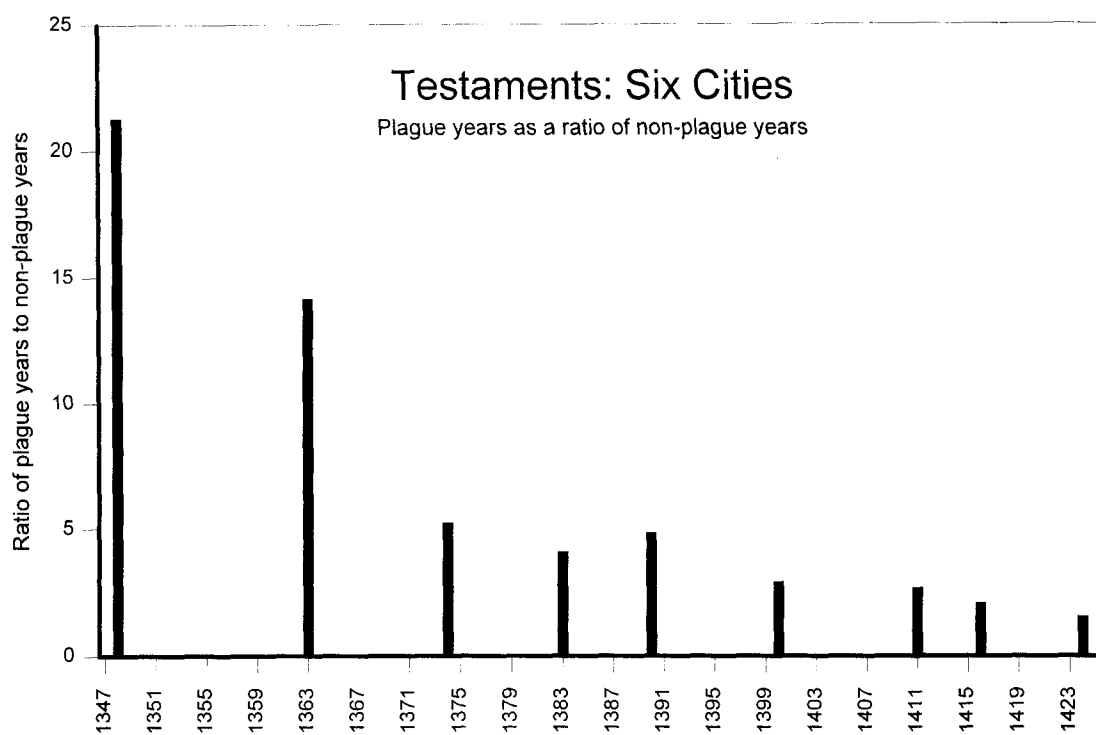
In addition, the plague stimulated will writing in Tuscany and Umbria, from the rich down the social hierarchy. In Florence, wills per annum increased threefold after the Black Death and in Tournai fourfold, despite shrinking populations in both places. Similarly, the demand to be buried in Siena's Dominican cemetery rose in non-plague years in tandem with the rising prestige of the Dominicans in post-plague Siena, as illustrated in the pious choices of the laity in their last wills and testaments.<sup>121</sup> To control for these demographic shifts and counterbalancing tendencies, I have charted the plague figures as ratios of the preceding intervals of non-plague years. By these ratios, the steady downward thrust of plague mortality is even more striking than that shown by the raw figures (see Figures 19–20). From the testamentary evidence of the six Italian cities, plague mortality relative to non-plague years was less than a quarter of 1348's onslaught by the third plague (1374) and one-sixth the ratio by 1400. From the Siennese burials, 1374's toll amounted to half the relative mortality of the preceding plague of 1363, and the last plague the friars recorded, that of 1430, killed only a tenth the numbers taken in 1363 relative to previous years of non-plague deaths.

Our best example comes from the citywide lay confraternity of San Francesco in Orvieto. In addition to an obituary of all its members from 1337 to 1398, it kept a matriculation list over the same time span.<sup>122</sup> In 1348, 109 members or half the brotherhood died, amounting to thirty-six times the average per annum mortality since the confraternity's foundation. With the second plague of 1363, deaths rose above any previous non-plague year (22) but were only a fifth the 1348 toll. By the third and fourth plagues, 1374 and 1383, the numbers of deaths (8 and 9) tumbled to just over one-twentieth the plague's first strike (see Figure 15). For this community, we can be certain that the decline did not simply arise from a progressively shrinking population exposed to death. In addition to being an extraordinary year for deaths, 1348 was equally unusual for attracting new entrants: while 109 died, 110 joined. No doubt the confraternity's attraction hinged on its role in providing for the spiritual and corporeal needs of the dead, but it was not a matter of the dying signing up on the spot to ensure themselves the proper sacraments and burial. The new entrants did not boost the confraternity's mortality

<sup>120</sup> For these figures, see Charles-M. de La Roncière, *Prix et salaires à Florence au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1280–1380)* (Rome, 1982), 676; Alessandro Stella, *La rivolta dei Ciompi: Les hommes, les lieux, le travail* (Paris, 1993), 149; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *Women in the Streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, 1996), 22; and Herlihy and Klapisch-Zuber, *Les Toscans*, 176–77.

<sup>121</sup> Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy* (Baltimore, 1992), 37.

<sup>122</sup> Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Vittorio Emanuele II, cod. V. E., no. 528: Rappresentazioni sacre Orvietane-Matricola della fraternità di S. Maria V. in S. Francesco d'Orvieto—Obituari della Fraternità di S. Francesco; also see Mary Henderson, "La confraternita e la catastrofe: La confraternita francescana di Orvieto e la peste nera," in *Bollettino dell'Istituto Storico Artistico Orvietano* 48–49 (1992–93) (1999): 116, but who has tallied the deaths and matriculations only for 1348.



Figures 19 and 20

rates. Forty-four percent of them as opposed to 54.8 percent of the previously enrolled members died in that year.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, the confraternity's popularity continued through the century, with more members joining after 1349 than before; thus the decline in mortalities relative to the community's population was even steeper than the raw death figures chart.

Another characteristic of the adaptation and immunity of late medieval population was the radical change in the age structure of the victims. The records of Siena are the only ones I know to cover the burials of the laity across the plague experience from the Black Death of 1348 to the fifteenth century. Here, we witness a remarkable transformation. Of 136 buried in the Dominican cemetery in 1348, only 12 were identified as children.<sup>124</sup> With the second plague in 1363, their proportion soared to 116 of 331, or over a third of the burials; with the third plague of 1374, the children's numbers climbed still higher, from a third to over half (136 of 233 burials), and with the fourth plague (1383), children accounted for a staggering 88 percent of that year's victims (230 of 260). Afterward, in the lesser plagues of 1390 and 1400, their proportion fell to 67 of 151 and 62 of 182, lower than in 1383 but still much above the proportions of the 1360s—the supposed “plague of children.”<sup>125</sup>

Nor does Siena appear to have been exceptional. Already by the third plague of 1374, the chronicler Ranieri of Pisa reported that 80 percent of the plague victims in his city were children twelve years old or younger.<sup>126</sup> With the first burial records for a plague year in Florence—1400—the consequence for children is again telling: over two-thirds of the dead were identified as infants or children.<sup>127</sup> By the plague of 1423–1424, when the Florentine gravediggers began to distinguish those dying from plague with a “P,” child victims were just under 70 percent. By contrast, modern plague has never been a disease of children; nor have the ages of its victims—the highest proportion being between twenty and forty—shown notable differences over place or time.<sup>128</sup> In 1918, looking back on twenty years of plague

<sup>123</sup> My calculations differ slightly from those of Henderson, “La confraternita e la catastrofe,” 103, because I have used the deaths and entry of new members for the entire year, 1348, and not for what she has considered to be the plague months.

<sup>124</sup> Similarly, Charles Creighton, *History of Epidemics in Britain*, 2d edn., D. E. C. Eversely, E. A. Underwood, and L. Ovenall, eds. (1894; London, 1965), 1: 122, finds that the plague of 1348–1349 in England carried off able-bodied young adults and not the young, weak, or elderly.

<sup>125</sup> *I necrologi di Siena di San Domenico in Camporegio (Epoca Cateriniana)*, M.-H. Laurent, ed. (Siena, 1937). The English medievalist V. H. Galbraith discredited the observation of the Anonimale Chronicle that the third plague of 1375 was particularly fatal to children, alleging that the York chronicler had mistakenly copied what he had said for 1361: *The Anonimale Chronicle 1333 to 1381*, Galbraith, ed. (Manchester, 1927), 191. But across England and Europe, later chroniclers continued to remark that plague killed children first and foremost. The slight upturn in the proportion of adults killed by plague in the fifteenth century follows a cycle seen with other childhood diseases such as smallpox. When mortalities decline to a certain level, more adults survive who have had no exposure to the disease and thus with the next outbreak begin to die in increasing numbers; see Burnet, *Natural History of Infectious Disease*, 228–29.

<sup>126</sup> *Cronaca di Pisa di Ranieri Sardo*, Ottavio Banti, ed. (Rome, 1963), 186.

<sup>127</sup> Occasionally, the notary supplied the ages of those they called children (*pueri* or *puellae*); they ranged from those who died stillborn to a maximum of nine years old, generally less than the time since a previous strike of plague.

<sup>128</sup> “The Epidemic and Its Relation to the Epizootics,” *Journal of Hygiene* 7 (1907): 763; J. D. Gimlette, “Plague in Further India,” *Journal of Hygiene* 9 (1909): 62; also see the data from Bombay, 1897, in W. F. Gatacre, ed., *Report on the Bubonic Plague in Bombay*, Vol. 2: *Temperatures Charts, &c.*



in India, the plague commissioner Norman White observed the very opposite of what the burial trends of the late medieval plagues have traced: instead of being the plague's principal victims, infants and young children [more than any other portion of the population] enjoyed a certain degree of immunity."<sup>129</sup> In 1911 and 1922, a plague fighter of Manchuria, Wu Lien-Teh, saw the same with pneumonic plague.<sup>130</sup>

A TEAM OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND MICROBIOLOGISTS has recently claimed to have discovered DNA traces of *Yersinia pestis* in the pulp of teeth from those buried in fourteenth-century graves at Montpellier. They have concluded: "we can end the controversy: Medieval Black Death was plague."<sup>131</sup> The ossio-archaeologists Alan Cooper and Hendrik Polnar have pointed out that the extraction of DNA from ancient bones is fraught with technical difficulties and have expressed grave doubts about the Marseilles group's proclamations.<sup>132</sup> Certainly, the historian will want to see if other studies from different plague sites around Europe corroborate these claims. So far, they do not. After years of such testing from well-preserved plague hospital graves of the late Middle Ages as well as of the seventeenth century in other places in France, Britain, and Denmark, no such positive results have turned up.<sup>133</sup> But, regardless of what the agent may have been, the signs and symptoms of the two diseases, their epidemiologies, and the interactions between human hosts and the pathogens were entirely different.

Despite medical nomenclature that labels diseases after the names given to their pathogens, a disease is not a macrobiotic agent; rather, it is a relationship between a pathogen and its human hosts; both sides can develop and change radically over time, as with tuberculosis. If the microbe of the late medieval plagues was *Yersinia pestis*, medical scientists will then have to explain at least two new enigmas for biological evolution. Why did a disease that once passed rapidly person-to-person become a rat disease dependent on a flea vector? Why did the human species once

<sup>129</sup> Norman F. White, "Twenty Years of Plague in India with Special Reference to the Outbreak of 1917-18," *Indian Journal of Medical Research* 6, no. 2 (1918): 211.

<sup>130</sup> Pollitzer, *Plague*, 516. In the Manchurian plague of 1920-1921, 78.1 percent of the cases were among those aged twenty-one to forty.

<sup>131</sup> Didier Raoult, Gérard Aboudharam, Eric Crubézy, Georges Larrouy, Bertrand Ludes, and Michel Drancourt, "Molecular Identification of 'Suicide PCR' of *Yersinia pestis* as the Agent of Medieval Black Death," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 97, no. 23 (November 7, 2000): 12800-03.

<sup>132</sup> Such headline pronouncements fail to show the "criteria of authenticity" as set out by Alan Cooper and Hendrik Polnar, "Ancient DNA: Do It Right or Not at All," *Science* 289 (August 18, 2000): 1139. I am grateful to Alan Cooper for personal correspondence.

<sup>133</sup> Their first results, "Detection of 400-year-old *Yersinia pestis* DNA in Human Dental Pulp: An Approach to the Diagnosis of Ancient Septicemia," *Proceedings of the National Academy of Science* 95 (October 1998): 12637-40, reported finding DNA traces of *Yersinia pestis* in dental pulp from two grave sites in Provence, one at Lambesc for 1590, the other at Marseilles for 1722. These findings were criticized because of suspicions of *Yersinia pestis* contamination in their laboratory. By contrast, Alan Cooper of the departments of Zoology and Biological Anthropology at the University of Oxford has been working at Black Death and early modern plague sites in London, Copenhagen, and two places in France with no such findings of *Yersinia pestis*. Scott and Duncan, *Biology of Plagues*, 8, 49, 340, 350, concede that plague in Marseilles both in 1348 and in 1720 was *Yersinia pestis*, even though the concession cuts against the evidence and arguments about the plague's biology and epidemiology marshalled throughout the remainder of the 400-page book. The levels of mortality and speed of transmission of both plagues at Marseilles are commensurate with the Black Death and its recurrences at other places but not with modern bubonic plague.

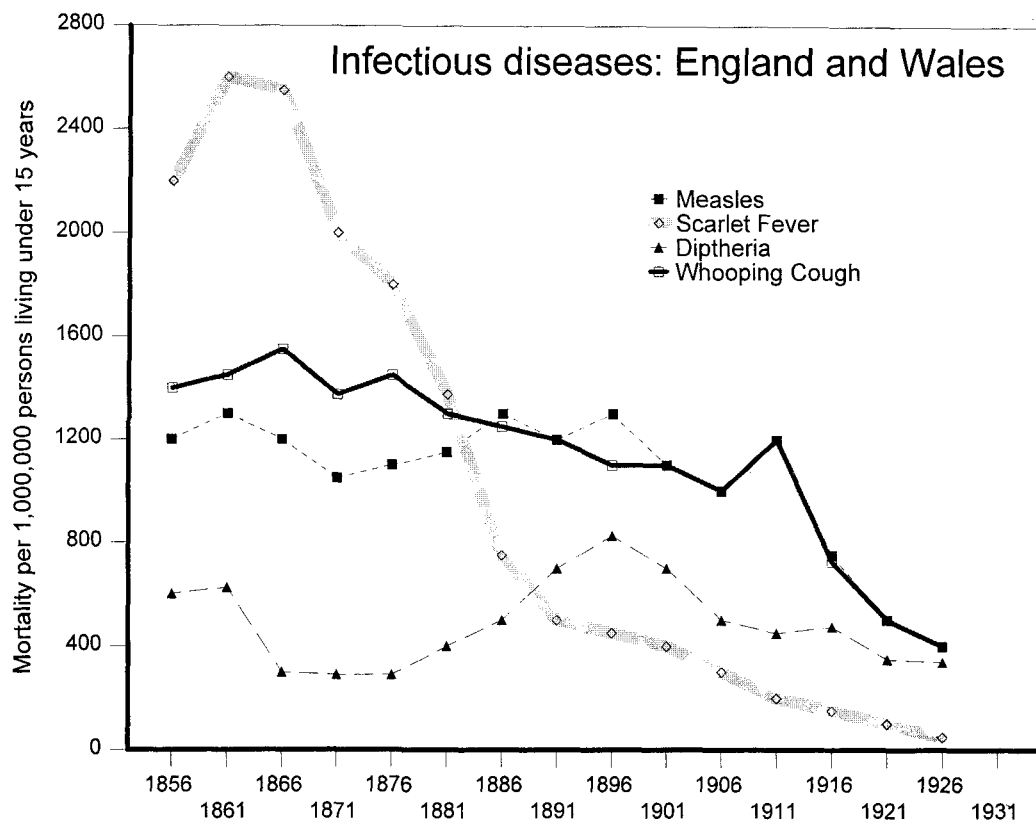


Figure 21: From Major Greenwood, *Epidemics and Crowd Diseases* (London, 1935), 181.

possess an ability to acquire immunity to this microbe and then lose it? With other diseases, natural selection has moved in precisely the opposite directions, benefiting the means and efficiency of transmission, while also (to the mutual benefit of both parasite and host) enhancing their mutual adaptation.<sup>134</sup> Thus rat diseases such as typhus have evolved with the pathogen's natural selection into diseases that short-circuit the rat to spread faster and more efficiently person-to-person via lice.<sup>135</sup> I know of no disease of rats that has evolved in the reverse direction. Second, to defend against the ever-increasing barrage of new pathogens, the human species has diversified, and its immune system has developed over time because of the bombardment of new pathogens and subsequent genetic mutations.<sup>136</sup> Although a human population unexposed to a disease for generations may temporarily lose its immunity to a pathogen, with disastrous consequences (as happened with plague in seventeenth-century Venice, Genoa, Naples, and other places), I know of no case (before the massive influx of antibiotics of the past decade) in which humans have

<sup>134</sup> On natural selection and biological evolution of diseases, see Tony McMichael, *Human Frontiers, Environments and Disease: Past Patterns, Uncertain Futures* (Cambridge, 2001), chaps. 2 and 4, esp. p. 98.

<sup>135</sup> Zinsser, *Rats, Lice, and History*, 270; and Manson's *Tropical Diseases*, 19th edn., 213.

<sup>136</sup> On the development of human genetic diversity and the historic build-up of human immunity, see Christopher Wills, *Plagues: Their Origin, History and Future* (London, 1997), chap. 11.

lost all capacity to acquire immunity to a microbiotic agent to which they were once able to adapt.

Unlike modern populations and their early encounters with *Yersinia pestis* in the Orient and the subtropics, those of the later Middle Ages adapted to their new plague with remarkable success, as reflected by sharply falling levels of mortality and the rapid domestication of the disease as one largely of children over the first hundred years of the Black Death. The steepness of this adaptation compares favorably even with the late nineteenth and twentieth-century conquest of infectious diseases in England and Wales, which was then aided by vaccination, modern medicine, and new measures of public health. Of the four principal childhood killers—measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever, and diphtheria—the fall in mortality from scarlet fever from the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s was the only one that was as steep and steady as the late fourteenth-century's "triumph over plague" (see Figure 21).

In conclusion, the character of the Black Death—its speed, mode of transmission, seasonality, cycles of recurrence, and the swiftness by which Western Europeans adapted to its pathogen over time—was wholly different from that of the rat-based bubonic plague of the late nineteenth century. In addition, the psychological and cultural consequences of the late fourteenth and fifteenth-century plagues do not conform to the picture of pessimism and the breakdown of secular forms of mentality heretofore proposed by historians. Pinning long-term effects on single events is hazardous in any case and even more so with such factors as levels of violence, difficult to quantify or to judge qualitatively over a landscape as vast and variegated as Western Europe. Nonetheless, the Black Death and its recurrences cannot be shown to have ushered in unequivocally a more "violent tenor of life" that supposedly ensued over the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Instead, stability, not violence, followed in some places, such as appears with the growth of centralized authority in Florence and a corresponding decline in factional strife within its city walls, or with the growth of diplomacy and the balance of power between city-states in northern and central Italy during most of the fifteenth century, or again with the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War in France by the mid-fifteenth century.

The more immediate consequences of the Black Death and its successive bouts are easier to isolate. After the first assault, contemporaries' explanations and attitudes across a wide social and intellectual spectrum show a sharp turnabout. While chroniclers in 1348 relied on the supernatural and based their explanations on the constellation of planets and bizarre happenings in distant lands, those commenting on the plague's successive bouts increasingly turned to political, social, and hygienic conditions within their own territories to understand its origins and transmission. From distrust, even hatred, of doctors during the first outbreak, Europeans looked to the medical profession for advice and cures, as evinced by the plague tract becoming by the beginning of the fifteenth century one of the earliest forms of popular literature in the West.<sup>137</sup> Similarly, frenzied expiation of plague guilt seen in the pan-European movement of the flagellants and the burning of Jews

<sup>137</sup> Arturo Castiglioni, "Ugo Benzi da Siena ed il 'Trattato utilissimo circa la conservazione della sanitate,'" *Rivista di storia critica delle scienze mediche e naturali* 12 (1921): 75.

from 1348 to 1350 were not repeated during successive plagues, at least for the next hundred years or more. Instead, later movements such as the Bianchi in Italy were organized top-down and were known for their orderliness, and Jews could accompany gentiles in civic processions to hasten the end of plagues.

This change in mentality and behavior, I argue, hinged on the steady and rapid adaptation between Europeans and their new bubonic pathogen. It helps to explain a fundamental enigma of the early Renaissance mentality: why a new culture of secularism, state-building, and “fame and glory”—the latter seen even in the testaments of peasants, artisans, and shopkeepers in Tuscany as well as in the north of Europe<sup>138</sup>—should have sprung forth in the midst of mass mortality, and why those who dealt most intimately with death, plague doctors, should have been the first to claim to have surpassed the ancients in any branch of secular learning. Had the plague behaved like modern plague or even other infectious diseases such as smallpox with complex mechanisms of human immunity, which often fail to show steady and progressive declines in mortality, these “Renaissance” men and women might not have been so confident. As revealed in the early plague reports at the turn of the twentieth century, the British medical corps, in the full bloom of colonial glory and industrial and scientific progress, faced India’s mounting annual death tolls from plague with fatalistic resignation (even though the numbers killed were considerably lower than those of the late medieval plagues, both absolutely and especially relative to their populations).<sup>139</sup>

The history of the Black Death in its first hundred years reveals that violent epidemics in past time do not always have the same cultural consequences. They need not always provoke distrust of authority or hatred of doctors, as René Baehrel argued for plague, cholera, and other epidemics in Europe from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, or undermine secular mentalities, leading inexorably to pessimism and transcendental religions, as William H. McNeill generalized more broadly across time and space.<sup>140</sup> As different pathogens provoke different consequences for our bodies and populations, they also spark differences for our minds.

<sup>138</sup> In addition to *Death and Property in Siena* and *The Cult of Remembrance*, see most recently, Samuel K. Cohn, Jr., “The Place of the Dead in Flanders and Tuscany: Towards a Comparative History of the Black Death,” in *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, eds. (Cambridge, 2000), 17–43. It shows men and women in the heartland of Huizinga’s “Waning of the Middle Ages” to have been as impassioned with proclaiming and preserving their earthly memories in the early fifteenth century as were those in Florence, Arezzo, or Perugia.

<sup>139</sup> Hirst, *Conquest of Plague*, 451.

<sup>140</sup> Baehrel, “La haine de classe en temps d’épidémie,” esp. 358–60. His evidence derives mostly from the first massive cholera epidemic in Europe of 1831–1832 but is generalized as a common reaction to epidemics across time. McNeill, *Plagues and People*.

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# Gender, Religion, and Early Modern Nationalism: Elizabeth I, Mary Queen of Scots, and the Genesis of English Anti-Catholicism

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ANNE McLAREN

God send our mistress a husband, and by him a son, that we may hope our posterity shall have a masculine succession.

William Cecil to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, 1561<sup>1</sup>

IN OCTOBER 2000, the European Human Rights Convention was incorporated into British law. In December 2000, *The Guardian*, a left-leaning national daily, announced that it would use that step toward European integration to contest the legality of the 1701 Act of Settlement. That act was designed to limit succession to the throne to Protestant heirs in the Hanoverian line. Geoffrey Robertson, the human rights lawyer spearheading the campaign, argued that the act infringed the convention by discriminating first and foremost against Roman Catholics but also against women, adopted children, and bastards. *The Guardian's* campaign highlights yet again the militant anti-Catholicism that has been one of the defining traits, and lasting puzzlements, of English history from the late sixteenth century onward. Equally revealing are the subordinate groups that Robertson identified as having been disadvantaged by the 1701 Act. The drive to secure the constitutional innovation that had given the crown to the Dutchman William III—in his own right and, in the last resort, as a consequence of his Protestant virility—also privileged male primogeniture (although it did not exclude women from the throne) and blood right, albeit in limited terms.<sup>2</sup> *The Guardian's* campaign quickly fizzled out. It seems to have been intended primarily to call attention to the institutional constraints

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<sup>1</sup> British Library (hereafter, BL), Add. 35830, fol. 159v.

<sup>2</sup> Clare Dyer, "A Challenge to the Crown: Now Is the Time for Change," *The Guardian* (December 6, 2000): 1. The campaign was covered in the British and American press in December 2000. At the same time, on December 6, the Scottish National Party tabled a motion calling for repeal of the Act of Settlement, after having unanimously backed an SNP-led motion condemning the act as discriminatory and calling for its abolition in December 1999. For the gender dynamics of Restoration England, see Rachel Weil, *Political Passions: Gender, the Family and Political Argument in England 1680–1714* (Manchester, 1999).



that, in theory at least, prevent Britons from freely debating whether they want to end the monarchy and, after a hiatus of 350 years, once again establish a republic.<sup>3</sup> But, for historians, this contemporary interjection in a very long-running debate over the nature of British kingship raises fascinating questions. When and why did anti-Catholicism become such a powerful element in English national identity? When and why did it begin the career that established it as an ever more secure hallmark of English, and then British, nationalism through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries?<sup>4</sup> What relationship can we discern between the constituent elements of gender, blood, and religion in the construction of early modern nationalism?

In this article, I want to try to answer these questions. I want to argue that anti-Catholicism became central to English national and political life in the late sixteenth century in response to a particular problem. That problem was immediate and gender specific: from 1561 until Mary's execution in 1587, committed Protestant men were faced with the existence of "two queens in one isle"—Elizabeth I and her cousin Mary Queen of Scots, each with comparable blood claims to the English imperial crown.<sup>5</sup> And it was not, in the first instance, Mary's Catholicism that was at issue. Instead, as we see with William Cecil's anguished ejaculation above, it was the fact that her existence raised the specter of a "feminine succession": the English imperial crown—and the embryonic British Empire—handed from Elizabeth to Mary as next legitimate heir on the basis of her possession of the blood royal. The centrality of gender to this scenario cannot be overstressed. In the early years of the reign, Elizabeth's most telling riposte to those Protestants prepared to accept her queenship on the grounds that it betokened God's special providence, despite her sex, was to raise the issue of a feminine succession, even through her loins. What would happen, to whom would the crown descend, she asked, in the event that she died, "leaving issue a daughter"?<sup>6</sup> Mary's blood status, combined with Elizabeth's failure to marry and produce a legitimate male heir, confronted staunchly Protestant councilors of state with a nightmare vision of a world turned permanently upside down, feminized *and* Catholic. Faced with this specter, key political actors, in England and in Scotland, sought to nullify Mary's claims to political authority. In this particular context, paradoxically, Mary's Catholicism presented a potential solution to the problem of the two queens. The conflation of Mary's identities, as "woman" and as Catholic, enabled the "Protestant ascendancy" to attain her blood claims to political authority.<sup>7</sup> It did so by means that commanded loyalty to their

<sup>3</sup> *The Guardian's* editor, Alan Rusbridger, said, "Since MPs are barred from openly debating the role of the monarch we thought a newspaper might set the ball rolling." Dyer, "Challenge to the Crown," 1.

<sup>4</sup> In what follows, I try to suggest the connections between English and Scottish Protestant identities and their points of diversion through careful attention to the use of "English," "Scottish," and "British." Limitations of space mean that at best I can only point to the separate but related career of anti-Catholicism in Scotland. The best guide to the formation of Scottish national identity in the early modern period remains Arthur Williamson, *Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture* (Edinburgh, 1979).

<sup>5</sup> The phrase is the title of Alison Plowden's book, *Two Queens in One Isle: The Deadly Relationship of Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots* (Brighton, 1984).

<sup>6</sup> Elizabeth's annotations on a letter from John Knox, BL, Add. 32091, fols. 167–69.

<sup>7</sup> For "woman" as a universal identifier in early modern political thought, see Sarah Hanley, "The Politics of Identity and Monarchic Governance in France: The Debate over Female Exclusion," in



envisaged Protestant nation while—most important—they did not immediately challenge Elizabeth's right to rule. Indeed, the strategy actually promoted Elizabeth's exceptional status, as the Protestant Old Testament heroine Deborah, and hence her tenure of the throne.

To secure this precarious equipoise, an official campaign was conducted from 1570 onward. The campaign transformed the character of English anti-Catholicism. As Carol Weiner wrote in her important study of English anti-Catholicism, hatred of Catholics changed from being "the private obsession of religious extremists . . . into part of the national ideology."<sup>8</sup> It did so in large measure because it provided a literal target, in the form of Mary Queen of Scots, for a powerful fusion of misogyny and anti-Catholic sentiment. By the 1590s, the Puritan divine Thomas Brightman could write that he wished to "see this impudent harlot [the Roman Church] at length slit in the nostrils, stripped of her garments and tires, besmeared with dirt and rotten eggs, and at last burnt up and consumed with fire"—an utterance still shocking for the immediacy of its personification as much as for its virulence.<sup>9</sup> Both were to become increasingly characteristic over the seventeenth century. From this point on, anti-Catholicism was identified with virility (understood as a male entitlement) and, in response to the vicissitudes of Anglo-Scottish relations, specifically English national character. The success of this campaign enabled a small but influential cohort of ideologically committed Protestants eventually to take the English male political nation at least part of the way with them on their ideological trek: to the way station of equating rabid anti-Catholicism with loyalty to the English state—if not, necessarily, to the next stage of self-identification as British, much less to the promised land of the True Church that they envisaged as their terminus.<sup>10</sup>

The specter of a feminine succession ended with Mary's execution, in 1587. Thereafter, the parameters of debate over kingship shifted in ways that have obscured the centrality of gender to the genesis of English anti-Catholicism and thus to early modern English nationalism.<sup>11</sup> "It is certain that the English [will] never again submit to the rule of a woman," the French ambassador de Maisse wrote shortly afterward, in the last decade of Elizabeth's forty-four-year reign.<sup>12</sup> He

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*Women Writers and the Early Modern British Political Tradition*, Hilda L. Smith, ed. (Cambridge, 1998), 289–304, esp. 295–96. The term "Protestant ascendancy" is Patrick Collinson's. He uses it, rightly, to stress the Protestant fervor and ideological homogeneity of the small but disproportionately influential band of brothers that dominated Elizabethan political life. Patrick Collinson, "Puritans, Men of Business and Elizabethan Parliaments," *Parliamentary History* 7, no. 2 (1988): 187–211.

<sup>8</sup> Carol Z. Weiner, "The Beleagued Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Early Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *Past and Present* 51 (1971): 27–62, quote on 27.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Brightman, *The Revelation of St. John Illustrated*, in *Works* (1644), sig. A2v. Brightman's writings were published posthumously.

<sup>10</sup> For the construction of the English nation as a Protestant male preserve, see A. N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth, 1558–1585* (Cambridge, 1999), esp. chap. 4.

<sup>11</sup> It did not, however, undo this legacy, which remained fundamental to English political culture. See Frances E. Dolan, *The Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1999).

<sup>12</sup> André Hurault, *Sieur de Maisse, A Journal of All That Was Accomplished by Monsieur de Maisse, Ambassador in England from King Henry IV to Queen Elizabeth Anno Domini 1597*, G. B. Harrison and R. A. Jones, trans. and ed. (London, 1931), 11–12.

was wrong. Over the seventeenth century, certainty of male succession reinforced the shift in the *episteme* that identified and privileged in new ways what Carole Pateman calls “masculine right,” in the family and in the nation.<sup>13</sup> Attention shifted to, and remained on, the threat to English Protestantism posed by Catholicism—by “that scarlet whore the Pope,” in the words of one contemporary.<sup>14</sup> In this new world, the most potent threat to English Protestant national identity was perceived to be posed by virile Catholic males of the blood royal. And from the 1680s on, as the British nation mobilized against the might of Catholic France, this threat came to life in the persons of James II and his Catholic male descendants. It was this that the 1701 Act sought to guard against: in excluding Catholics from the throne, in admitting the lesser blood claims of the Hanoverian line, and in accepting female Protestant rule as a *faute de mieux* bar to papal pretensions.

But to understand the genesis of English anti-Catholicism, we must return to the sixteenth century and to the problem of the two queens. Let us begin by exploring the linkage between gender and religion that fueled fears of female rule in the early modern period. Early modern culture defined “male” and “female” as polar opposites. Onto these identifiers were mapped a wide range of associated dualities, ranging from the “natural” (hot/cold, dry/wet, right/left, male/female) to more highly charged moral categories (honorable/dishonorable, legitimate/illegitimate, order/disorder, good/evil, God/Devil). This hierarchical dual classification system—variants of which have flourished in many parts of the world, at many different times—categorically differentiated between male and female, privileging men over women as both spiritual and rational beings in ways that underpinned social order and hierarchy. During the last decades of the sixteenth century, inevitably, confessional identity began to be discussed and considered in these terms—terms that exacerbated religious polarity and misogyny, in England as well as elsewhere in Europe.<sup>15</sup> Yet in the sixteenth century, this schema was not yet fixed to biologically incommensurate categories of male and female, as it was to become over the seventeenth century. Instead, a one-sex model of gender identity prevailed, as it had done from classical antiquity. In this model, writes Thomas Laqueur, “men and women were arrayed according to their degree of metaphysical perfection, their vital heat, along an axis whose *telos* was male.” The dominance of the one-sex model of gender identities meant that these ordering dualities were fluid—contestable—to an extent that we find hard to recapture, and with consequences of considerable

<sup>13</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (1970; rpt. edn., London, 1989), charts the shift in *episteme*. Carole Pateman describes “masculine right” as the successor to classical patriarchy in, *inter alia*, “‘God Hath Ordained to Man a Helper’: Hobbes, Patriarchy and Conjugal Right,” in *Feminist Interpretations and Political Theory*, Mary Lyndon Shanley and Pateman, eds. (Cambridge, 1991), 53–73. In his classic survey of patriarchal political thought in the Renaissance, Gordon J. Schochet identifies the seventeenth century as the period when familial reasoning was first used as direct justification of political obligation; previously, the connections between family order and political structure had been exploited “only desultorily.” *Patriarchalism in Political Thought: The Authoritarian Family and Political Speculation and Attitudes Especially in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1975), 19, 155.

<sup>14</sup> Quoted in Bernard Capp, “The Political Dimension of Apocalyptic Thought,” in *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature: Patterns, Antecedents and Repercussions*, C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, eds. (Manchester, 1984), 98.

<sup>15</sup> Stuart Clark, “The ‘Gendering’ of Witchcraft in French Demonology: Misogyny or Polarity?” *French History* 5, no. 4 (1991): 426–37. My thanks to Sir Keith Thomas for pointing me in the direction of Clark’s work.

significance to the history of political thought. Because they did not obviously inhere in that culturally central metaphor of the body, they constantly had to be rearticulated, reaffirmed, and imposed—from outside and from above. Nowhere is this fluidity better exemplified than in the contemporary conviction that, without constant attention to identifying and shoring up “natural” divisions, even that most fundamental opposition between “male” and “female” might collapse, turning women into men, making men effeminate, and plunging society into chaos.<sup>16</sup> It is equally evident in the gender dynamics of European Protestant reformation, charted by recent historians and characterized by one as “intensely masculine.”<sup>17</sup> In the particular case of Elizabethan England, so recently rescued from the dark night of the return to Rome, these assumptions meant that Mary Queen of Scots’s status even as queen-in-waiting threatened the triumph of Antichrist, not least because of its implications for Elizabeth’s queenship. For, if it were just possible that God might exercise an extraordinary providence and allow Elizabeth a godly role in the British saga of reformation and redemption—the case argued by Protestant apologists from the moment of her accession—this dispensation, by definition, could extend no further without invalidating her exceptional status and hence the promise of reformation itself. Even before Mary returned to Scotland from France in 1561 to take up the role of queen regnant, that fearsome man of God John Knox warned William Cecil that this danger was inescapably attached to Elizabeth’s queenship. “The time is come that Christ must reign, and the hearts of inhabitants [of England and Scotland] be joined together,” he wrote. Elizabeth’s own accession—otherwise utterly repugnant to God’s will because of her sex—was proof of the providential moment. But English privy councilors must beware lest, “in establishing one who is indeed godly and profitable to her country [Elizabeth], [you] give interest, and title, to many who would bring their country into bondage, and slavery.”<sup>18</sup>

By asserting that antipathy to female rule was central to the orchestrated anti-Catholic campaign that was conducted in the late sixteenth century, I do not mean to suggest that fear and hatred of Catholics and Catholicism had not existed before the latter part of the sixteenth century. Undoubtedly they had. They were an inevitable concomitant of European Protestant reformation, cultivated by reformers of all stripes intent on using every polemical tool at their disposal to hasten the triumph of the True Church. But it is equally true that English anti-Catholicism changed character decisively at this point in ways that have had important consequences for the history of the English-speaking world.<sup>19</sup> Nor has a convincing explanation been advanced for the change. Historians of the sixteenth century often present it, explicitly or implicitly, as the inevitable consequence of Catholic

<sup>16</sup> For the one-sex model, see Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 6–8, 61–62.

<sup>17</sup> Lyndal Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1994); Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981), 75–76.

<sup>18</sup> M. J. Thorpe, ed., *Calendar of the State Papers relating to Scotland 1509–1603 and the State Papers relating to Mary, Queen of Scots during Her Detention in England, 1568–1587*, 2 vols. (London, 1858), 2: 112 (hereafter, *CSP Scot*).

<sup>19</sup> Michael A. R. Graves, *Thomas Norton: The Parliament Man* (London, 1994), identifies the years 1568–1572 as a “watershed,” 159.

counterreformation aggression, manifested in the near conjunction of the 1569 rebellion of the northern earls and the 1570 papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* that excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth.<sup>20</sup> Yet the evidence for this view is weak, despite its strenuous assertion by contemporary polemicists. The rebel earls were certainly proponents of the “old religion,” and they equally clearly disliked and distrusted the “new men,” whom they saw as undermining the principle of blood entitlement in their attempt to promote religious innovation. The rebels thus posed a clear threat to the regime—but this was because their defense of the old nobility, and hence Mary’s blood claim to succession, resonated among the elite, not because of their alleged militant Catholicism. As the Protestant earl of Sussex wrote to William Cecil in November 1569, “He is a rare bird, that, by one means or other, hath not some of his with the . . . Earls, or in his heart wisheth not well to the cause they pretend.” But he concluded, reassuringly, “The Earls, as you write, be old in blood, but poor in force.”<sup>21</sup> Similarly, the connection between the papal bull and the rebellion seems to have been a retrospective creation, most forcefully elaborated by Thomas Norton, premier anti-papal polemicist for the Elizabethan regime.<sup>22</sup> The bull was not actually published until after the rebellion. Indeed, it was not originally even published in England at all. Norton’s biographer, M. A. R. Graves, concludes that it seems to have been intended as a theoretical position paper, one that was designed for consumption by a European audience. Like Weiner, he finds himself baffled by the regime’s determination to find conspiracy where none existed, its insistence—for which he finds “no real evidence”—that England was an embattled Protestant bastion surrounded by hostile powers and threatened from within by Catholic fifth columnists.<sup>23</sup>

If the near conjunction of the papal bull and the Northern Rebellion does not explain the change in character of English anti-Catholicism, 1570 still remains a key date in its career. The key event, however, belongs to a British history whose parameters and meanings have only recently moved into the historiographical mainstream.<sup>24</sup> That event was the assassination in 1570 of James Stewart, the earl of Moray, zealous leader of the Scottish Lords of the Congregation and illegitimate half-brother of Mary Queen of Scots. “God could not have blessed these two kingdoms with greater felicity than, if one of the two queens had been a king,” William Cecil told his monarch, Elizabeth, in 1560. For then, the two kingdoms might be united politically, through a marriage that would confirm and entrench the

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, G. R. Elton, *The Parliament of England 1559–1581* (Cambridge, 1986), 181–82.

<sup>21</sup> Sir Cuthbert Sharp, ed., *Memorials of the Rebellion of 1569* (London, 1840), 56.

<sup>22</sup> I use Wallace MacCaffrey’s definition of the “Elizabethan regime”: men who were “partisans of the new queen, but who, even more importantly, shared a common outlook on the political world”; men who “acted as a common association for loosely defined but clearly understood ends”—to which commitment to militant Protestantism was central. MacCaffrey convincingly locates William Cecil (later Lord Burghley) as the leading figure in this association. See *The Shaping of the Elizabethan Regime* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), esp. 35–39, 68, 99, 169–72, 303–04. In what follows, I use “councilors of state” as a synonymous, slightly less anachronistic, term.

<sup>23</sup> Graves, *Thomas Norton*, esp. 147–59; Weiner, “Beleaguered Isle,” 27, 30–33.

<sup>24</sup> For the necessity of this new approach, see J. G. A. Pocock, “British History: A Plea for a New Subject,” *Journal of Modern History* 47 (1975): 601–28. For an indication of how the field has grown and diversified since that inaugural plea, see Margot Finn, “Editor’s Introduction,” *Journal of British Studies* 36 (1997): 1–3. For some current perspectives, see the *AHR Forum* “The New British History in Atlantic Perspective,” *AHR* 104 (April 1999).

union in hearts that was signaled by Scotland's adoption of Protestantism at the very moment of England's providential return to the Protestant fold. And, indeed, for one brief moment—before Mary's return to Scotland in 1561—it appeared as though this miracle might be effected through the simple human (if revolutionary) expedient of substituting Moray for the absent Mary on the Scottish throne.<sup>25</sup> Daunted but resolute once Mary's return made this impossible, English privy councilors and their godly Scottish colleagues pursued an alternative strategy throughout the 1560s—but with the same end very much in view. They explored the possibility of a marriage between England's Protestant princess and a Scottish godly prince. Their proposal of choice was for a marriage to be contracted between Elizabeth and Moray—with James Hamilton, third earl of Arran, another Protestant male near-claimant to the Scottish crown, as first reserve.<sup>26</sup> This strategy failed when Elizabeth rejected her proposed suitors. In response, particularly when Mary's deposition in 1567 made Moray regent and acting king of Scotland, they adopted a more radical but still, within these cultural parameters, tenable position. They proceeded on the tacit assumption that, in the terms of this British union in Christ, Moray's royal blood situated him as in effect king to Elizabeth's queen, his illegitimacy counteracted by his ideological conviction and his gender. This move also positioned Mary's son, the infant James VI, as the fruit of this "marriage," possessor of Tudor and Stuart blood royal but protected from maternal taint due to his education and environment—and Mary's incarceration in England after her flight there in 1568.<sup>27</sup>

Moray's death thus provoked a succession crisis because it brought the problem of the two queens back into political prominence, in a form exacerbated, as we shall see, by Mary's maternity and Elizabeth's continued sterility. By 1570, the problem for the Protestant ascendancy became, as it remained, how to nullify Mary's claims to political authority without simultaneously invalidating Elizabeth's. Zealous Protestant Scottish and English men, including George Buchanan, William Cecil, John Day, John Foxe, John Knox, Thomas Norton, and Thomas Wilson, grappled with this problem. Their revolutionary circumstances dictated that they must effectually distinguish between two queens. They had to allow for rule by the one and absolutely disallow rule by the other, in order to secure the imperial crown until a true king—a godly Protestant male, figured at this point by the young James VI—arrived to join and rule both realms. How, then, to assimilate Elizabeth to the right hand and convincingly allocate Mary to the left? Their solution lay in

<sup>25</sup> *CSP Scot*, 2: 80; Gordon Donaldson, *The Scottish Reformation* (Cambridge, 1960), 138. I would like to thank Arthur Williamson for providing me with this reference. If Moray's illegitimacy were disregarded, he would stand next in succession to the Scottish crown, on the basis of his status as James V's son, and would have a strong claim to the English through his descent from Henry VIII's elder sister, Margaret. For Moray, see Maurice Lee, *James Stewart, Earl of Moray: A Political Study of the Reformation in Scotland* (Westport, Conn., 1953).

<sup>26</sup> Like Moray, Hamilton was descended from Scottish kings—but through the female line.

<sup>27</sup> I say "in effect," but "in the abstract" would be equally appropriate. What we see here is an example of the process by which ideological conviction forces men to think beyond the historical paradigm in which they find themselves by using and transforming existing language and discourse patterns. In this case, the *langue* is that blood kinship and inheritance, the *parole* Protestant ideological conviction. For *langue*, *parole*, and paradigmatic discourse, see J. G. A. Pocock, "The Concept of a Language and the *Métier d'historien*: Some Considerations on Practice," in *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*, Anthony Pagden, ed. (Cambridge, 1987), 19–38.



articulating entrenched cultural convictions about women's nature to another powerful polarity, under construction from the time of the Henrician Reformation: the history of the ceaseless battle between the True Church and Antichrist.<sup>28</sup> Above all, they found inspiration in and drew on the typology of female identities that informed John Bale's contribution to that story in his book *The Image of Both Churches*. In their writings, a virginal Elizabeth, presented as the Woman Clothed with the Sun and wedded both to God and the male Protestant nation, stood submissively yet valiantly four-square against the ceaseless machinations of the arch-seductress Mary, associated through her female identity with tyranny, treason, the pope, and Antichrist (see Figure 1). Yet the literalization of this apocalyptic typology was intensely problematic. Claire McEachern has shown just how moot, how difficult to sustain, any such binary formulation must be, in a culture that held female subordination to be the ideological norm and in which, consequently, the category of "woman" was itself unstable.<sup>29</sup> The anti-Catholic campaign, so assiduously and ultimately so successfully waged from the 1570s onward, was conducted in part to "fix" this duality, and hence to identify securely the homology of monarch, state, and religion as, in England, a masculine political order: one fronted, for the moment, by a queen but headed by God.

It is important to bear in mind that these actors did not intend to disallow, or even significantly to discount, blood right. Instead, their campaign was in the nature of a holding action, necessary until God rewarded their revolutionary actions by establishing a line of virile British Protestant kings. Inevitably, however, despite their intentions, their actions privileged election in relation to blood status and forwarded the definition of election as a secular sanction supported, in a godly nation, by divine right. These developments ultimately allowed for the creation of the English republic during the Interregnum, as they determined much of its character. The genesis of English anti-Catholicism thus provides an example of an important phenomenon identified by Quentin Skinner. Local ideological maneuvers can produce consequences that prove to be both highly significant for the history of political thought and largely if not entirely unanticipated by the original actors, indeed, even counterproductive to their conscious intentions.<sup>30</sup> My argument also builds on and extends the work of Eamon Duffy and Christopher Haigh, among others, who have challenged established orthodoxy by showing that the English Protestant Reformation was forwarded and maintained by a small but remarkably committed and influential zealous minority who faced a population apathetic, if not antipathetic, to what was still regarded, in the 1590s, as the "new religion."<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> For this notion of articulation, see Stuart Hall's classic article, "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular,'" in *People's History and Socialist Theory*, Raphael Samuel, ed. (London, 1981), 227–40. For this history before the watershed I am charting, see Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge, 1994), chap. 2; and Jacqueline A. Vanhoutte, "Engendering England: The Restructuring of Allegiance in the Writings of Richard Morison and John Bale," *Renaissance and Reformation*, n.s., 20 (1996): 49–77.

<sup>29</sup> Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590–1612* (Cambridge, 1996), 38.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, his history of the concept of "The State," in *Political Innovation and Conceptual Change*, Terence Ball, James Farr, and Russell L. Hanson, eds. (1989; rpt. edn., Cambridge, 1995), 90–131; and, for a sensitive—and generous—assessment of Skinner's procedure, James Tully, "The Pen Is a Mighty Sword: Quentin Skinner's Analysis of Politics," in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, Tully, ed. (Cambridge, 1988), 7–25.

<sup>31</sup> Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, c. 1400–c. 1580* (New



**The Image**  
 The. xviij. chapter beginneth, wherein an  
 Angel sheweth unto John the iudgement  
 of the great whore, whiche sitteth upon the  
 beast. He describeth both her and the beast  
 at large. Finally he sheweth the meane way  
 both of hys heades and hornes, wpth other  
 great millerpes more.

The poore persecuted church of Christ,  
 or immaculate spouse of the lambe,



**Apoca. 12.**  
 The dragon was wrothe wpth the wo-  
 man whiche fledde into the wilde-  
 nesse, and went and made warre wpth the rem-  
 naunce of her seede, which kepe the commaundment  
 of God, and haue the testimonie of Iesus  
 Christ

of both churches.

The proude painted church of the po-  
 pe, or sumeful Spinnagoge of sathan,



**Apoca. 17.**

I sawe a woman sitte upon a roste  
 tured beaste, full of names of blasphemie,  
 decked with golde, precious stone, and pear-  
 les, wpth whome the knyghtes of the earthe  
 committed whoredome, and the inhabyters  
 of the earthe are drunken wpth the wyne of  
 her fornication,

In other d.

Imprynted at London by Richard  
 Jugge &c.

FIGURE 1: John Bale, *The Image of Both Churches*. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Tanner 152. Signature tiiij verso–tiij recto, “The Proud Painted Church & The Poore Persecuted Church,” from *The Image of Both Churches . . . by John Bale* (1550).

I will make this case in three stages. I begin by depicting the “fraternal bond” between England and Scotland, with particular reference to the relationship between English councilors of state and the earl of Moray.<sup>32</sup> I then investigate the anti-Marian polemic that circulated in the wake of Moray’s assassination to establish how an existing language of misogyny was deployed to establish a “good queen, bad queen” opposition. The conclusion explores the fundamental transformation of that polemic that occurred with the move to apocalyptic typologies by examining works by two of its most influential architects, Thomas Norton and John

Haven, Conn., 1992); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford, 1993). See also Lucy E. C. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford, 2000).

<sup>32</sup> See Carole Pateman, “The Fraternal Social Contract,” in *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*, Pateman, ed. (Cambridge, 1989), 33–57.

Foxe. Finally, I consider the political consequences for Anglo-American political discourse.

BEGINNING IN 1559—WHEN GOD DELIVERED SCOTLAND from the thralldom of Mary's mother, Mary of Guise—Scottish Lords of the Congregation, English privy councilors, and other similarly ideologically committed Protestant men worked to create a union between the two realms that would secure Britain's status as home and seedbed of the True Church. Their envisaged amity was conceived of in providential—if not yet apocalyptic—terms as a marriage in Christ. Sustained by fraternal bonds among godly men, this marriage would secure a Protestant “masculine succession” for the united isle. From 1566, when Mary produced a son, even more so in the following year, when her deposition cleared his way to the Scottish throne, this project was understood to be centered in the Protestant Stewarts: the child James, protected by his uncle James Stewart, earl of Moray, the “good regent.”<sup>33</sup> Although vastly difficult in its early stages, as all revolutions are—and very largely because of Elizabeth's hostility—the amity could be challenged but not overthrown as long as Moray governed Scotland, either through Mary or (after she was deposed) in his own right.<sup>34</sup> In 1567, Cecil wrote to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton that he would be “very sorry . . . to behold the loss of the fruits of seven or eight years negotiation with Scotland, and now to suffer a divorce between the two realms” because of Elizabeth's anger over Mary's deposition. He consoled himself with the reflection that “if religion . . . may remain, . . . the divorce will be in words [rather] than in hearts, especially if my Lord Moray takes upon him the government.”<sup>35</sup> Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, Sir Walter Mildmay, and the earl of Bedford shared Cecil's evaluation of the man whom no less a figure than Theodore Beza identified as Scotland's “illustrious deliverer.”<sup>36</sup> On August 20, Throckmorton wrote to Cecil, anticipating both Moray's imminent elevation to the regency and his godly political program. Moray would protect James's kingship and defend to the death his fellow revolutionaries: “he will have obedience for the young king of all estates within this realm or it shall cost him his life . . . He is

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, letters between English privy councilors and the Lords of the Congregation, in *CSP Scot*, 1: 109–15. In representative vein, on July 27, 1559, the Privy Council wrote to the Lords of the Congregation of their “satisfaction at their good meaning towards God's glory . . . [They] trust their famous isles may be conjoined in heart as it is in continent, in one uniformity of language, manners, and conditions”; 114. See also Sir Nicholas Throckmorton's letter to Elizabeth of July 19, 1567, BL, Add. 4126, fols. 99–104. For Moray as the “good regent,” see the *Dictionary of National Biography* entry.

<sup>34</sup> As the earl of Argyll and the earl of Moray wrote to Sir James Croft, governor of Berwick and future privy councilor, in 1559: they were “sorry they should be judged slow or negligent [in forwarding the amity]; he knows how difficult it is to persuade a multitude to revolt against authority.” *CSP Scot*, 1: 116.

<sup>35</sup> That is, Elizabeth's words, uttered by her councilors, and her councilors' hearts. Cecil to Throckmorton, August 20, 1567, *CSP Scot*, 2: 844.

<sup>36</sup> Joseph Stevenson, ed., *Selections from Unpublished Manuscripts in the College of Arms and the British Museum Illustrating the Reign of Mary Queen of Scotland, 1543–68* (Glasgow, 1837), Throckmorton to Cecil, July 1567, 225; Mildmay to Cecil, August 1567, 264–65: “she has accorded to this resignation of her estate; a marvellous tragedy if a man respect it from the beginning, showing the issue of such as live not in the fear of God. If the government rest only in the earl of Moray, it will be well . . . for establishing of religion and continuance of amity here.” Mildmay to Throckmorton, August 1567, Bedford to Cecil, March 1566; *CSP Scot*, 2: 843–44, 1: 230.

resolved to defend those lords and gentlemen that have taken this matter in hand, though all the princes in Christendom would band against them." In his aims and resolution, he should be compared "rather [to] some which have led the people of Israel, than any captain of our age."<sup>37</sup> The anonymous author of *A Discourse Touching the Pretended Match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots* told Elizabeth that God had raised up Moray in order to secure "perfect union" between the two realms during the nonage of the young king. He admonished her to "make that account of him, that he deserveth."<sup>38</sup> Moray's deserts evidently included claiming the throne in his own right to lead a nation of British Israelites, should the young king die without issue. In 1569, Elizabeth felt compelled to deny—rather unconvincingly, in view of the documentary evidence—"Reports on Scottish Succession." In a proclamation addressed to "all persons, both English and Scottish, that are disposed to hear the truth," Elizabeth denied reports that a deal had been done between her and Moray or (a less credible denial) between him and her councilors to secure that perfect union officially. The provisos of this alleged (and denied) deal? First, that the infant James would be "delivered into England" for the use of the English. Second, that the earl of Moray "should be declared legitimate to succeed to the crown of Scotland after the decease of the young Prince or King without bairns": a statistical likelihood, given infant morality rates and Scottish politics.<sup>39</sup>

Thus, for councilors of state—and specifically, now, English councilors of state—Moray's assassination in 1570 inaugurated a new and dangerous state of affairs. This peculiar interregnum would persist until their object of desire, the now four-year-old Scottish king James VI, attained adulthood, Protestant rectitude, and the English crown. And, alarmingly, it brought the deposed Mary Queen of Scots back into the political arena, both as potential incumbent of the Scottish throne and powerful claimant to the English, legitimated through her queenly status, her blood, and her maternity. In the first instance, the resulting power vacuum in Scotland provoked a legitimist backlash, with even erstwhile revolutionaries among the Lords of the Congregation pleading that Mary, their legitimate queen, be restored to the Scottish throne, to rule by herself or in association with her young son.<sup>40</sup> The

<sup>37</sup> Stevenson, *Selections*, 282.

<sup>38</sup> *A Discourse Touching the Pretended Match between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots* (London, 1571?), fols. Aviii.v–np, STC 13869. Pollard and Redgrave speculate authorship by Thomas Norton, Thomas Sampson, or Francis Walsingham.

<sup>39</sup> Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols. (New Haven, Conn., 1969), vol. 2, "Denying Reports on Scottish Succession," 307–09. Note the qualified wording: these reports are false and untrue "howsoever it be said or written by any person, of what state soever the same be . . . [T]here was never convention nor accord betwixt her Majesty and the said Earl, nor betwixt him and any her ministers, to her Majesty's knowledge." Elizabeth added, in even more qualified terms, that "she esteemeth all other reports false that are said also to be made of any league . . . betwixt the Earl of Moray and the Earl of Hertford." Hertford was at this point a leading Protestant male candidate for the English throne in his own person as well as through his two sons. Interestingly, at the same time, Elizabeth found it necessary to deny the accusation that she (or they?) had made a contract with Moray "to the prejudice and peril of James VI"; *CSP Scot*, 1: 268. Rumors abounded during this period that James VI was to be done away with; at the behest of which ideological grouping seemed to be the key question.

<sup>40</sup> See, for example, Maitland of Lethington's *cri de coeur* to the earl of Sussex, July 16, 1570, *CSP Scot*, 1: 298. See also 281, 334. Throughout 1571 and 1572, Elizabeth was at odds with her councilors, as she worked to effect some arrangement that would restore Mary to her rights in the teeth of their

backlash provided Elizabeth with ammunition to continue her own campaign to restore Mary to her hereditary rights. These inevitably included the right, through blood, to succeed to the English throne, should Elizabeth continue to play the marriage game rather than acting in good faith to secure heirs of her own body.<sup>41</sup> And indeed, Mary's blood entitlement was commanding: she, like her cousin Elizabeth, was lineally descended from Henry VII. Moreover, unlike her cousin Elizabeth, no doubts attached to her legitimacy—and nothing but royal blood flowed in her veins. No wonder that Cecil and his colleagues responded by attempting to prevent declension and counterrevolutionary drift. In October 1570, they drafted "A Declaration How in Certain Cases It Shall Be Ordered That No Innovation Be Made in the Government of Scotland Different from the State Wherein It Was at the Death of the Earl of Moray" (which did not secure Elizabeth's backing).<sup>42</sup>

Even Mary's sex was not an unqualified drawback in this campaign, perhaps especially since it was conducted in circumstances where her nearest royal blood relations were a woman and a child, her cousin Elizabeth and her son James. Patriarchal (or "well-ordered") societies allowed for female rule, as the Catholic polemicist John Leslie never tired of pointing out, because in "well-ordered" societies female rulers were subsumed in the headship of the pope. It was only "maister Knox his own good scholars, and such of his affinity, that have set up and erected a jolie new school . . . teaching that it is not lawful for a woman prince to have civil governance."<sup>43</sup> Moreover, Mary's claims were very much strengthened by her status as mother of a king (present or future, depending on one's political alignment). Men from across the ideological spectrum could agree on the natural superiority of male rule. The question that increasingly dominated political debate over these years throughout a Europe torn by confessional strife was how far one

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opposition. Cecil nailed his colors to the mast (in a characteristically indirect form) by adding an addendum to "Articles Generally Containing the Intention of the Queen's Majesty [Elizabeth] for the Reducing of the Realm of Scotland to an Inward Peace" (January 31, 1572). In an addition "of more secrecy" and in his hand, the Scots were told that they must "directly understand that the Queen of Scots hath of late attempted such, and so many, enterprises against the Queen of England, that her Majesty will never suffer her to have liberty to attempt the like again, and, therefore, that any expectation of her ruling alone, by restitution to her realm, or jointly with her son, is in vain." *CSP Scot*, 1: 338.

<sup>41</sup> For the English politics of marriage during this period, see Anne McLaren, "The Quest for a King: Gender, Marriage and Succession in Elizabethan England," *Journal of British Studies* 41, no. 3 (July 2002), forthcoming.

<sup>42</sup> *CSP Scot*, 1: 307.

<sup>43</sup> John Leslie, *A Defense of the Honour of Marie Quene of Scotland* (London, 1569), fols. 29v–r. Although dated 1569, the title page of the Scholar Press facsimile edition—which I use here—announces that the book was "made by Morgan Phillips bachelor [sic] of Divinity Ano 1570." The lineage dates from Sir John Fortescue, who retracted his voluminous and detailed strictures against the succession of the crown to or through a woman on the grounds that papal supremacy nullified the biblical prohibition: "that every woman is under the power and lordship of some one man . . . may not be denied; for every woman is under the power and lordship of the pope, which is a man, and the vicar of Christ, God and man . . . Wherefore the foresaid text of Genesis . . . may not prove that a woman may not reign in a kingdom . . . sithen she abideth alway [sic] subject to the pope." "The Declaration Made by Sir John Fortescue Knight upon Certain Writings Sent out of Scotland against the King's Title to His Realm of England," in Thomas (Fortescue) Lord Clermont, ed., *The Works of Sir John Fortescue* (London, 1869), 524–40, esp. 533–34. A number of manuscript copies of this important text survived and circulated in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including one in the possession of the earl of Leicester.

might or should go in adopting artificial means to achieve “natural” ends, and related attempts to categorically identify the True Church. Mary’s motherhood suggested that time itself—like maternity, a powerful symbol of natural process—would heal the rupture in the natural order represented by the two queens, at least with regard to gender hierarchy and blood inheritance. In glaring contrast to Elizabeth, John Leslie pointed out, Mary had produced “a noble imp,” to succeed to the throne “when the time and law calleth him thereto.”<sup>44</sup> His implication, here as in his *Defense of the Honour of Marie Quene of Scotland* as a whole, was that the male succession desired by all parties would be more safely and legitimately secured by reversion to customary law in place of revolutionary principle. If the prospect of Mary as Scottish or English queen was, and remained, anathema to Elizabeth’s councilors—on the grounds both of her sex and her religious convictions—there is little evidence that their aversion was widely shared in the quarters where it mattered. In England at this time, seemingly, blood trumped Protestant ideological conviction and sanctioned even female Catholic rule, especially in the case of a married woman who had produced a male heir of the blood.<sup>45</sup> The 1566 Parliament, which met after James VI’s birth, gave rise to heated discussion about the succession. On November 13, the Scot Robert Melville reported to the archbishop of Glasgow that Elizabeth and her privy councilors had agreed that the matter should be dropped, despite the likely unpopularity of this decision. According to Melville, their agreement arose from (revealingly) different causes: the queen objected to discussion in the Lower House of a matter that she regarded as her prerogative, her councilors because “in case the title had come to voting it was thought the judges and grave men with the most part of the nobility” would have recognized Mary’s claim.<sup>46</sup> Finally, perversely, from the point of view of her opponents, Mary’s position may well have been strengthened by the attention to union in Christ between the two realms that had suffused political discourse since the accession to power of the two queens. Might it not be the case that Moray’s death signaled not the withdrawal of God’s grace from the isle but rather His decision to effect union, in time, through the person of a woman who could claim, through blood, status, and maternity, to be “King and Queen of England and Scotland”?<sup>47</sup>

The dangers of this new situation were considerably increased by the likelihood of a marriage between Mary Queen of Scots and Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. This marriage, which had been under consideration since 1568, would add another potent layer of legitimacy to Mary’s claims. Given the contemporary understanding

<sup>44</sup> Leslie, *Defense*, fol. 29v.

<sup>45</sup> It is worth remembering that Lord Darnley, Mary’s husband and James VI’s father, traced his descent, and his claim to the crown, back to Henry VII—as did Mary.

<sup>46</sup> Stevenson, *Selections*, November 13, 1566, 166–67.

<sup>47</sup> *Salutem in Christo* (London, 1571), STC 11504, fol. A7v. Anonymous, possibly by Richard Grafton but possibly by Cecil, according to Gabriel Harvey (see Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia and Library* [Oxford, 1979], 215). The British Library Catalogue of Printed Books accepts this attribution. Publication dates in this kind of polemic are often hard to establish, not least because of the propensity of some (for instance, Buchanan and the author of the *Discourse Touching the Pretended Match*) to write as though Moray were still alive, when internal evidence makes it apparent that they are writing after his death. I have given the “official” dates but have flagged such discrepancies in cases where they are meaningful.



of the marriage bond, she would, at its consummation, be subsumed in the person of the “chief peer of the realm of England,” a position that could be seen as largely offsetting her Scottish and Catholic identities.<sup>48</sup> After Moray’s assassination, the proposed marriage certainly fueled the depiction of Norfolk as at best a crypto-Catholic, as we shall see. But it was only symptomatic of the larger problem that English councilors confronted in this changed political landscape: how to distinguish effectually between the two queens, in terms that would promote allegiance to Elizabeth’s queenship in anticipation of a Protestant king. This continued to be the central question in English politics until Mary’s eventual execution in 1587.

Their initial response was to draw on the propaganda that had paved the way for Mary’s deposition from the Scottish throne—propaganda that they themselves had both connived at and actively forwarded. This attack announced a figure whose character compounded women’s natural weaknesses with perversities engrafted by her position and upbringing. It vilified Mary as sexually incontinent and hence murderous and tyrannical. The three traits—here arranged in ascending order as they were difficult to prove—were asserted as interdependent propositions.<sup>49</sup> In English hands, it became a means of contrasting a woman whose constitution should disqualify her from the exercise of political authority with “our natural lady and mistress,” Queen Elizabeth.<sup>50</sup> Confessional allegiance was certainly central to this attack, as English councilors of state fought a rearguard action against Mary’s new status, but it was conceived and formulated in traditional gendered terms. John Knox’s voice was characteristically forceful but as yet out of tune, in his denunciation of Mary as irredeemable first and foremost on the grounds of her religion.<sup>51</sup>

Both the attack and the use made of it by English councilors in their hour of need are demonstrated by a pamphlet written by George Buchanan, but amended and published in London in 1572 as *Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes*. Buchanan, the author of the best-known defense of Scotland’s revolution, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, was both a zealous Protestant and a partisan of the earl of Moray. He had links with English statesmen that ran through the English ambassador to Scotland, Thomas Randolph, to, among others, William Cecil, the earl of Leicester, and Francis Walsingham. Symbolic of his status in the new order

<sup>48</sup> See Nicholas Throckmorton, explaining his grudging respect for Mary: “during her husband’s life there was no great account made of her, for that, being under the band of marriage and subjection of her husband . . . there was offered no great occasion to know what was in her.” Quoted in Plowden, *Two Queens in One Isle*, 59.

<sup>49</sup> See Throckmorton’s report to Elizabeth on the outcome of the Lords of the Congregation’s conference about Mary’s deposition, July 23, 1567, *CSP Scot*, 2: 841. We are dealing here with a Protestant variant of the mirror for princes tradition, for which see J. H. Burns, *The True Law of Kingship: Concepts of Monarchy in Early-Modern Scotland* (Oxford, 1996), 2.

<sup>50</sup> See W. A. Gatherer’s introduction to his edition of Buchanan’s writings, *The Tyrannous Reign of Mary Stewart: George Buchanan’s Account* (Edinburgh, 1958), esp. 26.

<sup>51</sup> Knox’s frustration that his is a lone voice is evident in a letter written to a friend in England in August 1569 about the proposed Norfolk-Stuart match: “I see England become more foolish, than foolish Scotland. For foolish Scotland would not obey the mouth of God, when he had delivered that vile adulteress, and cruel murderer of her own husband, in their own hands, to have suffered, as her iniquity deserved . . . In the meantime, what doeth England, some time reputed, in judgment and counsel, nothing inferior to the wisest in Europe? Doeth it travail to amend our errors, and to take away God’s vengeance, which inevitably must fall upon that wicked woman, and upon all that assist and maintain her in that impiety? I hear, alas! the contrary. For, uniting of the two realms, by marriage of that wicked woman upon the man to whom I wish a better luck [the duke of Norfolk], is here divulged.” David Laing, ed., *The Works of John Knox*, 6 vols. (Edinburgh, 1846–64), vol. 6 (2), 566–67.



was the fact that he was charged with the education of James VI, appointed his tutor when Moray's death deprived the young king of the man who should have been his model and guide. Buchanan had already composed libels against Mary Queen of Scots; he may have forged the notorious Casket Letters that sought to implicate Mary in the murder of her husband by "proving" her adulterous passion for the earl of Bothwell.<sup>52</sup> Buchanan's original *Detectio Mariae Reginae* depicted Mary as a woman overmastered by lust, drawing on the powerful homology of the person of the monarch and the state of his or her realm to justify her removal from office. Mary was "a woman burning in hatred of her husband, and in love of an adulterer, and in both these diseases of corrupt affections unbridled, untemperable by her estate."<sup>53</sup> Her rage to possess the earl of Bothwell inflamed her lust for absolute power: "greedily coveting untempered authority, [she] esteemed the laws her prison, and the bridle of justice her bondage." Only one man could act as "bridler of her licentiousness"—Moray, "a man of great reputation and power, and in highest favour with all estates." Him she plotted to destroy, along with her son, to forward her intention "to set up a tyrannical regiment." Buchanan's gendered reading of matrimony enabled him to argue that the simple fact of Mary's (alleged) adulterous passion, quite apart from these particulars, signaled her determination to "dissolve and confound all order of nature": "For matrimony (as the Apostle [Paul] saith) doth truly contain a great mystery. For . . . it compriseth within it all inferior kinds of duties, so being broken it overthroweth them all. Whoso hath misused his father, seemeth to have cast out of his heart all natural reverence: but for the husband's sake, one shall leave both father and mother." In this passage, he also explicitly links "the violating of matrimony and of royal majesty," so that by its end Mary stands accused of transgressing against varieties of majesty represented by herself and four male figures: her son, her brother (Moray), her husband Lord Darnley, and God himself. "[W]hoso not only violateth, but also despiseth [matrimony and royal majesty] . . . seemeth he not, as much as in him lieth, to have a desire to pull God out of heaven?" After Darnley's murder, on this reading, her status as "king and queen" announced itself not in the form of a legitimate claim to a conjoined crown but through blatantly transgressive perversion. She "went daily into the fields among ruffians . . . to exercise manly pastimes, and that among men and openly. So lightly she despised the opinion and speech of her country."<sup>54</sup>

The English version of the *Detectio* announced itself simply as a translation "out of the Latin quhilke [which] was written by G.B." (George Buchanan). But, as James Phillips has shown, it was actually produced by English councilors, specifically William Cecil and Thomas Wilson, ably assisted by their printer and publisher

<sup>52</sup> Gatherer, *Tyrannous Reign*, 15–17. The Casket Letters were letters that were purportedly written by Mary to the earl of Bothwell. They gave full evidence of her passion for him, as well as her complicity in the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley. They were preserved in a silver casket (hence the name) and surfaced at key points in Mary's deposition and her subsequent interrogation at Westminster in 1568. Scholars continue to disagree about their authenticity.

<sup>53</sup> *Ane Detectioun of the Duinges of Marie Quene of Scottes* (London, 1572), STC 3981, fol. Hiii.r. I have used the English translation (which I discuss below), but here I draw only from the sections that were translated from Buchanan's Latin version.

<sup>54</sup> *Detectioun*, Giii.r; fols. Niiii.r–Oi.v (there is a deliberately ambiguous reference to "a sister [who] hath butcherly slaughtered her brother" at fol. Oi.r); fol. Miii.r.

of choice, the ardent Protestant John Day.<sup>55</sup> Day paved the way for this English version by first printing Buchanan's Latin original, with some additional material and three of the more incriminating Casket Letters. The revised pamphlet was presented as having been authored by Buchanan, but the additional material was actually written, with Cecil's knowledge, by Thomas Wilson, Marian exile, militant Protestant, and (from 1578) privy councilor and secretary of state. Wilson then translated both the Latin *Detectio* and his own additional material into what he referred to (in a letter to Cecil) as "handsome Scottish." This production, to which was appended all eight of the original Casket Letters, was printed in London, probably by John Day, in 1572. But it differed in one significant particular from Buchanan's work. The last page concluded the sustained attack on Mary's chastity with a dramatic adjuration—in the very large typeface used at the time to announce important material (and in Wilson's "handsome Scottish"):

NOW JUDGE ENGLISHMEN IF IT BE GUD TO CHANGE QUENIS.<sup>56</sup>

Evidence for the perceived importance of this editorial amendment comes from two different sources. First, the nearly simultaneous publication of the anonymous *Copie of a Letter Written by One in London to His Friend concernyng the Credit of the Late Published Detection of the Doings of the Ladie Marie of Scotland*. Written to persuade Englishmen of Buchanan's exemplary status—and his sole authorship of the *Detectioun*—the *Letter* begins by describing the treatise with explicit reference to its conclusion: it contains "a very excellent comparison for all Englishmen to judge whether it be good to change Queens or no." (It also eggs the pudding with regard to Buchanan's authorship. "I have for your more easy understanding changed the Scottish orthography," in the appended text of a Scottish Act of Parliament, he informs us, "which I would to God had been done for Englishmen's better satisfaction in master George Buchanan's book."<sup>57</sup>) Similarly, Alexander Hay, clerk of the Scottish Privy Council, wrote to John Knox describing the English publication:

They have set in English our Queen's life and process . . . wherein is contained the discourse of our tragical doings . . . In appearance they leave nothing unset out, tending to her infamy, and to make the Duke of Norfolk odious, who has a great benevolence of the people . . . [I]n the end of which English book their sentences or conclusion are written, which I thought not good here to slip:

Now Judge, Englishmen, if it be gud to change Quenis,  
O uniting confounding!  
Quhen rude Scotland has vomited up ane poison, must fine England lick it up for a restorative?  
O vile indignity!<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup> The best account of these matters remains that of James Emerson Phillips, in *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth Century Literature* (Berkeley, Calif., 1964). For this episode, see 62–67.

<sup>56</sup> *Detectioun*, n.p.

<sup>57</sup> *The Copie of a Letter Written by One in London to His Friend concernyng the Credit of the Late Published Detection of the Doings of the Ladie Marie of Scotland* (London, 1572), STC 17565, fol. Aii.r, fol. Bii.r.

<sup>58</sup> Laing, *Works of John Knox*, vol. 6 (2), 609, 611.

Scottish polemic against Mary had its limitations, however, in this post-assassination context, no matter how skillfully adapted to insist on the importance of loyalty to Elizabeth. Most important, it did not effectively damn, because it did not address, the Norfolk marriage proposal. After Moray's assassination, this proposal dramatically changed its meaning to the politics of succession. It threatened to give Mary another trump card and, indeed, the winning hand. Before, the project of Mary's marriage to a godly English peer had constituted a central plank of the Scottish-English amity. Subordinate to—subsumed in—her husband, Mary would be neutralized as an autonomous political agent. The marriage also signaled a means by which her royal blood could be assimilated to—as it were, encased in—his status. Their alliance would thus forward the prospect of a godly united isle. James VI's birth in 1566 added a powerful incentive for this project. It raised the likelihood that Mary would produce more male offspring. These would shore up the Protestant male succession invested, after her deposition, in James VI and the earl of Moray, as we have seen.<sup>59</sup> Boys born to this dynastic union would be legitimate by birth, carriers of Tudor and Stuart blood royal, and protected against any taint of Catholic identity (and Scottish nationalism) by virtue of their father's status.<sup>60</sup> During the 1560s, various candidates had been considered for the role of husband in this all-important "marriage to England," as the project was known, including the earl of Leicester and Elizabeth's cousin George Carey. From 1568, the duke of Norfolk, "second person of this realm . . . of credit great, with both nobility and commons" emerged as the favored candidate. His formidable credentials included his membership in the Privy Council, his inherited status as Earl Marshal, and—most important—his Protestant conviction, inculcated from his earliest years by that man of God, his tutor John Foxe.<sup>61</sup>

After Moray's assassination, this marriage project, and this projected marriage, appeared to portend that mere blood, divorced or seduced from confessional conviction, might carry the British succession, and do so at the expense of Protestant confessional unity. Given the power vacuum at the heart of British politics, Norfolk—any English peer—might lapse from the highest degree of Protestant rectitude, even while retaining a personal commitment to "true religion." He might marry the Scottish queen for the wrong reasons: not in order to safeguard a male succession in Christ of the conjoined realm but rather in order to become king through possession of her blood. Elevation on these terms would produce a bi-confessional imperial crown (on the probability that Mary remained

<sup>59</sup> Ironically, Moray produced only daughters when he himself married.

<sup>60</sup> For the view that nationality is inherited through the male because "God first made man, and of man woman; and that he also made him a more apter instrument to serve the common weal, in the functions both of body and mind"—used to impugn Darnley's claims to the English throne through his mother—see John Hales, *A Declaration of the Succession of the Crown Imperial of England* (1563), in George Harbin, *The Hereditary Right of the Crown of England Asserted* (London, 1713), Appendix, xx–xlii, xxxiv. See also *A Discourse upon Certain Points Touching the Inheritance of the Crown: Conceived by Sir Anthony Browne Justice and Answered by Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord Chancellor of England* (1565), which makes the same point, in virtually the same words, and adduces the authority of Roman law; fol. 11v.

<sup>61</sup> See "The Points to Be Remembered and Considered in the Matter of Scotland," September 24, 1565, in Stevenson, *Selections*, 133–37; and CSP Scot, 2: 861. Quotation from *Discourse Touching the Pretended Match*, fols. Aiii.r, Avi.r. For Norfolk and Foxe, see Margaret Aston, *The King's Bedpost: Reformation and Iconography in a Tudor Group Portrait* (Cambridge, 1993), 190–98.

wedded to Catholicism) and hence reintroduce at least a version of papal supremacy in England. And this outcome might be accepted, even actively welcomed by “great numbers, both of noblemen and gentlemen,” even those who defined themselves as Protestant.<sup>62</sup> The danger was that such men either would not appreciate the peril or would regard it as a reasonable risk in pursuit of a legitimate (because legitimist) solution to England’s succession crisis. After all, was not Norfolk “naturally” Mary’s superior—male to her female? English to her Scottish? Even Protestant to her Catholic? The interrogation of Norfolk’s servant, Laurence Bannister, over the affair gives an indication of what English councilors were up against. Bannister claimed—as did Norfolk himself—that Norfolk had pursued the match at the behest of English councilors, including the earl of Leicester and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, and did so “to secure religion” (that is, Protestantism). Elizabeth’s rooted opposition meant that the task of informing her that the match was to take place was to be devolved to the Scottish brethren, “either Lethington, or some other that would come out of Scotland,” once they had prepared the ground by invalidating Mary’s marriage to the earl of Bothwell. After a day-long interrogation by Sir Thomas Smith and Thomas Wilson, however, he realized that he had misinterpreted the meaning of the marriage: “Now, upon better advisement and knowledge . . . I do utterly mislike . . . all the aforesaid devices, and do wish that the Duke my master had taken better ways.”<sup>63</sup>

How far did loyalty to Elizabeth as a Protestant queen extend? How many men, regardless of religious conviction, were prepared to accept a momentary political upheaval—the deposition of a childless queen, last of her line, and herself of disputable legitimacy—in order to invest monarchical authority in demonstrably fertile “persons . . . capable of the Crown both of England and Scotland,” the (superior) male a Protestant, the (inferior) a woman who possessed undeniable blood claims?<sup>64</sup> At this point, the survival of both James VI and Elizabeth seemed linked and threatened, for this legitimist alternative could most readily be effected if James VI did not survive until adulthood and Elizabeth were deposed.

In tracts written at this time, we can see the outlines of the campaign now conducted to cut away this legitimist middle ground. It entailed persuading “good Englishmen” to commit to Elizabeth and the national Protestant church as a prophylactic against foreign conquest. And it included the move to apocalyptic discourse that would promote anti-Catholicism as a mode of national identity. The new agenda involved utterly disallowing union between the two realms—now (in Wilson’s additions to the *Detectioun*) “rude Scotland” and “fine England”—because of its association with Mary’s claims, either in her own right or in company with Norfolk. The *Copie of a Letter*, so evidently written to be read in conjunction with,

<sup>62</sup> William Murdin, *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the Year 1571 to 1596* (London, 1759), 121–27.

<sup>63</sup> Murdin, *Collection of State Papers*, 134, 138. There is abundant evidence that the proposed match had been backed by, among others, the earl of Moray, Maitland of Lethington, and (among the English brethren) William Cecil, the earls of Leicester and Pembroke, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Nicholas Throckmorton.

<sup>64</sup> Cotton Caligula C.1, fol. 462r. From a position paper drawn up by William Cecil, October 17, 1569, to consider whether it was more dangerous to keep Mary in England or return her to Scotland. Quoted in Stephen Alford, *The Early Elizabethan Polity: William Cecil and the British Succession Crisis* (Cambridge, 1999), 205–06.

and as a gloss on, the English version of the *Detectioun*, argued that Englishmen seduced into recognizing Mary's claims forwarded not "beneficial uniting" but rather "maleficial confounding, intending to join the realms in other persons, excluding . . . [our] sovereign Lady."<sup>65</sup> Polemicists now argued that union signaled not a means of reinforcing English national autonomy but the vehicle for conquest by foreign (Catholic) powers. This case was buttressed by depicting both Mary and Norfolk as flawed nobles *and* as the pope's minions—despite Norfolk's unwavering allegiance to Protestantism. (Norfolk always maintained, and with sufficient conviction to persuade even his interrogators, that he had never deviated from his commitment to Protestantism: "I protest, even before the Lord, that I have been a Protestant, ever since I knew what religion meant."<sup>66</sup>) In April 1570, George Buchanan wrote *An Admonition to the True Lords Maintainers of Justice and Obedience, to the King's Grace*—this with editorial assistance from William Cecil. He urged the faithful to continue the good fight against "enemies to God" by demonstrating absolute loyalty to "the two princes," James VI and Elizabeth. He described Norfolk, in virtually Miltonic terms, as a prince of darkness. He is a "proud tyrant," chosen by his fellow conspirators to be "King of Scotland and England." The "virtues" that entitle him to this status are "arrogancy, cruelty, dissimulation and treason," all shared in lesser degree by the "filthy idolaters" who are his followers. He is, *in fine*, "the principal enemy of the religion of Christ in this Isle."<sup>67</sup> The author of *A Discourse Touching the Pretended Match* opened by acknowledging that his readers might believe "that the continuance of the Gospel here among us, and the safety of our sovereign, should depend upon a match to be had between the Duke of Norfolk and the Queen of Scots," in part because it would secure the "uniting of these two realms." This pious hope was predicated on the assumption that Norfolk's nobility, ambiguously of birth and breeding, would preserve him from ambition and supply her "defects" ("ambitious, a born Scot, a defamed person, who hath made shipwreck of all honour and reputation, and lastly a branch of the house of Guise"). But the hope is illusory. Rather more circumspectly than Buchanan, he argues for Norfolk's guilt by (papist) association—his chief men of trust are papists, one educated his son, he married one and proposes to marry another. His nobility thus tainted, he becomes another Solomon, forbidden by God's law from marrying with "the Scottish idolatress": "Did not [Solomon] by matching with an idolatress Egyptian, become an idolater, whereby ensued to him God's high displeasure, to the great plague of his kin and posterity? . . . That law which forbade Solomon to marry with the Egyptian idolatress, standeth in force still."<sup>68</sup>

For English councilors, then, the task after Moray's assassination was not simply

<sup>65</sup> *Copie of a Letter*, Bi.r. The author asserted, in effect, that ignorance of the law did not constitute an excuse, let alone a defense. Norfolk knew Mary's nature well enough, as his possession of a copy of *Detectioun* attested. He must therefore have decided to follow the path mapped out by his ancestors: from regal pretensions to the execution block; fol. Aiiiii.r.

<sup>66</sup> Murdin, *Collection of State Papers*, Thomas Howard, late Duke of Norfolk, from the Tower to Elizabeth, 174. His interrogators, Sir Thomas Smith and Thomas Wilson, concluded that Norfolk's main crime seems to have been his "foolish devotion to that woman"; 69, 102.

<sup>67</sup> George Buchanan, *An Admonition to the True Lords Maintainers of Justice and Obedience, to the King's Grace*, in Gatherer, *Tyrannous Reign*, 183–95, 182, 194.

<sup>68</sup> *Discourse Touching the Pretended Match*, fols. Aiii.v, Av.r, Aiii.r, Av.r, Avi.v.



the identification of Mary as sexually promiscuous, hence tyrannical and ineligible for rule in a well-ordered nation, especially one aspiring to follow the true word of God. In this culture, woman *qua* woman symbolized the subordination of reason to desire and was therefore strongly associated with immorality, disorder, and treason (or tyranny, depending on whether or not she exercised autonomous power); such strictures inevitably implicated Elizabeth.<sup>69</sup> Moreover, it now appeared that Mary (but not Elizabeth, still resolutely single) might be, if not redeemed, at least cleansed by, because subsumed in, marriage to a noble English, Protestant husband. As we have seen, that match carried with it, besides, the promise of an alternative English male succession. It would subordinate Mary to England's premier noble and hence, through marital hierarchy, join Scotland to England in a subservient role. The Norfolk-Stuart union would thus promote one long-established English ambition for a united isle. But this scenario might not establish, and might even fatally undermine, the amity in Christ of members of the True Church that informed efforts to establish a British union in the 1560s. Under these circumstances, it was simply too difficult for all but the most godly to reach the right decision when asked to "judge if it be gud to change quenis." They therefore had to differentiate Elizabeth from Mary categorically, in order to preserve the Protestant national church over which she, *faute de mieux*, presided.

Given this background, the 1570 papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth must have aroused powerfully mixed emotions in English councilors of state. On the one hand, it must have confirmed convictions that the time for the climactic confrontation between the True and False Churches was rapidly approaching, with all the dangers that entailed. At the same time, it provided the smoking gun needed to repudiate definitively the legitimist threat posed by Mary, in terms that simultaneously promoted allegiance to the Henrician Reformation as the most effectual preserver of national autonomy. Properly handled, with reference to the ceaseless struggle between the True and False Churches, the papal bull provided convincing evidence of the association between Mary Queen of Scots, treason, and Catholicism. It did so by conflating her alleged sexual incontinence and the spiritual "whoredom" of the False Church to figure Catholics as both degenerate and treasonous. Likewise, it buttressed an opposed associational triad of militant Protestantism, English national identity, and loyalty to a (virginal) Elizabeth—preserved by subjects described by Thomas Norton as "ourselves," armed with "all fidelity and manhoods."<sup>70</sup> It allowed for the immediate application of John Bale's reading of the Book of Revelation to the particular case of England, its future contested by the two queens. And with this resort to apocalypticism, we can date the

<sup>69</sup> Rebecca W. Bushnell, *Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theater in the English Renaissance* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), 21, 69. The problem they were up against in this regard is suggested by the proliferation of rumors at this time that detailed instances of Elizabeth's own promiscuity and sexual deviancy with favorites like the earl of Leicester and Christopher Hatton—and her and their cavalier murder of the resulting (male) offspring. See Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen: Elizabeth I and the Cult of the Virgin Mary* (London, 1995), 77; and Carole Levin, "Power, Politics, and Sexuality: Images of Elizabeth I," in *The Politics of Gender in Early Modern Europe*, Jean R. Brink, Allison P. Coudert, and Maryanne C. Horowitz, eds. (Kirkville, Mo., 1989), 95–110, esp. 100–05.

<sup>70</sup> Thomas Norton, *All Such Treatises as Have Been Lately Printed by Thomas Norton*, "A Disclosing of the Great Bull," fol. Cii.v. All subsequent references come from this compilation, hereafter, *Treatises*, followed by the specific pamphlet title.



institution of the myth of England as the “elect nation”: an island fastness preserved from papal bondage by its particular reformation history and the unremitting labor of godly Englishmen: a labor now associated (in embryonic form) with the capacity for civic virtue of Protestant English men.<sup>71</sup>

Thus Mary as Jezebel is juxtaposed with the Woman Clothed with the Sun, symbolizing both the English national church and Elizabeth as its protector.<sup>72</sup> How interesting, in view of the contest over definitions of marriage and maternity that I have described, that this typology positioned Mary as unmarried, and trumped her maternity by presenting the virgin Elizabeth as both (spiritually) married and perpetually in labor! “Jezebel” actually means unmarried.<sup>73</sup> And in Revelation, the Woman Clothed with the Sun is “with child and . . . travailing in birth,” in an epic endeavor glossed by the Geneva Bible as signifying the True Church’s “most fervent desire . . . that Christ should be born.”<sup>74</sup> Helen Hackett has shown that the panegyric celebrating the virginal Elizabeth in these terms erected her as “a figurehead of militant nationalistic Protestantism,” and she rightly draws our attention to the “tribal connotations of the term ‘cult’” in this period of Elizabeth’s reign.<sup>75</sup> I would add one further dimension. The men who dilated on Elizabeth’s material virginity and her spiritual maternity in order to advance Protestant reformation also drew on earlier, especially eleventh-century, conceptions of another virginal figure, the “virgin king.” Their purpose was the same as that of the earlier propagandists: to celebrate a childless ruler’s sanctity as an anticipatory defense against the succession problems inevitably posed, in lineage societies, by a childless monarch’s death.<sup>76</sup> But in the early modern context of queenship, this appropriation also served to elevate Elizabeth beyond her gender and more effectually differentiate her from Mary. She became, in Robert Cecil’s famous phrase, “more than a man and in truth somewhat less than a woman,” a move that, in conjunction with the demonization of Mary Queen of Scots, allowed misogyny as well as virulent anti-Catholicism to become hallmarks of the late Elizabethan state.

In conclusion, I want to look briefly at two influential works that established and disseminated this newly apocalyptic dual classification scheme. First, *All Such Treatises as Have Been Lately Published by Thomas Norton*. The work is dated 1569,

<sup>71</sup> William Haller argued that Elizabeth’s reign witnessed the emergence of the concept of England as elect nation, in *Foxe’s Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963). His thesis came under sustained attack in the 1970s. Recently, historians and literary critics have accepted the main thrust of Haller’s argument, while fine-tuning some of the detail. See, for example, Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity*. The John Foxe Project is providing a solid evidentiary base for this reinterpretation. See David Loades, ed., *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, Hants., 1997). For a gendered interpretation of the concept, see McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I*.

<sup>72</sup> Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 136.

<sup>73</sup> *Dictionary of Scripture Proper Names*, “Jezebel,” appended to the *Authorized King James Version of the Holy Bible* (Oxford, n.d.).

<sup>74</sup> *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition*, Lloyd E. Berry, intro. (Madison, Wis., 1969), Revelation 12.1–2.

<sup>75</sup> Hackett, *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 237, 241. In this article, I have not explored the ways in which Elizabeth maneuvered within this terrain to protect and promote her own monarchical autonomy, specifically through use of the language of chastity, virginity and marriage. See, though, Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford, 1993).

<sup>76</sup> For the phenomenon of the virgin king and for debates over the meaning of marriage in the Middle Ages, see Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), esp. 113–23.

but internal evidence makes it clear that it was actually produced after the earl of Moray's assassination.<sup>77</sup> In it, Norton brought together and revised anti-Catholic pamphlets that he had written before the issuance of the papal bull (they are "newly perused and increased"), adding to them two pamphlets written after that event.<sup>78</sup> In the pamphlets written after the Northern Rebellion but before the issuance of the bull, we find the vocabulary of marriage and chastity deployed to contrast Elizabeth and Mary, patriotic Englishmen from rebels, and "reformed Christians" from papists. Chastity, moral and political, requires loyalty to Elizabeth: "[Elizabeth] is the Husband of the common weal, married to the realm . . . Shall they [the rebels] sever the knot of love and agreement between her and them, and yield their bodies to a notorious adulter [*sic*], and yet say they break no bond of this sacred wedlock?" The rebels claim that they wish only to restore "ancient customs and liberties" to the realm. In fact, they have joined a "false religion" that "regard[s] no country, faith, nature or common honesty." They have been seduced to question the "matter of the supremacy [and] the very title of the crown" by a figure identified in the margin as the "Lady of the North" (the Queen of Scots). This alliance wreaks havoc, described in Buchananesque (not to say Knoxian) terms: "It is perilous to think what traitorous rage may do, being armed with drunken superstition. It is a sore thing to consider the impotencie [*sic*] of ambition, specially when it is joined with the fury of reasonless love. The common experience is, how dangerous those knots of thieves be where there is a woman in the company." Seduced—unmanned—they can be "neither true Christian men nor true English men . . . not worthy to live in the kingdom of England, and . . . sure not to come in the kingdom of heaven."<sup>79</sup>

In the tractates written in response to the papal bull, Norton goes one crucial step further. He recounts the story of another queen, Pasiphae of Crete, as a means of dramatizing the enormity of the papal bull and implicating Mary Queen of Scots in its enactment.

Pasiphae . . . , not sufficed with men, conceived inordinate, unnatural, and therewith untemperable lust to engender with a Bull. Neither regard of virtue, honour, kindness, nature or shame, in respect of God, her husband, her country, her self . . . could restrain her violent rage of unclean affection . . . [Successful at last in this endeavor] of the Bull she conceived the abomination of the world, and in time brought forth the monster Minotaurus half a Bull and half a man, fierce, brutish, mischievous, cruel, deformed, and odious.

<sup>77</sup> Thomas Norton, *Treatises*, "A Warning agaynst the Dangerous Practices of Papists," fol. Kiii.v.

<sup>78</sup> He also appended his and Thomas Sackville's play *Gorboduc*, thus reiterating and updating the desire of zealous Protestants in the early years of the reign to settle the succession on the Grey line. By this point, Lady Catherine Grey was dead—but she was survived by a cluster of males claiming a blood interest in the English crown, preeminently the earl of Hertford. For the recognition that the play represents the male political community's view of female rule, not simply whether Elizabeth should marry Dudley or Eric of Sweden, see Maria Victoria de la Torre, "Sex, Subjugation and the Succession: Gender and Politics in Early Elizabethan England" (PhD dissertation, New York University, 1997), 179–219, esp. 198.

<sup>79</sup> Norton, *Treatises*, "To the Queens Majesties Poor Deceived Subjects of the North Countrey," fol. Aiii.v; Norton, *Treatises*, "Warning agaynst the Dangerous Practices of Papists," fols. Fiii.v, Eii.v, fol. Oiii.r.

Given the earlier pamphlets, it is impossible to read this story without identifying Pasiphae primarily with the “Lady of the North.”<sup>80</sup> Norton does, however, cast the net wider by asserting that “Lecherous Pasiphae may . . . be applied to treason in high estates addicted to papistry.” Mary Queen of Scots, in other words, might be joined by fellow conspirators: those seduced Englishmen—men like Norfolk—whom we encountered in the earlier pamphlets, now reconfigured as sodomites: “such treason . . . kindleth vile and beastly desires, and among all other none comparable in filthiness to the lust of yielding themselves to bear the engendering of the great Bull of Basan or rather of Babylon, the oppression, incumbency, and tyranny of Rome.” And sodomy most effectually represents the threat posed by Mary, her minions, and the pope to chastity, represented in the earlier tracts, as we have seen, by Elizabeth, true Englishmen, and Protestant reformation:

And surely no more sodomitical is in nature the unnatural mixture of a Bull and a woman, than is sodomitical in policy and religion the intermeddling of the popish usurpation of Rome with a temporal prince, yielding his or her realm to popish jurisdiction, or with the spouse of Christ the universal church ravished by that Bull’s force or defiled by his abuses. But as in Pasiphae, so where such rage of traitorous and superstitious desire entreth, God’s grace forsaketh, honest fear departeth, shame flyeth, and the lust is untemperable.<sup>81</sup>

If any readers doubt the truth of his central proposition—that Englishmen show themselves to be both virtuous and virile when they resist the blandishments of the Bull and his Whore and remain true to their spiritual “Husband”—Norton urges them to turn to John Foxe’s book, the *Acts and Monuments of the Book of Martyrs*. Significantly, 1570 witnessed the publication of the much-expanded second edition of John Foxe’s famous book and also the republication of John Bale’s *The Image of Both Churches*. As recent work by the John Foxe Project has shown, the new edition of the *Acts and Monuments* featured changes that made it consonant with the immediate application of biblical typology to the two queens that I have described. First, it signaled a shift in historical mode from prophetic to apocalyptic.<sup>82</sup> The shift was expressed in important changes in its iconography. In this edition, for the first time, images of the persecuting papacy came to the fore. Tellingly, too, these were accompanied by the introduction of an associational opposite. The 1570 edition presented for the first time the monumental woodcut of Henry as an image of *Justitia*, captioned “The Pope suppressed by K. Henry the eight” (see Figure 2).<sup>83</sup> Commanding the contents of the 1570 edition, Henry VIII plays a complex role. On one level, he emerges as the symbolic king of the godly nation, empowered by his generation of the English national Protestant church, the fruit of his marriage with his realm.<sup>84</sup> On another, he stands as the guarantor of a Protestant masculine

<sup>80</sup> As, given later events, it is impossible not to read Minotaurus as Philip II of Spain.

<sup>81</sup> Norton, *Treatises*, “A Disclosing of the Great Bull, and Certain Calves That He Hath Gotten, and Specially the Monster Bull That Roared at My Lord Bishops Gate,” fol. Aiii.r–Bi.v, fol. Bi.r, fol. Bii.v–r. Sodomy became a capital offense in 1533.

<sup>82</sup> Tom Betteridge, “From Prophetic to Apocalyptic: John Foxe and the Writing of History,” in Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, 210–32.

<sup>83</sup> Susan Felch, “Shaping the Reader in the *Acts and Monuments*”; and Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram, “The Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*,” both in Loades, *John Foxe and the English Reformation*, 52–65, 66–142.

<sup>84</sup> Catholic writers, most influentially Nicholas Sanders, accepted Henry’s generative potency but ascribed the origins of the English church to its perversion. He claimed that it and Elizabeth were

*The Pope suppressed by K. Henry the eight.*



FIGURE 2: Henry VIII as *Justitia* in the 1570 edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. By permission of the British Library, John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes, Touching Matters of the Church . . .*, 2 vols. (London, 1570), vol. 2, 1201, Shelfmark 4705.h.4.

products of an adulterous and incestuous relationship with Anne Boleyn, his daughter by an earlier affair with the wife of Thomas Boleyn. This sinful union produced unnatural fruit—the English Reformation and Elizabeth herself. God's punishment was apparent in the sterility of the Tudor line. (And this sterility masked Elizabeth's sexual rapacity.) Nicholas Sander, *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, David Lewis, trans. (London, 1877), 98–101, 229. For an inventive and persuasive depiction of problems concerning marriage, blood, and succession that dogged English monarchs after Henry VIII's reformation, see Bruce Thomas Boehrer, *Monarchy and Incest in Renaissance England: Literature, Culture, Kinship and Kingship* (Philadelphia, 1992).



succession through his blood, to be secured through Englishmen's ongoing commitment to his legacy, represented *inter alia* by Elizabeth: his daughter and their queen.

And Elizabeth? There is only one representation of Elizabeth, in the decorated capital letter "C" that begins the work. Here, as Margaret Aston and Elizabeth Ingram have shown, Elizabeth is depicted in an "oblique" role that does not directly attach her to the anti-papal theme of the book.<sup>85</sup> Yet Elizabeth was crucially present in the 1570 edition of Foxe's book, like her father, in symbolic form. The woodcut illustration on the title page of both the 1563 and 1570 editions features a modified version of depictions of the Last Judgment. This version assimilated that Christian climacteric to Protestant apocalyptic in a series of panels contrasting "true religion" with Catholicism. In the 1570 edition, John Day added a legend—"The Image of the persecuted Church/The Image of the persecuting Church" (see Figure 3). The legend drew John Bale's explication of Christian history in *The Image of Both Churches* into the narrative of the *Acts and Monuments* (see Figure 1), and hence directly into contemporary politics. Alert readers—those "morally acute compatriots" to whom the second edition was addressed, informed by the kind of polemic that I have described, could understand that the two queens themselves represented these two churches and see beyond them to their *ur* progenitors, Henry VIII and the pope, God and Satan.<sup>86</sup> They could themselves participate in sacred history by aligning themselves with good against evil, the True Church against the False Church—Elizabeth against Mary. They would thus learn the lesson in patriotic allegiance trumpeted by Thomas Norton: "WE CAN NOT WELL SPARE OUR QUEEN," either in her immediate incarnation or in her anticipated progeny—a figure who is ambiguously Christ and James VI.<sup>87</sup>

In *The Poetics of English Nationhood*, CLAIRE McEachern concludes her discussion of the significance of Bale's typological identification of the two churches with a question. If, as she suggests, Bale's 1545 commentary on Revelation in *The Image of Both Churches* provided "a poetics, a narrative shape, and an affective model for subsequent vocabularies of nationhood," which she so eloquently explores in the late Tudor and early Stuart period, why was its application so long delayed? Why do we find an Elizabethan nation, not an Edwardian one? Why, when it came into being, was it "xenophobic and aggressively misogynist"?<sup>88</sup> In this article, I have sought to answer these questions. The English nation identified by William Haller and McEachern, in their different ways, was born when the male Protestant monarchical succession that the "Protestant ascendancy" deemed necessary to its preservation and fulfillment was uniquely threatened by the coexistence in Britain of two queens. That threat reached critical mass in 1570, when James Stewart, the earl of Moray, was assassinated. His death destabilized the innovative, and fragile, equilibrium between blood, election, and male identity, in the persons of Moray,

<sup>85</sup> Aston and Ingram, "Iconography of the *Acts and Monuments*," 127.

<sup>86</sup> Felch, "Shaping the Reader in the *Acts and Monuments*," 60.

<sup>87</sup> Norton, *Treatises*, "Warning agaynst the Dangerous Practices of Papists," n.p.

<sup>88</sup> McEachern, *Poetics of English Nationhood*, 27, 32.



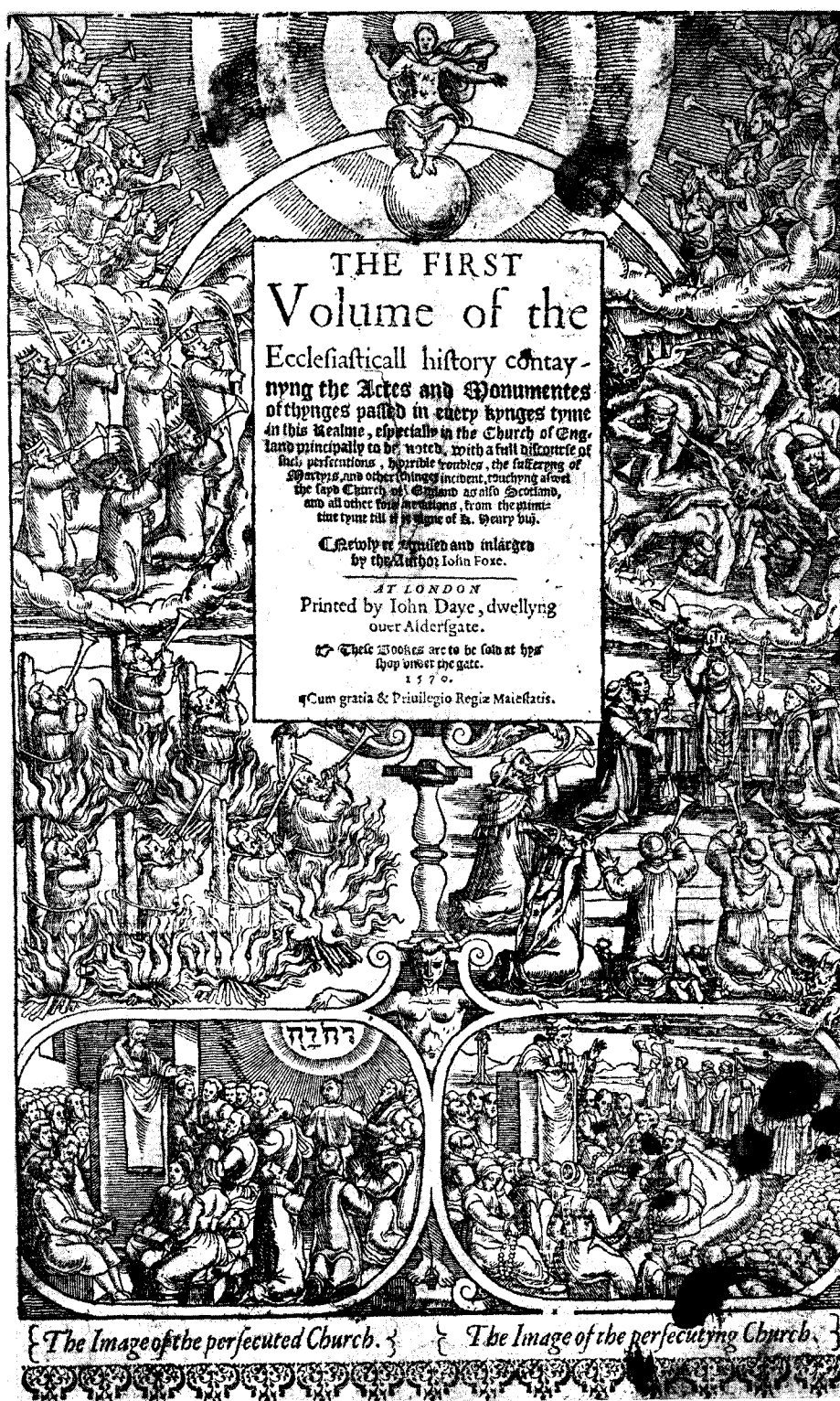


FIGURE 3: Title page of the 1570 edition of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*. Courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, Mason F 142. Illustrated title page from *Actes and Monuments by John Foxe*, vol. 1, 1570.

James VI, and Elizabeth, that had underpinned the amity in Christ of England and Scotland during the 1560s. And the resulting instability strengthened Mary Queen of Scots's entitlement to rule over a conjoined realm of England and Scotland, her deposition from the Scottish throne in 1567 notwithstanding. Paradoxically, the measures that ideologically committed English and Scottish brethren had adopted in the 1560s to nullify her claims to political authority—the emphasis on her nature as a sexual woman and, in particular, plans for a “marriage to England”—rebounded in her favor at this juncture: she was a princess of the blood, and she was the mother of a son. These facts strengthened her claim to be queen of Britain in the view of significant numbers among the ranks of the political nation, English and Scottish—and even among convinced Protestant men.<sup>89</sup> This result was inevitable, for in the early modern period men's models of political order were still very much rooted in conceptions of inheritance and descent based on gender, kinship, and family relations. Indeed, given the near equivalence of the two queens' blood claims, but their different marital and maternal outcomes, there was a real danger that Mary would triumph. She was the claimant who combined royal blood, untainted by aspersions of illegitimacy, with demonstrable willingness to marry—and the ability to produce male heirs. Confessional allegiance could challenge these older conceptions, and it did so with increasing success as the sixteenth century gave way to the seventeenth. But in the 1560s and 1570s, only a very few shared the conviction most stridently and consistently voiced by John Knox: that Mary's claim was wholly unacceptable, because ungodly, on the grounds of her sex and her religion, notwithstanding the claims of blood and maternity. Even those who did found the expression of this conviction, like its political consequences, almost unbearably problematic.

Faced with these tensions, English councilors upped the ante. In the 1560s, they had called Mary's status as queen-in-waiting into question, and sought to buttress Elizabeth's legitimacy as queen of England, by articulating a “good queen, bad queen” opposition. The antithesis was couched in gendered terms. It contrasted the two queens with reference to their womanly characters: “our natural lady and mistress” Elizabeth versus Mary, “a woman . . . of corrupt affections . . . untemperable by her estate.” After Moray's death, they moved to biblical typologies to “fix” the contrast in apocalyptic terms. This move was necessary in order to undercut the legitimist middle ground on which Mary's claims to political consideration flourished.<sup>90</sup> It worked by undermining the salience of blood *qua* blood as a determinant of monarchical identity. In this context, it also privileged “virtue” (defined, for queens, as confessional conviction) in relation to blood—and situated virginity as the antithesis, not of maternity but of tyranny. This move proved to be spectacularly successful in paving the way for Mary's execution in 1587, as it kick-started the “cult” of Elizabeth that dominated Elizabeth's later years. Increasingly, Elizabeth was depicted as the handmaid of the lord—the lord ambiguously her father Henry

<sup>89</sup> Gordon Donaldson and Antonia Fraser, “Sixteenth Century: Mary Queen of Scots and James VI,” in *The Tudors and Stuarts*, William Lamont, ed. (London, 1976), 81–100, see 93.

<sup>90</sup> In my reading of the problem of the middle ground, I am indebted to Jane E. A. Dawson's explication of John Knox's theology in “Trumpeting Resistance: Christopher Goodman and John Knox,” in *John Knox and the British Reformations*, Roger A. Mason, ed. (Aldershot, Hants., 1998), 131–53.

VIII and God Himself—and, in that role, both “England’s Eliza” and a surrogate Virgin Mary.<sup>91</sup>

In the wake of the 1570 papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis*, John Bale’s apocalyptic typology contrasting the True and False Churches thus began a new career. It came into its own as a means of persuading Englishmen that it was not, and never could be, “gud to change quenis,” because the contest was not only between embodied queens (where the evidence was necessarily equivocal) but also between good and evil, God and the devil. The move to biblical archetypes that I have explored with reference to Norton’s and Foxe’s works categorically differentiated Elizabeth from Mary. The identification of Elizabeth as the Woman Clothed with the Sun elevated Elizabeth above a bodily female identity that, in perverse mode, was depicted as Mary’s domain. The antithetical identification of Mary with Jezebel and the False Church emphasized uncontrollable lust as a specifically female trait, weak men (and, of course, women) as particularly prone to seduction, English national identity as a prophylactic against its worst effects—and the pope as the unholy power lying in wait outside this collective devil’s gateway.

The identification of Elizabeth as the Woman Clothed with the Sun had one further consequence, pregnant with meaning for Stuart rule in the seventeenth century. As we saw, it reinforced Elizabeth’s exceptional status by prognosticating a godly male succession that would be mystically effected through her queenship. The identification thus attached James VI to Elizabeth symbolically, by means of an abstract relationship that was simultaneously maternal and spiritual. (It is no coincidence that in Shakespeare’s Scottish play *Macbeth* [1606] kingship is cleansed, and James’s accession assured, through the actions of Macduff, the man who famously was “not of woman born.”<sup>92</sup>) That abstraction preserved James’s blood from the taint of his mother’s—on condition that he occupy the role of godly king. In the seventeenth century, “virtue,” for a British king, required the public enactment of virile Protestantism, and it proved to be a moving target. The immediate effects of this legacy are apparent in the triumphalist phrases with which the Lincolnshire rector Henry Hooke greeted James’s accession to the English throne in 1604. At James’s succession, Hooke marveled, Elizabeth had “died not, but was revived in one of her own blood; her age renewed in his younger years . . . who stood up a man as it were out of the ashes of a woman.” And Hooke concluded with what had become the corollary that would definitively legitimate this particular masculine succession. The “elect might hope that what was not possible for a woman to effect, a man should be both able and industrious to perform.”<sup>93</sup>

<sup>91</sup> Helen Hackett dates this iconography from the late 1580s and interprets it as an attempt to appropriate virginity symbolism for Protestantism; *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen*, 130–36. Boehrer is characteristically perceptive in describing the familial dimension of Henry VIII’s revolution in government and relating it to the English conception of kingship that developed over the sixteenth century: “the royal title inheres in the monarch precisely and only insofar as the monarch [is perceived as the] placeholder for the absent father. This title speaks through the king rather than from the king.” Boehrer notes the affinities between this kind of claim to authority and the divided subjectivity that Jacques Lacan explores in such works as *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* (London, 1977). Boehrer, *Monarchy and Incest*, 160. Ernst Kantorowicz makes a similar point in *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, N.J., 1957), chap. 1, esp. 9–12.

<sup>92</sup> Arthur Melville Clark makes a convincing case for redating the play to 1601 in *Murder under Trust: or, The Topical Macbeth and Other Jacobean Matters* (Edinburgh, 1981), 11–13.

<sup>93</sup> Henry Hooke, *A Sermon Preached before the King* (London, 1604), Ciiii.r.

The mythic narrative that I have described thus had important consequences not only for Elizabethan politics but also for political thought in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Anglo-American world. It was elaborated initially as a means of renegotiating existing conceptions of blood entitlement to monarchical authority in order to secure rule by a godly king. Neither the attempt nor the resort to fiction was *sui generis*; sixteenth-century France, for example, witnessed a turn to “history” to make an analogous move, through recourse to a mythologized version of its Salic Law.<sup>94</sup> In England, however, the nation that emerged was xenophobic, misogynist, virulently anti-Catholic—and *as a consequence* the mother of both modern republicanism and constitutional monarchy. This was so because of the peculiar circumstances of sixteenth-century British reformation history that I have outlined, and in particular due to the coincidence of two queens in an island whose manifest destiny it was to be a united kingdom. In this unique context, xenophobia, misogyny, and anti-Catholicism provided conceptual tools that enabled men to imagine—as, in the seventeenth century, they made it possible for them to establish—states in which ideological conviction, in the last resort, counted for more than blood claims to political authority.

<sup>94</sup> Sarah Hanley, “The Monarchic State in Early Modern France: Marital Regime Government and Male Right,” in *Politics, Ideology and the Law in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of J. H. M. Salmon*, Adrianna E. Bakos, ed. (Rochester, N.Y., 1994), 107–20.

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## Ottoman Orientalism

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USSAMA MAKDISI

IN AN AGE OF WESTERN-DOMINATED MODERNITY, every nation creates its own Orient. The nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire was no exception. This article builds on several important studies that have critically analyzed how Europeans portrayed the Ottomans as a brooding non-Western despotism incapable of “progress” and how the Ottomans responded to, and resisted, these portrayals.<sup>1</sup> But these studies have only hinted at the ramifications of non-Western responses to modern imperialism for the modality, the scope, the difference, and the meaning of Orientalist discourses as they traverse historical and national boundaries. This essay, therefore, extends Edward Said’s analysis of Orientalism by looking at how Ottomans represented their own Arab periphery as an integral part of their engagement with, explicit resistance to, but also implicit acceptance of, Western representations of the indolent Ottoman East.<sup>2</sup> Such an investigation requires a complication of the simple dichotomy of Western imperialism/non-Western resistance that has characterized so much recent historiography of the Ottoman and non-Western world.

This essay begins by laying out the theoretical framework of what I call Ottoman Orientalism and explains the historical context within which I am using the term. It then describes a classical Ottoman imperial paradigm based on a hierarchical system of subordination along religious, class, and ethnic lines. It focuses primarily on Mount Lebanon to illustrate how an avowedly Muslim dynastic state emphasized

<sup>1</sup> The works of Selim Deringil, *The Well-Protected Domains: Ideology and the Legitimation of Power in the Ottoman Empire 1876–1909* (London, 1998), and Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World’s Fairs* (Berkeley, Calif., 1992), are foundational in this regard. See also Fatma Müge Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change* (New York, 1996); and M. Şükrü Hanioglu, *The Young Turks in Opposition* (New York, 1995); Kemal H. Karpat, *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State* (Oxford, 2001). See K. E. Fleming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha’s Greece* (Princeton, N.J., 1999), for an example of the manipulation of Western Orientalist imagery by Ali Pasha. For the study of power in Egypt, see Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> Western representations of the indolent Orient were a crucial aspect of Enlightenment thought, as is evident in Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters*, to name just one famous text. This essay assumes the reader is familiar with such representations, which have been the subject of countless books and articles. For a typical nineteenth-century attitude, see the writings of the famous British ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Stratford de Redcliffe, who insisted in an 1856 memorandum to the earl of Malmesbury that independent Ottoman modernization was impossible, and that “Europe is at hand, with its science, its labour, and its capital. The Koran, the harem, a Babel of languages, are no doubt so many obstacles to advancement in a Western sense.” David Gillard, ed., *British Documents on Foreign Affairs: Reports and Papers from the Foreign Office Confidential Print, Part 1: From the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the First World War, Series B: The Near and Middle East 1856–1914, Volume 1: The Ottoman Empire in the Balkans 1856–1875* (Frederick, Md., 1984–85), 20.



yet accommodated religious difference in a supposedly stable Ottoman imperial system. Finally, this article argues that the nineteenth century saw a fundamental shift from this earlier imperial paradigm into an imperial view suffused with nationalist modernization rooted in a discourse of progress. Ottoman modernization supplanted an established discourse of religious subordination by a notion of temporal subordination in which an advanced imperial center reformed and disciplined backward peripheries of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire. This led to the birth of Ottoman Orientalism.

BY OTTOMAN ORIENTALISM, I mean a complex of Ottoman attitudes produced by a nineteenth-century age of Ottoman reform that implicitly and explicitly acknowledged the West to be the home of progress and the East, writ large, to be a *present* theater of backwardness. I am using the term Ottoman Orientalism for two interrelated reasons. First, because from the outset of nineteenth-century Ottoman reform, Ottomans recognized and responded to the power of Western Orientalism by embracing the latter's underlying logic of time and progress, while resisting its political and colonialist implications. Selim Deringil's pioneering work on the late Ottoman Empire was the first to suggest that Ottoman reform should be analyzed as an engagement with, and largely inadvertent internalization of, European representations, as much as a reaction to superior European military and technology.<sup>3</sup> Taking Deringil's argument as a point of departure, I suggest that Ottoman Orientalism was not inadvertent but a pervasive and defining facet of Ottoman modernity. Just as European Orientalism was based on an opposition between the Christian West and the Islamic Orient, the Ottomans believed that there were some essential differences that distinguished them from the West—especially a notion of Islam. As Selim Deringil and Kemal Karpat have shown, the late Ottoman Empire manipulated and subsumed a discourse of Islam within the imperative of Ottoman modernization.<sup>4</sup> Ottoman reformers felt compelled to respond to what they saw as European misrepresentations of the Islamic East. Islam in this vein served to signify the empire's modern historical and cultural difference from the West in an era of otherwise rampant westernization.<sup>5</sup>

Second, through efforts to study, discipline, and improve imperial subjects, Ottoman reform created a notion of the pre-modern within the empire in a manner akin to the way European colonial administrators represented their colonial subjects. This process culminated in the articulation of a modern Ottoman *Turkish* nation that had to lead the empire's other putatively stagnant ethnic and national groups into an Ottoman modernity. Islam in this vein served to signify the empire's commonality with the Muslim majority of its subjects, but this commonality was implicitly and explicitly framed within a civilizational and temporal discourse that ultimately justified Ottoman Turkish rule over Muslim and non-Muslim subjects,

<sup>3</sup> Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 165.

<sup>4</sup> This argument is convincingly laid out by Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, who discusses what he calls a "legitimation" crisis that afflicted the late Ottoman Empire, and interprets Hamidian modernization as an attempt to overcome this crisis.

<sup>5</sup> Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 96.

over Arabs, Armenians, Kurds, Bulgarians, etc. The Orient, Islam, and the East were part of modern Ottoman self-definition in contrast to modern Western Orientalism, which, following Said, classified the Orient as inherently different from the West. But Ottoman reform distinguished between a degraded Oriental self—embodied in the unreformed pre-modern subjects and landscape of the empire—and the Muslim modernized self represented largely (but not exclusively) by an Ottoman Turkish elite who ruled the late Ottoman Empire.

To modernize the empire, and to make it “the free and progressive America of the East,” required a massive project of imperial reform that could reform state and society at all levels.<sup>6</sup> This began during the Tanzimat (1839–1876, literally the “ordering” of the empire), a period when the Ottoman state sought to redefine itself as more than an Islamic dynasty, as a *modern, bureaucratic, and tolerant* state—a partner of the West rather than its adversary. This impetus for modernization and official nationalism expanded during the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1908) under a more explicitly Islamic discourse and culminated in the Young Turk era, which lasted until World War I. Whether coded in secular or Islamic terms, Ottoman reformers acknowledged the subject position of the empire as the “sick man of Europe” only to create administrative, anthropological, and even archaeological spaces to articulate an Ottoman modernity: a state and civilization technologically equal to and temporally coeval with the West but culturally distinct from and politically independent of it. This ambivalent relationship with the West was mirrored by an equally ambivalent relationship between Ottoman rulers and subjects. Beginning with the Tanzimat, Ottoman reformers identified with these subjects as *potential fellow citizens with whom they should be united* in a newly defined common modern Ottoman patriotism. They also saw them as fellow victims of European intrigue and imperialism. Yet at the same time, they regarded these subjects as backward and as not-yet-Ottoman, as hindrances to as well as objects of imperial reform.

Nowhere, perhaps, was this paradox of Ottoman reform—inclusivist insofar as it sought to integrate all provinces and peoples into an official nationalism of Ottomanism and yet also temporally segregated and ultimately racially differentiated—more apparent than in the Arab provinces of the empire. While the articulation of Ottoman reform was undeniably refracted through many experiences and in many disparate locales, from Anatolia and the Balkans to Yemen, from the lower-class quarters of Istanbul itself to the city center of Beirut, the Arab provinces constituted increasingly important proving grounds for Ottoman modernism, especially after the Balkan provinces broke away from Ottoman rule in 1878 and 1913. Ottoman reformers viewed their Arab provinces as places to become Ottomanized but not yet Ottoman, as places whose spatial integration into an imperial Ottomanism (connected by telegraph, monuments, rail) from Istanbul laid

<sup>6</sup> The words are those of one of the leading poets and writers of the late Ottoman Empire, Ziya Gökalp. Quoted in Niyazi Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (Montreal, 1964), 332. This late Ottoman racialism was *not* akin to the fervent Anglo-Saxon racialism of the mid-nineteenth-century United States, but it did embrace a Western enlightenment discourse of progress and the *redeemability* of allegedly backward peoples, albeit under central Ottoman Turkish tutelage. See Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981).

the basis for a modernized empire. As Namik Kemal, the Young Ottoman writer and poet put it in 1872, it is from Istanbul “that the multifarious achievements of our century can be heralded to Arabia. Thus the desired future prosperity of the Islamic Caliphate will be the contribution of the Turks in the first degree but also of the Arabs in the second.”<sup>7</sup> Ottoman Orientalism reflected the tension of this process: as the provinces were brought ever closer into the reformist imperial gaze, a general discourse of modernizing imperial reform battling backwardness justified Ottoman Turkish rule over not-yet-Ottomanized Arabs. Arab elite subjects of the late Ottoman Empire, however, participated in this elaboration of Ottoman modernity. They absorbed, replicated, and hence validated the new temporal hierarchy of Ottoman Orientalism. They also complicated Ottoman Orientalism, especially in the closing years of the empire, by proposing themselves as autonomous active subjects—interpreters and shapers—of this Ottoman modernity.

At the heart of Ottoman Orientalism was a notion of time. Ottoman reformers’ acute awareness of the decline of their empire galvanized them into overhauling their empire in the nineteenth century. Istanbul was not only conceived of as the modern political center of the empire but also as the temporally highest point from which it could look down and back in time at the provinces of the empire. In short, spatial integration was justified by and consolidated temporal segregation. The development of Ottoman Orientalism can only be understood as a fundamental break with previous notions of time and imperial organization that marked the pre-reform Ottoman Empire, when imperial rule was based on an assumption of religious and ethnic differentiation but temporal integration. The Ottoman Empire in its classical age reproduced and justified itself as an orthodox Islamic dynasty superior to all other empires.<sup>8</sup> Its theoretical imperative was to maintain an Islamic order and to preserve and uphold a status that had supposedly already been secured. The theoretical imperative of the modern Ottoman state, however, was to achieve modernity and to arrive at a position that was not yet occupied by the empire as a whole. Before the nineteenth century, the dynamic of rule was to conserve (but also to overlook) what were held to be immutable religious and ethnic differences among subjects, and to maintain an imperial distance between center and the tribute-paying peripheries of the empire, whose pre-Ottoman administration often persisted under *pax ottomanica*. After the nineteenth century, Ottoman reformers sought to nationalize (Ottomanize) the empire and ultimately to absorb the margins into a cohesive and uniform Ottoman modernity.

In thinking through the problem of Ottoman Orientalism, I have been guided by Johannes Fabian’s notion of time as one of the “ideologically constructed instruments of power” and his observation that “the relations between the West and its Other . . . were conceived not only as difference, but as distance in space and

<sup>7</sup> Quoted in Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Princeton, N.J., 1962), 332.

<sup>8</sup> See Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, Calif., 1995), for an analysis on how this historical and historiographical construction of the Ottoman dynasty as an Islamic state proceeded. See also Abdul Karim Rafeq, “Relations between the Syrian ‘Ulama and the Ottoman State in the Eighteenth Century,” *Oriente moderno* 18 (1999): 67–95.

Time.”<sup>9</sup> Fabian considered this “denial of co-evalness” between colonizers and colonized to be at the heart of nineteenth-century Western colonialism. It marked all cultures and peoples at different locations along a continuous evolutionary stream of time—the ostensible justification for modern colonialism was to overcome this difference by ruling and reforming less advanced people. The Ottoman context complicates Fabian’s thesis (as it does Said’s), for it reveals a dialectic between European Orientalism’s insistence on a stagnant Orient that had to be colonized by Europe and Ottoman Orientalism’s riposte that the empire was not stagnant but independently moving—and dragging all Ottoman subjects—toward modernity. As such, Ottoman modernization, from which emerged a discourse of Ottoman Orientalism, was as much a project of power within the empire as it was an act of resistance to Western imperialism.

For this reason, Ottoman Orientalism must be distinguished from what has been characterized by some scholars as “Occidentalism.”<sup>10</sup> While it underscores the undeniable reification of the West in the minds of most nineteenth-century non-Western reformers, Occidentalism as a theory posits only a “reverse” Orientalism—“stylized images of the West” rather than of the East.<sup>11</sup> In the case of Ottoman studies, it misses not only the relationship between power and knowledge at the heart of Said’s interpretation of Orientalism but also the layers of adaptation, emulation, and resistance—in short, the Ottoman engagement with and internalization of an entrenched European discourse of Orientalism.<sup>12</sup> Rather than Occidentalism, Milica Bakić-Hayden’s theory of “nesting orientalisms” is far more compelling, because it recognizes that the “gradation of ‘Orient’ . . . is a pattern of reproduction of the original dichotomy upon which Orientalism is premised. In this pattern, Asia is more ‘East’ or ‘other’ than eastern Europe; within eastern Europe itself this gradation is reproduced with the Balkans perceived as most ‘eastern.’”<sup>13</sup> But even this concept of “nesting orientalisms” does not capture the more complicated temporal implications of Ottoman Orientalism. The notion of “balkanism” proposed by Maria Todorova as a wavering form, as no longer Oriental yet not European, better evokes the ambiguity inherent in Ottoman Orientalism. It posited an empire in “decline” yet capable of an independent renaissance, westernized but not Western, leader of a reinvigorated Orient yet no longer of the “Orient” represented by the West, nor that embodied in its unreformed subjects.<sup>14</sup> Ottoman Orientalism accommodated both strictly secularist and explicitly Islamist

<sup>9</sup> Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (New York, 1983), 144–47.

<sup>10</sup> See Carter Vaughn Findley, “An Ottoman Occidental in Europe: Ahmed Midhat Meets Madame Gülnar, 1889,” *AHR* 103 (February 1998): 15–49. Findley, following Xiaomei Chen, suggests that “Occidentalism” is a “counter-discourse” to Orientalism. This reading misses Said’s central point about the profound and extensive linkage between the representation of the Orient and a European/American will to dominate the Orient. See also Xiaomei Chen, *Occidentalism: A Theory of Counter-Discourse in Post-Mao China* (New York, 1995), 5. For Chen, “Occidentalism” constitutes the “essentialization” of the West, which was used by Chinese themselves in a variety of ways.

<sup>11</sup> James G. Carrier, *Occidentalism: Images of the West* (Oxford, 1995), 6.

<sup>12</sup> Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 157–58. Fleming’s work on Ali Pasha is also an exception, but her work is concerned with how Ali Pasha manipulated and participated in but did not fundamentally alter Orientalist imagery.

<sup>13</sup> Milica Bakić-Hayden, “Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia,” *Slavic Review* 54 (1995): 918.

<sup>14</sup> Maria Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans* (New York, 1997), 17. I acknowledge, of course, that

interpretations of modern Ottoman identity. It discredited Western representations of Ottoman indolence by contrasting Ottoman modernity with the unreformed and stagnant landscape of the empire. In effect, it de-Orientalized the empire by Orientalizing it.

IN ITS CLASSICAL AGE, THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE was legitimized by Islamic symbolism, particularly through the facilitation and protection of the annual Hajj but also by a notion of imperial benevolence that safeguarded the lives and property of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects.<sup>15</sup> The Ottomans accepted the presence of Armenian, Greek Orthodox, and Jewish communities as an integral, if subordinate, part of the empire.<sup>16</sup> At the same time, however, the Ottoman sultans described themselves as inheritors of a *ghazi* tradition that was constantly expanding the frontiers of Islam against the infidel kingdoms; and, after the conquest of Damascus and Arabia in 1516 and Cairo in 1517, they also posited themselves as guardians of Mecca and Medina. Religion and ethnicity were crucial markers of difference in the Ottoman system—they helped define what it meant to be an Ottoman: a member of the ruling elite, urban, above all aware of multiple ethnicities, a Muslim in the service of the sultan who from Istanbul ruled over a vast polyglot empire composed of Muslims, Christians, and Jews, of Turks, Arabs, Armenians, Albanians, and Kurds, Bosnians, Greeks, and a host of other populations.

The seventeenth-century *Seyahatname*, or *Book of Travels*, of the famous Ottoman chronicler Evliya Çelebi expresses this fusion of privilege, urbanity, class, patronage, and Sunni Islam that defined being Ottoman. If Istanbul was the “abode of felicity,” the frontiers of the empire were its antithesis: regions where heresy flourished, locales of strange and often comical stories, and arenas where Ottomans “proved” their Islamic identity and yet reconciled themselves to the fact of a multi-religious and ethnic empire.<sup>17</sup> The *Seyahatname* reveals just how deep the religious and ethnic consciousness of Ottomans ran in the late seventeenth century. For example, Çelebi’s description of his patron Melek Ahmed Pasha’s punishment of the “dog worshippers, worse than infidels, a band of rebels and brigands and perverts, resembling ghouls of the desert, hairy heretic Yezidi Kurds” near Diyarbekir in Anatolia reflects one of the central tenets of the Ottoman imperial system: not simply the existence of a profound difference between Ottoman rulers and many of the subjects they ruled but the unbridgeable nature of this difference. Melek Ahmed Pasha sent seventy regiments of soldiers in addition to his retinue of “Abkhazian and Circassian and Georgian braves—who shamed one another in

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Todorova’s argument about “Balkanism” was precisely that it is not a variant of Orientalism but its own construct.

<sup>15</sup> Karl K. Barbir, *Ottoman Rule in Damascus, 1708–1758* (Princeton, N.J., 1980), 108–09.

<sup>16</sup> See Abdul-Rahim Abu-Husayn, “Problems in the Ottoman Administration in Syria during the 16th and 17th Centuries: The Case of the Sanjak of Sidon-Beirut,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 24 (1992): 665–75.

<sup>17</sup> See in this regard Robert Dankoff’s translation of selections of Evliya Çelebi’s *Book of Travels* under the title *The Intimate Life of an Ottoman Statesman, Melek Ahmed Pasha* (Albany, N.Y., 1991), 249–50. See also Viorel Panaite, *The Ottoman Law on War and Peace: The Ottoman Empire and Tribute Payers* (Boulder, Colo., 2000), 79.



battle, and never held back their reins, and who knew what Muhammedan honor meant." The result was, according to Çelebi, a very bloody battle in which the Yezidis were literally smoked out of their caves. They preferred collective suicide to surrender. "When the army of Islam saw this spectacle," Çelebi relates, "they too expended the utmost of their powers and smote with their swords. Blood of the Yezidis flowed down the mountainside. God willing, vengeance was exacted at the hand of Melek Ahmed Pasha for the blood of the martyrs of Kerbala. In short, such a mighty battle raged for ten days and nights that even Küçük Ahmed Pasha's battle on Jabal Druze with Ma'n-oglu was not so fierce."<sup>18</sup>

To be Ottoman was to monopolize the metaphors of Islam and to maintain an imperial distance and difference between sultan and subjects. This difference was configured in religious, ethnic, and spatial terms, and its maintenance was an essential aspect of the projection of Ottoman imperial identity in a multi-religious and ethnic empire.<sup>19</sup> Christians as a whole were routinely described as infidels, yet they were tolerated; others such as Yezidi Kurds and Druzes were often described as heretics, but their heresy was often overlooked.<sup>20</sup> Arabs were respected because of their association with Islam, but, outside of Mecca and Medina, Arabia was a distant, foreign land inhabited by unruly Bedouins. Ottomans, however, did not identify themselves as "Turks" even if they recognized the Turkish nature of the Ottoman dynasty and spoke Ottoman Turkish. As Çelebi put it in his travels in Bitlis, the empire was plagued by "all sorts of Kurdish rabble and vermin and unclean Turks."<sup>21</sup> The powerful association between state and Islam—and the concomitant discourse of Christian as infidel—exposed what Bruce Masters has called the "limits of Ottoman tolerance": Christian and other non-Muslim subjects were tolerated but never considered as equals.<sup>22</sup> Unlike the case of the Spanish empire in the New World, which was predicated on the relentless conversion and Christianization of the entire indigenous population, the Ottoman state sought to manipulate and regulate rather than to overcome the multi-religious nature of the empire.<sup>23</sup>

The region of Mount Lebanon, conquered by the Ottomans in 1516, is an excellent example of the rhythm of classical imperial politics in which a discourse of irreconcilable religious difference coexisted with a discourse of obedience that tacitly included and legitimized those who were otherwise defined as heretics, infidels, and idolaters. Because of its mountainous terrain and heterodox popula-

<sup>18</sup> Dankoff, *Intimate Life*, 172.

<sup>19</sup> See Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds*, 140–42, for an account of how the fluidity and syncretization of early Ottoman identity was transformed by the sedentization of the sultanate and the development of an imperial mode of intellectual and administrative life.

<sup>20</sup> To wit, while Çelebi condemns the Yezidis as "heretics" and "dog worshippers," he makes it clear that the reason for the Ottoman assault was because the Yezidis had begun plundering the villages of Mardin and had refused "to pay [the Ottoman governor] the respect of even a token gift"—the implication being, of course, that had they not plundered Mardin and had they offered the governor a gift, these erstwhile heretics would have been tolerated. See Dankoff, *Intimate Life*, 167.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Dankoff, ed. *Evliya Çelebi in Bitlis: The Relevant Section of the Seyahatname Edited with a Translation, Commentary, and Introduction* (Leiden, 1990), 295.

<sup>22</sup> Bruce Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World: The Roots of Sectarianism* (Cambridge, 2001), 26–40.

<sup>23</sup> Selim Deringil, "'There Is No Compulsion in Religion': On Conversion and Apostasy in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1839–1856," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42 (2000): 547–75.

tion, which was composed mostly of Druzes and Maronites, Mount Lebanon, or *cebel-i düruz* ("Mountain of the Druzes"), as it was often referred to by the Ottomans, remained on the margins of the Sunni Ottoman Empire until the middle of the nineteenth century. The first century of Ottoman rule in Mount Lebanon was turbulent, and it witnessed frequent local rebellions and equally frequent Ottoman expeditions to subdue the local inhabitants. This initial period of uneasy Ottoman domination culminated in the rebellion of Mount Lebanon's most famous ruler, the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Druze emir Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'ni (or Maan Oğlu, as the Ottomans called him). His ambitions led him into an ill-fated alliance with Tuscany. Eventually, he was hunted down, smoked out of a cave in 1633, and led in chains to Istanbul by an Ottoman Pasha called Küçük Ahmed.<sup>24</sup>

Not surprisingly, Ottoman chronicles and records regarding Mount Lebanon expressed a language of political domination in which the imperial center was constantly disciplining a heterodox periphery. The submission of Fakhr al-Din became a foundational act that defined Ottoman hegemony in Mount Lebanon: the triumph and inscription of imperial knowledge and true religion on a land that purportedly knew neither.<sup>25</sup> The word Druze in Ottoman Turkish was derogatory, connoting a heretic and a scoundrel.<sup>26</sup> As early as the Ottoman expedition against the Shuf region of Mount Lebanon in 1523, Druze manuscripts were confiscated (along with four camel loads of Druze heads) and sent to Istanbul in order to underscore the heretical nature of the Druze faith.<sup>27</sup> The seventeenth-century Ottoman historian Naima, in turn, reiterated an Ottoman conviction concerning the allegedly heretical Druzes. He gloated at how the "abominable" Druze Fakhr al-Din and his followers were, "like field mice," smoked out of a cave in which they had taken refuge by the foresight and determination of the Ottoman Küçük Ahmed Pasha.<sup>28</sup> The trope of Druze as heretic rebel was so well established that the late eighteenth-century Ottoman statesmen and historian Ahmed Vasıf Efendi described the Druzes as the "rebellious sect," and was very proud of the manner in which Cezzar Ahmed Pasha disciplined them and other "vermin which must be destroyed."<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> The campaign against Fakhr al-Din culminated in a series of attempts to subdue the Druzes of *cebel-i düruz*. See Abdul-Rahim Abu Husayn, "The Ottoman Invasion of the Shuf in 1585: A Reconsideration," *Al-Abhath* 33 (1985): 13–23. Fakhr al-Din followed in the footsteps of the great *celali* rebel Canbuladoglu Ali, who had contemplated creating an independent state in Aleppo with Tuscan aid. His ambitions were cut short by the Ottomans in 1609. For more information, see William J. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion* (Berlin, 1983), 153.

<sup>25</sup> Dankoff, *Evlîya Çelebi in Bitlis*, 117. Çelebi recounts a feast that his patron and he enjoyed with the khan of Bitlis in eastern Anatolia, whose retinue descended on the food and "began to eat as though they were just released from Ma'anoghli's prison, or as though they were infected with canine hunger." Dankoff writes that the word "Ma'anoghli" became proverbial for imprisonment.

<sup>26</sup> This is according to the Redhouse dictionary, which reflected nineteenth-century usage. As Metin Kunt has noted, similar prejudice against Albanians, Circassians, and Abazas took root in the Ottoman language. See Metin I. Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (*Cins*) Solidarity in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5 (1974): 238. It should be noted that prejudice against the Druzes predates the Ottomans.

<sup>27</sup> This according to Abu-Husayn, "Ottoman Invasion of the Shuf in 1585," 17.

<sup>28</sup> Mustafa Naima, *Tarih-i Naima*, 6 vols. (Istanbul, 1283), 3: 176–79.

<sup>29</sup> Ahmed Vasıf Efendi, *Mehasinü'l-Asar ve Hakaikü'l-Ahbar* (1804; Istanbul, 1978), 161. Virginia Aksan points out that although Druzes were conscripted into imperial armies, they were seen by Ottoman commanders as lazy, dishonorable, and vile. See Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War and Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi, 1700–1783* (Leiden, 1995), 191.

Ottoman officials, however, depended on Druze and Maronite elites to maintain a theoretically rigid social order within, and a flow of revenue from, Mount Lebanon. It is important to recognize that the formulaic metaphors of power alternatively unmasked and accommodated erstwhile heretics and infidels within a supposedly everlasting Ottoman domain of obedience.<sup>30</sup> An Ottoman decree from 1810 investing Bashir Shihab (the local ruler of Mount Lebanon who practiced a studied religious ambiguity, born a Christian but never publicly proclaiming his Christianity, swearing on both the Bible and the Quran, eventually buried in the Armenian Catholic cemetery in Istanbul) with authority in Mount Lebanon captures the ambivalence of Ottoman imperial rhetoric. It commands “the pride of noble emirs, the most grand authority, the possessor of esteem and respect, man of glory and decency, our son” Bashir Shihab and the Druze and Maronite elites to preserve order, to protect the common people, to extirpate all those who “exceed their limits,” to pay taxes, to avoid oppression, and to ensure supplications from “high and low for the persistence and permanence of the sultanate of our lord the sultan of sultans, the sovereign of sovereigns, extirpator of the infidels and idolaters, he who has unfurled the banners of justice and religion, the Solomon of all times, and the Alexander of all ages, the shadow of God and his successor throughout the cycles of time.”<sup>31</sup> Yet when he seemed to waver in his allegiance to the Ottoman state, this same Bashir Shihab was denounced by the Ottomans for being a *hain gâvur*—a treacherous infidel—who was exhibiting “his infidelity.”<sup>32</sup> This alternation between recognizing/suppressing and tolerating/overlooking difference was more than a simple tactical maneuver on the part of Ottoman rulers. It revealed an imperial Ottoman identity premised on the fiction of an *already* achieved Islamic order. So long as the locals did not disturb this fiction, heterodoxy was tolerated; it was repressed as soon as locals revealed the contradictions inherent in the elaborate Ottoman imperial system through rebellion, tax evasion, or dissent in any form.<sup>33</sup>

Although instances of outright rebellion were rare in Mount Lebanon—the example of Fakhr al-Din being the most memorable in Ottoman and local memory alike—the history of Ottoman rule in the region was rife with moments of disobedience. However, each act of local defiance was part of an implicit political performance, whose basic unwritten narrative was recognized by both Ottoman officials and Lebanese elites. This narrative invariably demanded in the vast

<sup>30</sup> In urban areas such as Damascus or Aleppo, the differentiation between Muslim and non-Muslim was more pronounced. Yet even in these cities, it was at particular historical episodes that the dress codes that distinguished Muslim from non-Muslim were enforced. See, for example, W. M. Thackston, Jr., ed. and trans., *Murder, Mayhem, Pillage and Plunder* (Albany, N.Y., 1988), 62–63.

<sup>31</sup> See Haydar Ahmad al-Shihabi, *Lubnan fi ‘ahd al-umara’ al-Shihabiyyin*, 3 vols., Asad Rustum and Fouad E. Boustany, eds. (Beirut, 1984), 3: 552–53.

<sup>32</sup> Başbakanlık Archives, Istanbul (hereafter, BBA), Hatt-i Hümayun, 191898-A, 19 N 1247.

<sup>33</sup> When the social hierarchy was “corrupted”—when revenues diminished or when local elites challenged imperial authority—Ottoman rulers “remembered” Fakhr al-Din’s heresy and reminded their heterodox subjects of their tenuous existence on the margins of the empire. For example, in 1799, a revolt against the authority of Bashir Shihab, who was backed by the Ottoman government, occasioned a stern warning from an Ottoman governor to the inhabitants of Mount Lebanon to “abandon sedition and remember what happened to your mountain in past times, how women were taken into captivity, and children killed when Emir Fakhr al-Din al-Ma’ni defied the state at the time of Küçük Ahmed, and so armies will be sent against you like overflowing seas if you do not return obediently to our son [Emir Bashir].” Shihabi, *Lubnan fi ‘ahd al-umara’*, 1: 199.

majority of cases of disobedience in Mount Lebanon a return to the status quo and a reinscription of the putative domain of obedience. The exact nature of this reversion depended on circumstances, especially on the strategies deployed by those seeking pardon and those who had the power to grant it.<sup>34</sup> Politics had a cyclical element in the sense that the granting of clemency immediately “returned” things to what they had been; the phrase constantly used to describe the forgiveness of a ruler was that he had cleared or unclouded his mind from the memory of sedition. Thus when Bashir Shihab defied an Ottoman governor’s demands to remit taxes in 1820, he fled Mount Lebanon, writing to the governor that he has “left his country and family . . . to await the unclouding of the [governor’s] mind” toward him.<sup>35</sup> And when Bashir Shihab, after his short spell of self-imposed exile, prostrated himself before the same Ottoman governor, he was chided by the latter in the following terms: “We never for a moment removed you from our good graces; it was you who allowed doubts and anxieties to enter your mind which distanced you from our service. It is evident that if a servant won’t serve his master, the master will find another who will.”<sup>36</sup> The act of a formerly recalcitrant notable kissing the hem of the provincial Ottoman governor’s robe or his hand—both of which were staples of Ottoman political practice in Mount Lebanon—played on the knowledge that almost every disgrace and punishment implicitly carried within it a provision for pardon and rehabilitation, and every invocation of heresy was muted by the countless proclamations that transformed erstwhile heretical Druze and infidel Maronite notables into loyal Ottoman functionaries in Mount Lebanon.

The notion of coexistence in the same temporal moment, of politics without progress, was essential to the maintenance of a dynamic imperial relationship between sultan and his subjects in Mount Lebanon and other parts of the empire.<sup>37</sup> It provided a shared political vocabulary in an unequal imperial system that alternatively accommodated and suppressed religious difference. The mutual recognition by rulers and ruled of how politics functioned, its ambivalence (for one could at one moment be an esteemed notable and at another moment a heretic or infidel) and its temporality, as well as the closed Ottoman stage on which it was enacted, stabilized a dynamic political environment. Relations between Ottomans and the locals were, to put it differently, shaped by a politics of ambiguity defined at either end of the imperial spectrum (such as in Istanbul and in Mount Lebanon) by unbridgeable and immutable difference. Although sultans died and subjects rebelled, there was always the domain of obedience under the eternal rule of House of Osman to which they could theoretically return. To be sure, there was always change—for example, in the evolution of harem politics and in military and fiscal organization—that rendered the early eighteenth-century empire radically different

<sup>34</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977), 7.

<sup>35</sup> Shihabi, *Lubnan fi ‘ahd al-umara’*, 3: 660.

<sup>36</sup> Shihabi, *Lubnan fi ‘ahd al-umara’*, 3: 666–67.

<sup>37</sup> The case of Mount Lebanon was not unique in the Ottoman Empire. In her study of Ottoman policy toward Anatolian heretics (the Kızılbaş), Suraiya Faroqhi notes how after 1600 wholesale eradication shifted toward “grudging accommodation.” See Faroqhi, *Coping with the State: Political Conflict and Crime in the Ottoman Empire 1550–1720* (Istanbul, 1995), 115.

from that of the early fifteenth century, but there was also a sense that the past was not entirely irrevocable.<sup>38</sup>

Seemingly invincible and immortal, the Ottoman Empire found itself, by the latter part of the eighteenth century, plagued by military defeats. First, Crimea was lost as a result of a defeat at the hands of Russia in 1774. Then Napoleon arrived in Egypt in 1798—and, despite Sultan Selim III's efforts to depict him as an infidel tyrant, the obvious lesson was learned in the aftermath of an overwhelming French victory. Finally, the Greek war of independence erupted in the 1820s. The empire, in response to these and other military crises, plunged itself into an era of rapid modernization that redefined the imperial relationship between Ottoman rulers and subjects. More to the point, it found itself in an era of European time and confronted by a European discourse of progress that paved the way for an Ottoman Orientalism.

SULTAN MAHMUD II'S CONCERTED EFFORTS AT REFORM began with the abolition of the Janissaries in 1826 but quickly spread to sartorial and administrative domains and culminated in an era of wholesale modernization known as the Tanzimat.<sup>39</sup> The centerpiece of the Tanzimat reforms was the Gülhane decree issued by Mahmud II's successor, Abdülmecid, in 1839, at a time when the Ottoman Empire lay on the brink of total collapse because of Muhammad Ali of Egypt's own imperial ambitions. Its main provisions concerned direct taxation, but it also indicated that Muslim and non-Muslim subjects were equal before the law. This process culminated in the 1869 Ottoman law of nationality, which produced for the first time a juridical definition of the Ottoman citizen without an overt or implied reference to religion. Like the suppression of the Janissaries, the new measures of the Tanzimat, which represented a clear break with the past, were couched in Islamic metaphors that suggested a reversion to tradition.<sup>40</sup>

Although the discourse of reform in the Ottoman Empire was not itself new, nineteenth-century reform was part of a wider culture of modernity.<sup>41</sup> In this culture, the Ottoman Empire sought to define itself as an equal player (especially after the 1856 Treaty of Paris, which formally added the Ottoman Empire as a member of the European state system) on a world stage of civilization.<sup>42</sup> Equally

<sup>38</sup> For an excellent recent study of the eighteenth-century transformation of tax farming and urban politics in the case of Ottoman Mosul, see Dina Rizk Khoury, *State and Provincial Society in the Ottoman Empire: Mosul, 1540–1834* (Cambridge, 1997). For changes in dynastic politics, see Leslie P. Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York, 1993), 275; for changes in fiscal administration, see Linda T. Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire, 1560–1660* (Leiden, 1996). For changes in the military, see Virginia Aksan, "Mutiny and the Eighteenth Century Ottoman Army," *Turkish Studies Association Bulletin* 22 (1998): 116–25.

<sup>39</sup> See Donald Quataert, "Clothing Laws, State, and Society in the Ottoman Empire, 1720–1829," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 29 (1997): 403–25.

<sup>40</sup> Masters, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*, 134–35.

<sup>41</sup> Virginia Aksan, "Ottoman Political Writing, 1768–1808," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 25 (1993): 53–69. For an example of pre-Tanzimat reform, see Cezzar Ahmed Pasha's *Nizamname-i Mısır*, transl. by Stanford J. Shaw under the title *Ottoman Egypt in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).

<sup>42</sup> It should be added that there was considerable resistance to the reform program even within



important, it heralded the birth of an official nationalism that sought to assert much stricter political and administrative control over the periphery of the empire by promoting a unifying notion of *Osmanlılık*, or Ottomanism. In Istanbul, intellectual, architectural, and political and social westernization created what Fatma Müge Göçek has called a “new vision of Ottoman society.”<sup>43</sup> And in the provinces, as Eugene Rogan has argued in the case of Ottoman Transjordan, the Ottoman state re-“opened” the Ottoman frontier in an effort to finally incorporate it by means of reformed administration, schools, and railways.<sup>44</sup> The official nationalism launched in the wake of the Tanzimat was a project of modernization that strove to cohere different ethnic groups, different religious communities, different regions, and, above all, different stages of progress within a unified Ottoman modernity.

As part of this project of imperial nationalism that placed the empire on a par with other “civilized” states, Ottoman modernization generated its discursive opposite, the pre-modern within the empire, whether in the Danubian principalities, the sands of Arabia, the cities of Syria, or Mount Lebanon.<sup>45</sup> To the Sublime Porte, Europe constituted a metaphor for modernity; it represented the summit of civilization and the highest point on the “stream of time.” The Tanzimat, in turn, “remade” Istanbul as the most modern westernized center of the empire, as Zeynep Çelik has illustrated.<sup>46</sup> And what began in Istanbul was imposed on and emulated in the provinces, beginning in the Balkans (where the European threat and Slavic nationalism were perceived to be greatest) and spreading to the Anatolian and Arab provinces. The model Danube province was created in 1864, and this experiment in provincial reform was quickly replicated in other regions and cities of the empire, such as Baghdad and Beirut.<sup>47</sup> Urban reform was also imposed on rural hinterlands such as Mount Lebanon, and from there it sought out the most pre-modern of the empire, the desert “tribes” of Arabia.<sup>48</sup> Ottoman modernization

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certain circles in Istanbul. This is a central aspect to Bernard Lewis’s classic narrative of positive westernizing reformers opposed by fanatical traditionalists in his *Emergence of Modern Turkey* (1961). See also Cavid Baysun, ed., *Cevdet Paşa Tezâkir*, 3 vols. (Ankara, 1991), 1: 68, for Cevdet’s recollection of the reading of the 1856 Hatt-i Hümayun and the negative reactions it produced, not just among what he calls “many of the ehl-i islam” but also among the Greek Orthodox elites.

<sup>43</sup> Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire*, 119.

<sup>44</sup> Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire: Transjordan, 1850–1921* (Cambridge, 1999), 60–66.

<sup>45</sup> For a classic overview of Ottoman reform, see Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856–1876* (Princeton, N.J., 1963).

<sup>46</sup> Zeynep Çelik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 31–48.

<sup>47</sup> For Balkan reform, see Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 151–58; and Stanford J. Shaw and Ezel Kural Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Vol. 2: *Reform, Revolution, and Republic: The Rise of Modern Turkey, 1808–1975* (Cambridge, 1977), 161–62. For Beirut, see Jens Hanssen, “‘Your Beirut Is on My Desk’: Ottomanizing Beirut under Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909),” in *Projecting Beirut: Episodes in the Construction and Reconstruction of a Modern City*, Peter G. Rowe and Hashim Sarkis, eds. (Munich, 1998), 41–67. See also Edhem Eldem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters, *The Ottoman City between East and West*, for a study of urban transformation in Aleppo, Izmir, and Istanbul (Cambridge, 1999).

<sup>48</sup> Engin Akarlı’s work on post-1860 Mount Lebanon has shown how Ottoman statesmen took the lead in reforming local administration; as the Ottoman *salnames* (yearbooks) about Mount Lebanon illustrate, Mount Lebanon, its hinterlands, and the adjacent coastal cities were studied, mapped, reformed, and administered as never before. Engin Akarlı, *The Long Peace* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993). See

perceived a temporal gap that separated modern Istanbul from the rest of the empire. The closure of this gap became the ostensible goal of Ottoman reform.<sup>49</sup>

The longstanding imperial attitude that had presupposed an inviolable difference between center and periphery, between Muslim and non-Muslim, between an Ottoman elite and the tax-paying subjects, was abandoned. Against a backdrop of increasing European encroachment on Ottoman domains, the temporality of traditional politics was effectively broken by the urgency of Ottoman modernization. The defining political discourse was no longer one of religion and heresy (which had to be alternatively accommodated or suppressed) but of backwardness and modernization. As such, the logic of imperial Ottoman nationalism was not to perform politics within the parameters of a foundational moment but to surpass it, to move away urgently from it, and to rise above it. Politics was no longer simply about bargaining with subjects within a supposedly self-contained and everlasting Ottoman domain of obedience, as much as it was civilizing subjects on the world stage of modernization.

NOWHERE WAS THIS TRANSITION MADE CLEARER than in the Ottoman reaction to the outbreak of sectarian clashes that occurred in Mount Lebanon and Damascus in the summer of 1860.<sup>50</sup> For numerous complicated reasons, ranging from Eastern Question politics to local interpretations of Ottoman reform, violence erupted between Druzes and Maronites in Mount Lebanon in late May and June of 1860. The upshot of it all was that the Maronites were defeated, and several major Maronite towns were pillaged, their Christian populations massacred. For different reasons, in July, much to the embarrassment of Ottoman reformers in Istanbul, Muslims rioted in Damascus and massacred several hundred Christians.<sup>51</sup> What interests us here are not the details of these sectarian episodes but how Ottoman reformers took advantage of the restoration of order in Mount Lebanon and Damascus to construct their vision of an Ottoman modernity in contrast to an alleged local barbarism. The foreign minister of the Ottoman Empire, Fuad Pasha, embodied many of the ideals of the Tanzimat. He was educated in reformed schools, was fluent in French, and had served as an Ottoman ambassador to Russia. He went personally to Syria to ensure that *modern* Ottoman law and order was properly imposed. His immediate objective, however, was to stem European

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also Ibrahim Bek Aswad, *Dalil Lubnan* (Baʿbda, 1906); and Cevdet Pasha, *Tarih-i Cevdet* [tertib cedid] (Istanbul, 1884), 249–56.

<sup>49</sup> See Saree Makdisi, *Romantic Imperialism: Universal Empire and the Culture of Modernity* (Cambridge, 1998), 111–15, for a discussion of British modernization in the context of colonial India.

<sup>50</sup> The events of 1860 themselves interrupted an Ottoman commission studying reform in the Balkans. See Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire*, 105–06.

<sup>51</sup> The reasons for the Damascus massacre (as well as the Lebanese war) were complex, but most historians agree that an economic recession among traditional artisanal sectors precipitated by European textile imports played a significant role in fueling Muslim resentment against wealthy Christians who dominated trade with Europe. See Leila Fawaz, *An Occasion for War* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994), for a narrative of the war in Mount Lebanon, the Damascus massacre, and the European responses to them.

influence, for in the aftermath of the massacres the French had sent an army to Syria to “aid” the Ottomans in reestablishing peace.<sup>52</sup>

From the outset of his mission, before he had actually completed any investigations, Fuad Pasha alleged that the sectarian violence between Druzes and Maronites in Mount Lebanon was a reflection of an “age-old” (*kadim ül-cereyan*) tribal struggle, whereas the outburst in Damascus was the work of unthinking and ignorant Muslims.<sup>53</sup> In report after report, Fuad Pasha contrasted the punishment inflicted by his modern army—whose outfits and organization represented the new face of the empire—with the supposed tribal savagery of local inhabitants. In Damascus, because of the scale of violence and because of the city’s symbolic importance to the Ottomans’ reconception of their Islamic heritage, scores of “ignorant” Muslims who allegedly took part in the riots were arrested. They were executed after hasty trials because they had “violated” the precepts of the *shari’a* and the will of the sultan—both of which Fuad Pasha maintained upheld the equality of Muslim and non-Muslim subjects. He concluded that Ottoman culpability was limited to a neglect of duty at the local level, which resulted in a “stain” on the honor of a modernizing state.<sup>54</sup>

The point here is to understand the implications of Fuad Pasha’s convictions rather than their veracity. The descriptions of the conflicts as age-old, in the case of Mount Lebanon, or as the work of ignorant rioters, in the case of Damascus, conveniently located sectarianism in a pre-modern world dominated by fanaticism, ignorance, and tribalism. The Ottoman punishment was, by contrast, understood by Fuad Pasha to be modern. It followed supposedly impartial investigations, as well as the reformed and allegedly unambiguous penal codes, and it was carried out by a Tanzimat army in the presence of European representatives. Fuad Pasha wanted to prove that the Ottoman Empire was impartial and tolerant and therefore could be modern. The local setting—be it the city of Damascus or Mount Lebanon—provided the stage on which an Ottoman commitment to modernity had to be demonstrated. “Because the Sublime State never accepts that the slightest harm or aggression should befall any of the classes of imperial subjects who take shelter under its protection,” Fuad decreed to the inhabitants of Syria soon after his arrival, “and because the events [that transpired in Syria in 1860, that is, the massacres] were contrary to the principle of civilization current in the world and beyond the pale in every manner, the Sublime State, in accordance with its duty to ensure justice, has decided to punish those involved in the events.”<sup>55</sup> The Ottoman state, Fuad Pasha insisted, had always been tolerant, and therefore like any other European state, in fact more than any other European state, could rightfully claim to be a modern and civilized power. In this, he echoed a common Tanzimat refrain that the Ottomans were avatars of tolerance, for they had a long history of religious toleration, unlike the Europeans, who had only recently embraced it.<sup>56</sup> Yet Fuad Pasha’s notion of being modern meant reconfiguring the Ottoman present and past

<sup>52</sup> For details on the French expedition, see Fawaz, *Occasion for War*, 110–31.

<sup>53</sup> BBA, BEO A.MKT.UM, 415/56, 1 M 1277 [July 20, 1860]; BBA, BEO A.MKT.UM, 480/28, 11 Z 1277 [June 20, 1861]; and BBA, IRADE H 9861, 16 Ra 1277 [October 2, 1860].

<sup>54</sup> See BBA, IRADE MM 851/4, Leff.4, 16 M 1277 [July 16, 1860].

<sup>55</sup> BBA, IRADE D 31753, Leff.3, n.d.

<sup>56</sup> See, for example, Ali Pasha’s memorandum on reform in Archives du Ministère des Affaires

along Enlightenment terms of tolerance and equality. It meant subordinating the nuances and specificities of past Ottoman accommodation of religious difference within an Enlightenment narrative of progress, which itself ironically had consistently used the Ottoman Orient to define fanaticism, depravity, indolence, and stagnation.<sup>57</sup> But it also meant insisting that toleration was the heritage of the imperial center. The Ottoman state would have to impose modernity on a recalcitrant periphery recognized by the Tanzimat officials to be inhabited by “two sects [that] are full of sedition and abominable wickedness.”<sup>58</sup>

Underlying this notion of a modern stage was a redefinition of the traditional relationship between rulers and ruled in the Ottoman Empire. Fuad Pasha deployed the language of the old regime (brigandage, sedition, and the *sharīʿa*) in his reports, but he was acutely aware of the world stage on which local order had to be restored.<sup>59</sup> The ideology of progress allowed Fuad Pasha to deploy classical Ottoman ruling discourses to equate the modern Ottoman subject with the tolerant, obedient, and quietist subject. Fuad Pasha reminded his soldiers that although they were in Syria “to bring peace and security to this area and to punish the sins of the [Ottoman subjects] because of their cruel acts,” they were also there to “show everybody what the worth and value of a soldier is and let all our compatriots (*vatandaşlarımız*) know our Padişah’s justice.”<sup>60</sup> On the one hand, therefore, the soldiers acted on behalf of their theoretical compatriots in Damascus and Mount Lebanon, who lived (at least in the case of Mount Lebanon) in a presumably savage tribal landscape. The imperial soldiers constituted the vanguard of Ottoman modernity, rationality, and nationalism. They were to lead by example, for in addition to being commanded to obey the person of the sultan, the soldiers and their Ottoman compatriots were exhorted to be loyal to an abstract Ottoman nation. They were meant to embody a concept of national allegiance, which like loyalty to the House of Osman of the old regime, flowed up the social order, from periphery to center. Fuad Pasha envisioned an Ottoman modernity that included a modern subjecthood composed of fellow citizens, or *vatandaşlar*, who listened, followed, and obeyed rather than actively participated in the governance of the empire.

By casting the Ottoman Empire as the progenitor of the Enlightenment ideal (and therefore its natural inheritor), capable of its own renaissance, Ottoman reformers also articulated a notion of the “Ottoman man’s burden” toward its subject populations, who would have to be disciplined and reformed before the Ottoman Empire could firmly establish itself as a civilized power. To do this, two things had to occur: the first was to project an image of an Ottoman Empire that in

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Etrangères de France: Mémoires et Documents, Turquie, Vol. 51, no. 9, “Mémoire transmis à Londres et à Paris par Aali Pacha,” May 1855.

<sup>57</sup> Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image* (1960; Oxford, 1993), 309–12.

<sup>58</sup> BBA, IMM 1129, Leff.14, 7 B 1258 [August 14, 1842].

<sup>59</sup> Even in the pre-Tanzimat regime, banditry was deployed as an imperial discourse of centralization, as Karen Barkey has argued. See *Bandits and Bureaucrats* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 176–77, for an analysis of what she describes as an Ottoman manufacturing of a discourse of banditry after cycles of conscription and demobilization of peasants in Anatolia during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

<sup>60</sup> BBA, IRADE MM 851/3, Leff.4, n.d. Also quoted in Baysun, *Cevdet Paşa Tezakir*, 13–20: 110.

Deringil's words illustrated it as a "leader of the Islamic world yet a modern member of the civilized community of nations."<sup>61</sup> The second was to uplift and civilize those peoples who were considered stagnant. The Arab provinces provided an ideal (if not exclusive) laboratory for this elaboration of an Ottoman vision of modernity.

IN THE WAKE OF 1860, as Ottoman officials studied, mapped, and reformed Mount Lebanon as never before, the famous Roman temples of Baalbek were rediscovered by now "civilized" Ottomans. They reclaimed the ruins from a European colonial discourse that had hitherto interpreted the edifice as a metaphor for Ottoman decline, and insisted, to the contrary of European Orientalism, that Baalbek represented the empire's own rich and dynamic heritage.<sup>62</sup> To reach Baalbek, travelers generally began their trip in Beirut, passing over Mount Lebanon on the Beirut-Damascus road, a relatively arduous two-day trip until a carriage way was opened soon after the 1860 war. Access to the ruins was regularized, and admission was set at one silver *meddiye* coin for both foreigners and Ottoman subjects.

Ottoman archaeological interest in the pre-Islamic Phoenician and Hellenistic past was one more step in the self-incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into a European-dominated modernity.<sup>63</sup> An Imperial Museum (*Müze-i Hümayun*) had already been founded in Istanbul in 1869, and although the first directors were European, in 1881 the French-educated Osman Hamdi Bey was appointed as head of the museum. Under Hamdi Bey's guidance, various excavations of Phoenician and Hellenistic sites were conducted throughout the empire; he was instrumental in creating an awareness of the cultural (and hence political) importance of these sites and prompted the Ottoman government to pass a law in 1884 (*Asar-i Atika Nizamnamesi*) that prohibited the export of antiquities from the empire. The passage of the 1884 law created an exclusive Ottoman legal and cultural claim to antiquities in the empire.<sup>64</sup> The Ottoman state directed important finds, among which was the 1887 discovery by Hamdi Bey of the Royal Necropolis of Sidon, including the alleged sarcophagus of Alexander the Great, to go to the recently rebuilt Imperial Museum.<sup>65</sup> Although the museum he directed and the conservation law he oversaw were, in large measure, a reaction to European "pilfering" of (what was now seen) as Ottoman antiquities, Hamdi Bey was nevertheless acutely aware

<sup>61</sup> Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 154.

<sup>62</sup> Ussama Makdisi, "The 'Rediscovery' of Baalbek: A Metaphor for Empire in the Nineteenth Century," in *Baalbek: Image and Monument, 1898–1998*, Hélène Sader, Thomas Scheffler, and Angelika Neuwirth, eds. (Beirut, 1998), 137–56.

<sup>63</sup> The following discussion of Hamdi Bey is reproduced from Ussama Makdisi, "Rethinking Ottoman Imperialism: Modernity, Violence, and the Cultural Logic of Ottoman Reform," presented at a workshop in Beirut, which will appear in Thomas Philipp, Jens Hanssen, and Stefan Weber, eds., *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut, forthcoming).

<sup>64</sup> The first law on antiquities promulgated in 1874 had mandated only that antiquities discovered in archaeological digs were to be divided equally between the excavator, the owner of the land on which the excavation was made, and the state. See Mustafa Cezar, *Müzeci ve Ressam Osman Hamdi Bey* (Istanbul, 1987), 21.

<sup>65</sup> See Jens Hanssen, "Imperial Discourses and an Ottoman Excavation in Lebanon," in Sader, *Baalbek: Image and Monument*, 165–72, for more information about the excavations of the Royal Necropolis in Sayda.



of his debt to the science of Europe—archaeology and philology—and he solicited the French philologist and Orientalist Ernest Renan’s help in deciphering some of the Phoenician inscriptions he found at Sidon.<sup>66</sup> For Hamdi Bey, the ruins of Baalbek and the Necropolis of Sidon constituted Ottoman “national” treasures in addition to those Islamic monuments that dotted the sultan’s domains. Hamdi Bey was extremely proud of the success of the excavations of the Necropolis at Sidon—the first Ottoman archaeological expedition.<sup>67</sup> The Necropolis was housed as the major display in the new museum building in Istanbul, whose neo-classical façade, as Jens Hanssen has written, suggested an empire able both to reach into the past to set the stage for its own teleological evolution into modernity and at the same time to translate East for West, and, of course, West for East.<sup>68</sup>

Ottoman modernization reinforced an imperial relationship that explicitly separated a modernizing center from the rest of the empire—through the flow of antiquities from Sidon and Baalbek to the Imperial Museum in Istanbul—at the same time that it increased actual control and authority over the provinces through administrative and urban reform. The irony, of course, is that while Osman Hamdi Bey reacted to and decried European “theft” of Ottoman antiquities, he unilaterally removed local antiquities to Istanbul. On the one hand, the Ottomans wanted to present their modernization by saving and displaying antiquities in a new museum; they wanted to emulate Europe and thereby close the metaphorical gap of progress that separated Ottomans from Europeans. On the other hand, the relocation of antiquities was premised on a distinction between the discerning and cultivated modern center and the ignorant provincial pre-modern periphery. The Ottomans, in other words, used Baalbek as one of many sites from which to elaborate their own sense of modernity—in the face of constant European military pressure and in contrast to the presumed lawlessness of the Arab Bedouins and “the perpetually warring” Lebanese tribes.<sup>69</sup> For example, a plaque erected by Sultan Abdülhamid II to commemorate the visit to Baalbek of the German emperor Kaiser Wilhelm II in 1898 was placed inside the Temple of Bacchus to remind visitors of a civilized Ottoman sovereignty over the ruins. It also intimated the desire of the empire to be treated as an equal by its “friendly” European allies. Significantly, the plaque was inscribed in Ottoman and German but not Arabic. The vast majority of the local inhabitants were apparently not deemed worthy (or capable, perhaps) of reading or understanding the significance of the imperial visit and its reflection of the elevation of the Ottoman Empire on the world stage. Moreover, entrance tickets were written in three languages, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic, and French, the first being of course the official language of the empire (and a source of increasing tension in the Arabic-speaking provinces, especially after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908), the second being the language of the local population, and the third the lingua

<sup>66</sup> Cezar, *Müzeci ve Ressam Osman Hamdi Bey*, 20. Renan had already traveled to Baalbek and other regions in Syria to study Phoenician inscriptions and ruins in the wake of the French occupation of Syria in 1860. His work is titled *Mission de Phénicie*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1864).

<sup>67</sup> Osman Hamdi Bey and Theodore Reinach, *Une nécropole royale à Sidon: Fouilles de Hamdy Bey* (Paris, 1892), 117.

<sup>68</sup> Hamdi Bey and Reinach, *Une nécropole royale*, 169. See Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 12–13, for a similar point.

<sup>69</sup> Ahmed Rifat, *Lugat-ı Tarihiye ve Coğrafiye*, 7 vols. (Istanbul, 1881–83), 3–4: 240; 5–7: 133.

franca of all foreigners. Although the same price was charged of both foreigners and Ottoman subjects, only the Arabic text exhorted the locals not to steal—although in fact it was a long-established habit of European travelers (such as the French poet Alphonse de Lamartine) to help themselves to the antiquities they fancied.

Hamdi Bey understood the task of Ottomans such as himself to be a struggle both against the fanaticism and ignorance of the local Arab population and against the rapacious and relentless encroachment of Western imperialism. He warned that “it would be a profound mistake to believe that this work of devastation is due, as is commonly repeated, to the fanaticism of the [local] inhabitants. It must be recognized that the true cause lies in the venality and ignorance of the lower classes of the population, both Muslim and Christian, which incessantly are excited and encouraged by foreigners established in this country who have no goal but to traffic widely in antiquities.”<sup>70</sup> Hamdi Bey’s interpretation of the Ottoman past dissociated the imperial classical past represented by Baalbek and the Necropolis of Sidon from the primitive, superstitious, lowly, and religiously confused Arab inhabitants.<sup>71</sup> The former represented a heritage and a platform to demonstrate their modernity—their ability scientifically to excavate, transport, display, and appreciate the artifacts. The latter epitomized backwardness—exploited by selfish Europeans—which threatened to destroy the foundations of the empire. This dissociation between a noble past and a contemporary decline among the Oriental inhabitants—a point at the heart of European Orientalism—was made even more explicit by Hamdi Bey when he traveled to Damascus during his excavations at Sidon. There, he lamented what he called the “decadence of taste” among the inhabitants of Damascus. He mourned the loss of an Islamic heritage and aesthetic in the face of what he saw as blind and vulgar imitation of European style. The result, said Hamdi Bey, was “a sad spectacle of the degeneracy of taste among the peoples of the Orient . . . While there is still time, I advise architects and artists who love beautiful things to hasten to Damascus to admire what is left of the marvels of Islamic art.”<sup>72</sup>

Hamdi Bey believed that Ottoman modernization could succeed only if it preserved some sense of Ottoman difference from the West. He saw native culture as a timeless patrimony that set the Ottoman Empire apart from the West.<sup>73</sup> In other words, anticipating what would become a standard Third World nationalist claim that modern Western science could and should be married to an essential indigenous tradition, Hamdi Bey sought to reconcile Western science and national culture rather than totally to emulate the West.<sup>74</sup> Yet in his understanding of native culture of the Ottoman Empire, be it the Islamic architecture of Damascus or the traditional attire of the various peoples of the Ottoman lands, which he detailed in

<sup>70</sup> Hamdi Bey and Reinach, *Une nécropole royale*, iv.

<sup>71</sup> Hamdi Bey and Reinach, *Une nécropole royale*, 63. See also Hanssen, “Imperial Discourses,” 167.

<sup>72</sup> Hamdi Bey and Reinach, *Une nécropole royale*, 112.

<sup>73</sup> This point has been made before by Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 42, in her discussion of Osman Hamdi Bey and Marie de Launay’s *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* (Istanbul, 1873). She interprets it as a work that “repeated the false generalization common to European interpretations: by failing to note transformations over time and by characterizing ‘costumes’ as timeless, they froze the culture historically.”

<sup>74</sup> See Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 6.

his *Les costumes populaires de la Turquie en 1873* for the Universal Exposition at Vienna, Hamdi Bey articulated a vision of Ottoman modernity that was hierarchical and imperial. He intimated that it was the task of Ottoman modernizers to save Ottoman heritage not just from the West but also from the Oriental peoples of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>75</sup> He proposed to save the Ottoman subjects of the Arab provinces from themselves—both the supposedly indolent majority in need of uplift and the active minority who were blindly imitating European style, which threatened to destroy any sense of Ottoman uniqueness. Behind Hamdi Bey's romantic discourse of Ottoman difference from the West lay a rhetoric of modernization that necessitated an Ottoman civilizing mission.

In his *Les costumes populaires*, Hamdi Bey explicitly outlined where and how tradition fit within a modernized world. He carefully distinguished between what he called clothing and costume. For him, clothing was the manifestation of the homogenizing and rationalizing impulse of modernization: "Day by day, clothing tends to become more uniform across the world, and to efface not only all distinctions between diverse classes of society, but also those between different nations which seemed otherwise to be permanently separated by natural and moral barriers."<sup>76</sup> Traditional costume, on the other hand, was the clearest expression of an innate—and hence, for Hamdi Bey, authentic—characteristic of a people.<sup>77</sup> Costume, like the archaeological treasures of the empire, gave the Ottoman state its distinctive cultural and historical code in an otherwise homogenous modernity. For this reason, Hamdi Bey gave an exhaustive account of the myriad costumes, and customs and manners, of the various peoples of the empire. He began with "Turquie d'Europe" and more specifically Istanbul, which he declared was a link between East and West, and then he proceeded to the Balkan provinces; he next turned to Anatolia, then the Arab provinces, before ending with Africa.<sup>78</sup> Yet in constituting the various popular costumes of the empire as integral components of Ottoman "tradition" and, therefore, as the authentic underpinnings of any project of modernization, Hamdi Bey made it abundantly clear that his ethnographic survey—just like his later archaeological expeditions—was linked to a more general Ottoman mission to civilize quaint, but backwards and often fanatical, peripheries. For example, Hamdi Bey prefaced his discussion of what he understood to be native dress in Syria by stating, "Great historical memories are in abundance in these rich countries, conquered in turn by the Phoenicians, the Hebrews, the Greeks, and the Romans; [these countries] where the Quran and the Bible—two books of peace, fraternity, and tolerance—have long served as a pretext for crusaders coming from all over the Occident and for Arabs who founded Islam to tear each other apart. [This continued] up until the Ottoman conquest contained by force [these] fanatical hatreds, which, on occasion, would reawaken."<sup>79</sup> Hamdi Bey not only sought to rewrite the history of the Ottoman conquest of the Arab provinces in a profoundly nineteenth-century discourse of tolerance, but he seized on the supposedly timeless costume to underscore other allegedly timeless characteristics of various groups in

<sup>75</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*.

<sup>76</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*, 5.

<sup>77</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*, 6.

<sup>78</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*, 11–12.

<sup>79</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*, 258.

the Ottoman domains; he sought to adduce what he considered to be the essential characteristics of the native inhabitants of these provinces who were tamed, disciplined, and civilized—that is to say, forcibly removed from their endlessly repeated history of putatively endemic and age-old tribal violence—by the Ottoman imperial center. He described “the Muslim of Lebanon” (by which he meant a Sunni) as imbued with “soft and tranquil manners and customs,” unlike his “turbulent neighbors,” the Druzes and Maronites.<sup>80</sup> The Maronites, he declared, were “remarkably intelligent and proud” and were “industrious and rich,” but, “just like their Druze neighbors, with whom they have never been able to live in harmony, the Maronites have proved difficult to subdue. Only in the last few years have the joint efforts of the imperial Ottoman government together with its faithful allies succeeded in pacifying [Mount Lebanon]; today the age-old hatreds of the Druzes and Maronites seem to have been finally quelled; obedient subjects, they now live as brothers under the legitimate authority of a Christian Pasha sent by Istanbul to govern Mount Lebanon.”<sup>81</sup>

OTTOMAN ORIENTALISM EMERGED IN ITS OWN RIGHT during the last decades of Ottoman rule. It did so in the context of an ongoing Ottoman challenge to a European discourse of a fanatical and depraved Ottoman Empire and in the context of the loss of Balkan provinces in 1878 and again in 1913. Ottoman Orientalism reflected the rise of a specifically *Turkish* sensibility as the dominant element of a westernized Islamic Ottoman nationalism. This sentiment was most clearly expressed by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, who wrote that the “real strength of the Sublime State lies with the Turks. It is the obligation of their national character (*kavmiyyet*) and religion to sacrifice their lives for the House of Osman until the last one is destroyed. Therefore it is natural that they be accorded more worth than other peoples of the Sublime State.”<sup>82</sup>

Ottoman modernization was not predicated on the abandonment of Islam as much as it was on buttressing the notion of a Muslim Great Power ruled by an Ottoman Turkish elite. Like Japan, which was an important example for Ottoman officials especially after its defeat of Russia in 1905, the late Ottoman state saw itself as at once part of East but above the rest of the Eastern peoples.<sup>83</sup> If the

<sup>80</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*, 265.

<sup>81</sup> Hamdi Bey and de Launay, *Les costumes populaires*, 267.

<sup>82</sup> Quoted in Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 170. To be sure, there were many differences among late Ottoman reformers. Many emphasized the Islamic nature of Ottoman modernization, while others, particularly some circles within the Young Turks (who seized power in 1908), gravitated toward a more unabashedly and openly secular interpretation of modernization. Despite divisions within metropolitan Ottoman culture, practically all Ottoman reformers—be they “Islamists,” “Westernizers,” “Turkists” or (as in most cases) a combination thereof—were committed to an Ottoman Empire in which Istanbul’s grip on its remaining provinces would be consolidated rather than abolished. See Hanioglu, *Young Turks in Opposition*, 9–16; Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire*, 118, 132–36. See also Feroz Ahmed, *The Young Turks: The Committee of Union and Progress in Turkish Politics, 1908–1914* (Oxford, 1969), 154; and Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 337.

<sup>83</sup> The Ottoman view of Japan has been the subject of a recent dissertation by Renée Worringer, “Comparing Perceptions: Japan as an Archetype for Ottoman Modernity, 1876–1918” (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2001). The Ottoman-Japanese comparison is compelling precisely because of the manner in which both sought to westernize despite Western imperialism at the same time as they

Japanese viewed themselves as superior to Koreans and Chinese, so, too, Ottoman reformers expounded what Deringil has called an “Ottoman *mission civilisatrice*” to backward and indolent Arabs, Islam notwithstanding.<sup>84</sup> For example, Sultan Abdülhamid II, who believed that the “Turks were the basic (*asli*) group of the [Ottoman] state,”<sup>85</sup> opened a new school in Istanbul in 1892, the Aşiret Mekteb-i Hümayun, to educate the sons of the leading Arab and Kurdish tribal notables. The goal was to turn them into loyal Ottoman functionaries by sending them back “to their tribes” to continue the process of civilization and Ottomanization. By teaching them Ottoman Turkish, classical Arabic, French, and Persian as well as Islamic sciences, geography, and history, the school aimed to “enable the tribal people to partake of the prosperity that emanates from knowledge and civilization, and to further augment their well-known natural inclination towards and love for the Great Islamic Caliphate, and the Sublime Ottoman Sultanate, as well as to strengthen and confirm earnest loyalty to the state and religious duties incumbent on them by the Seriat and civil laws.”<sup>86</sup>

What the Aşiret Mektebi signified educationally, Sabri Pasha’s third volume of *Mer’at ül-Haremeyn* accomplished textually through an anthropological study of Arabia.<sup>87</sup> Published in 1889, *Mer’at ül-Haremeyn* was a compendious tome that charted the history of Arabia from before the rise of Islam to the present under Ottoman rule. It is no surprise that Sabri Pasha wrote at a time when the Ottomans were militarily reasserting their authority over the region in the name of Islam and civilization.<sup>88</sup> In addition to providing extensive geographical and topographical information on the different routes, towns, and cities in Arabia, it discussed the various tribes of Arabia, their divisions and alliances, their social and political organization, family life, how they raided, and what kinds of weapons they used. Despite its claim to accuracy, and its stated desire to reduce the gaps in the knowledge of Arabia, Sabri Pasha’s *Mer’at ül-Haremeyn* was also a paean to the modernizing Islamic regime of Abdülhamid.<sup>89</sup> Sabri Pasha described the famous early nineteenth-century campaign of the modernizing Mehmed Ali of Egypt against the Wahabis as an effort to “destroy that vile group’s foul existence and to purify the holy soil” of Mecca and Medina.<sup>90</sup> This typical Ottoman description of the Wahabis as purveyors of error and deceit, corruption and sedition—as faithless heretics—was juxtaposed against a modernizing Ottoman state, personified by

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both saw themselves as at once part of Asia but no longer of Asia (or “Good-bye Asia,” as the Japanese writer Fukuzawa Yukichi put it in 1885). See David J. Lu, *Japan: A Documentary History* (Armonk, N.Y., 1997), 352.

<sup>84</sup> Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 158.

<sup>85</sup> Quoted in Karpat, *Politicization of Islam*, 176. *Asli* can be translated as “original” or “essential” or “fundamental” rather than “basic.”

<sup>86</sup> Eugene L. Rogan, “Aşiret Mektebi: Abdülhamid II’s School for Tribes (1892–1907),” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28 (1996): 83–107.

<sup>87</sup> Eyub Sabri Pasha, *Mer’at ül-Haremeyn*, 3 vols. (Istanbul, 1889). The third volume was subtitled *Mer’at Cezirat’ ül-arab*.

<sup>88</sup> The Ottoman invasion of the Hasa region of Arabia in 1871 was ostensibly to help the local Abdullah bin Faysal in his struggle against his more powerful and British-backed brother, Sa’ud bin Faysal. See also Frederick F. Anscombe, *The Ottoman Gulf: The Creation of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Qatar* (New York, 1997), 16–20, 34–53.

<sup>89</sup> Sabri Pasha, *Mer’at ül-Haremeyn*, 3: 3.

<sup>90</sup> Sabri Pasha, *Mer’at ül-Haremeyn*, 3: 99–100.



Sultan Abdülhamid, “the sustainer of state and nation, renewer of the age, and the embodiment of justice and civilization.”<sup>91</sup> Arabia, for Sabri Pasha, was an unchanging world, a place of falsehood and savage customs from which the Wahabis naturally emerged. It was a place of perennial raiding, violence, and heresy. It was now marked by an abundance of ignorance and a paucity of knowledge and religion. In addition to eminently useful knowledge about Arabia, knowledge that could be put to good use by the Ottoman state, intent on pacifying the region, *Mer’atü’l-haremeyn* carefully dissociated Islam, whose symbolic potential was being used by the Hamidian regime to bolster its own legitimacy and own modernization drive, from the inhabitants of Arabia.

The pacification of Arabia, and the rise of what Deringil has called “Ottoman image management,” was undoubtedly part of a more general Ottoman attempt to defend and at the same time unify the empire.<sup>92</sup> One of the great Ottoman reformers and constitutional advocates, and himself a leader of the Ottoman military campaigns to pacify and civilize Arabia, Midhat Pasha wrote in 1878 (addressing Europeans) “that to speak of the East a man should know it well.” To know it meant, for Midhat Pasha, to acknowledge that “Islamism” embodied the principles of liberty, democracy, and justice, that Ottoman rule *had been* a civilizing influence in both Europe and the East. Midhat claimed “it was by equity that [Ottoman dynasties] developed their nascent authority, and extended it to neighboring countries, which, before they were attacked, were ready, such is the radiant power of justice, annexed in spirit to their dominion.” And he continued, “the nations of the East and of the North had not yet emerged from the state of barbarism in which they existed. As a consequence of this state of things there was an influx of crowds of immigrants from all directions toward the Ottoman countries.” Since that time, the Ottoman state had declined, Europe had launched itself along the “path of progress” and “modern civilization,” and the task of Ottoman reformers was clearly to oversee a “fusion” between the “different races” of the empire. “Out of this fusion should spring the progressive development of the populations, to whatever nationality and whatever religion they may belong; it is the only remedy for our ills and the sole means we have of struggling with advantage against enemies at home and abroad.”<sup>93</sup>

Ottoman Orientalism was defined by the promise of an imperial project of “fusion” (as Midhat Pasha put it) between races and religion and the limits of this promise, as it ran aground against an established hierarchy that sought to consolidate Ottoman Turkish imperial rule over various subordinate provinces. The two faces of Ottoman power—as a civilized and a civilizing Eastern Muslim great power—were represented both in imperial projections of power abroad and within the empire. In the 1893 Chicago World’s Fair, as Deringil and Çelik have illustrated, the Ottoman government sought to avoid objectionable (that is to say, unregulated) displays of things Oriental—from dancing girls to dervishes to wild Arab Bedouin. Moreover, a “Turkish village” was placed at an intermediary point

<sup>91</sup> Sabri Pasha, *Mer’at ü’l-Haremeyn*, 3: 2.

<sup>92</sup> Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 135.

<sup>93</sup> Midhat Pasha, “The Past, Present, and Future of Turkey,” *Nineteenth Century* 16 (1878): 981–1000.

at the Chicago Midway Plaisance, between the central “White City” and the allegedly most “savage” examples of humanity, the native Americans and Dahom-eyan peoples of West Africa.<sup>94</sup>

Within the empire, Midhat Pasha and other Ottoman officials continued their military campaign to pacify the Arab provinces as part of an Ottomanizing project of “fusion.” As early as 1871, for example, Midhat, then governor of Baghdad, launched a campaign to suppress the Wahabis in Arabia. His Ottoman forces arrived in naval vessels named *Asur* (Assyria) and *Babil* (Babylon), and they carried with them an Arabic proclamation to the Arab inhabitants printed by the imperial press in Baghdad. The proclamation very firmly associated civilization and Islam with the Ottoman state, which, in effect, had come to save the Muslim Arab natives from themselves, but it framed this civilizing mission squarely within Islamic idiom. It read,

Although the Ottoman state recognizes its responsibility to preserve Muslim might and power, it also recognizes that its preoccupation for some time with crises in other parts of the empire has led it to neglect its role and has thus not been able to resolve in an appropriate manner what is occurring in [this] region. The Ottoman state’s preoccupation has opened the opportunity in Najd and Yemen for rebellious movements by tribes and clans of the desolate regions and the desert. This situation continues to cause strife between Muslims and has led to despotism over the weak and the denial of their rights.

The proclamation noted that “the Muslim nation” had been harmed by the persistence of these untoward actions and that the days of Ottoman neglect were over. It warned in no uncertain terms,

It is inevitable that the Ottoman state will meet its obligation to reform the affairs of subjects in accordance with the order of the Ottoman state and its laws, which are based on the Islamic *shari’a*. Therefore . . . the state begins with counsel and lenient and friendly treatment, and the appointment of officials to all regions, and has started to propagate the goals of this policy; if this policy of counsel and advise bears fruit [so be it], but if not, there will inevitably be recourse to force, and soldiers and artillery will be sent against those who oppose the state, particularly those who have distanced [themselves] from civilization and settlement, and have remained in a state of savage ignorance and nomadism.<sup>95</sup>

It is not that Midhat spoke with two contradictory voices in the West and in Arabia. Rather, he projected a single voice of imperial authority determined to represent a modern East and Islam, but in two registers, and from different positions of power within a single scale of progress: to pre-modern subjects as persuasion through power and to already modern Europeans as empowerment through persuasion. “Speaking back” (as Çelik has called it) to Western Orientalist discourse entailed the creation of an Ottoman Orientalist discourse with its own internal complexity. Arab provincial elites, particularly in Damascus, Cairo, and Beirut, participated in this process of hierarchical “fusion” inherent in Ottoman Orientalism. Many of them also subscribed to a notion of an East that could be

<sup>94</sup> Holly Edwards, “A Million and One Nights: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930,” in Edwards, ed., *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870–1930* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 37. See also Deringil, *Well-Protected Domains*, 157–60.

<sup>95</sup> Quoted in ‘Abdullah bin Nasir al-Subay’i, *Al-hamla al-‘askariyya al-‘uthmaniyya ‘ala al-Ihsa’ wa al-Qatif wa Qatar* (Riyadh, 1999), 59–60.

redeemed, the desert as primitive, the Bedouin, lower classes, and women as ignorant and *pre-modern*.<sup>96</sup> Some enrolled in modern Ottoman schools such as the Maktab 'Anbar school founded in Damascus in 1893, while others studied in non-Ottoman missionary institutions such as the Syrian Protestant College founded in 1866, the Jesuit Université Saint-Joseph in Beirut, or the local Maqasid foundation schools set up in 1866. Arab elites embraced and in some cases, such as Butrus al-Bustani, actually led in the elaboration of an “awakening” modern Eastern identity, while others like Shakib Arslan personified a new class of self-declared Ottoman Arab notables. Stefan Weber has described wall paintings in late Ottoman Damascus as markers of a new Ottoman architectural style and aesthetic that marked the late nineteenth-century incorporation of Arab elites into an Ottoman modernity.<sup>97</sup> There was clearly a space for the educated inhabitants of the Arab provinces, therefore, to participate in the elaboration of Ottoman Orientalism. Ottoman officials of Arab descent, for example, wrote in Ottoman and described rural Arab provinces in teleological and civilizational terms similar to those adopted by imperial reformers in Istanbul.<sup>98</sup> There was a crucial interplay within Ottoman Orientalism between Arab (among other) elites and the Ottoman state, precisely because what it meant to be Ottoman—and, indeed, Arab, Eastern, and Muslim—in the late empire was itself being redefined.

The temporal differentiation at the heart of Ottoman modernization was amplified by the development of separate Arab, Turkish, Armenian, and Balkan nationalist discourses, and by nineteenth-century understandings of progress ineluctably bound up in an embrace of “scientific” European Social-Darwinistic thinking. It was perhaps inevitable, then, that an informal racial hierarchy would be consolidated in the empire following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908 and the rise to power of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP).<sup>99</sup> Certainly, as most Ottomanists have pointed out, the specific racialization of Ottoman identity must be understood against the backdrop of the mass expulsions of Muslims from the

<sup>96</sup> See in this regard Rogan, *Frontiers of the State*, 213–17; see also Birgit Schabler, “From Urban Notables to ‘Noble Arabs’: Shifting Discourses in the Emergence of Nationalism in the Arab East (1910–1916),” in Thomas Philipp, et al., eds., *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Beirut, forthcoming).

<sup>97</sup> Stefan Weber, “Images of Imagined Worlds: Self Image and Worldview in Late Ottoman Wall Paintings of Damascus,” in Philipp, *Empire in the City* (forthcoming).

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, M. Refik Bey and M. Behcet Bey, *Beyrut Vilayeti*, 2 vols. (Istanbul, 1919–20), 1: 1, 19. And see Michael Gilsenan, *Lords of the Lebanese Marches: Violence and Narrative in an Arab Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 73–76.

<sup>99</sup> See Şükrü Haniöğlu, *Preparation for a Revolution: The Young Turks, 1902–1908* (Oxford, 2001), 289–311. See also Haniöğlu, “The Young Turks and the Arabs before the Revolution of 1908,” in *The Origins of Arab Nationalism*, Rashid Khalidi, Lisa Anderson, Muhammad Muslih, and Reeva S. Simon, eds. (New York, 1991), 32. Racial thinking, of course, was not the preserve of the imperial center. Arabic-speaking subjects of the empire also began to identify themselves as Arabs and see the government as run by “Turks.” See C. Ernest Dawn, “The Origins of Arab Nationalism,” in Khalidi, *Origins of Arab Nationalism*, 8. Karpas, *Politicization of Islam*, 356, makes the distinction between a romantic rediscovery of a common Turkish ethnic identity or “Turkishness” (*Türklük*) between 1839 and 1908, and the rise of Turkish statist political nationalism or “Turkism” (*Türkçülük*) after 1908. The Young Turks, according to Haniöğlu, viewed the Arabs as “the most inferior ethnic group of the empire.” Most members of the Central Committee of the Committee of Union and Progress regarded Ottoman nationalism as a primarily Turkish effort, and some referred to the Arabs as “the dogs of the Turkish nation.” See Haniöğlu, “Young Turks and the Arabs before the Revolution of 1908,” 31–32, 215–16; Göçek, *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of the Empire*, 136–37.

Balkan provinces in 1878. It is also true that, publicly at least, the Young Turks eschewed an explicitly antagonistic and divisive racial policy in favor of an inclusivist Ottomanist policy, albeit one defined increasingly along Turkish lines.<sup>100</sup> For the late Ottoman Empire, race signified the plurality and the promise of equality in a modern Ottoman nation-state, while religion signified its putative unity, at least insofar as the Arab provinces were concerned. Many Turkish officers of the Ottoman military, among them Mustafa Kemal himself, regarded the Arabs as fellow Muslims indeed, as *once* noble members of the race of the Prophet who could be redeemed and raised up by the Turkish race.<sup>101</sup>

Racial thinking, in effect, reflected and contributed to profound changes in the meaning of Ottoman across one century: from the old regime meaning of an imperial elite that disparaged the common “Turk,” to a secular Tanzimat legal citizenship and official discourse of patriotic *Osmanlılık* that included all Ottoman subjects, to a more ambiguous, more romantic, more exclusivist late Ottoman meaning that ennobled the “Turk.”<sup>102</sup> It signaled the beginnings of a linguistic, cultural, romantic, and historical exploration into a timeless “Turkish” patrimony of the empire that had to be rediscovered and rescued in the face of separatist nationalisms, and a concomitant mission to redeem a “besmirched” Turkish “nation,” whether in the lower-class quarters of Istanbul or the Anatolian countryside.<sup>103</sup> Members of the Muslim Ottoman Turkish elite—whose language began to be subject to a series of experimental reforms to modify the Arabic Ottoman script, whose architecture had grown increasingly Western in style, whose education was increasingly westernized over the course of the nineteenth century, and whose history according to Karpāt was “Turkified”—represented themselves as nationally different from and superior to the Arabs whose historical value had past, and whose present status was subordinated to a putatively more vigorous Turkish nation.<sup>104</sup> This paradoxical relation to the Arabs as at once a source of the empire’s Islamic identity yet a present (but not the only) embodiment of decline could be colored primarily in Islamist terms, as it was under Sultan Abdülhamid, or in unabashedly secularist terms, as it was by his critics such as Hüseyin Cahit (Yalçın), a journalist who wrote in 1898:

We are bound, whether we like it or not, to Europeanize . . . Ibn Khaldun’s philosophy of history belongs to the infantile age of the science of history. Since then, the child has grown; he became a boy in Germany; he even grew to old age . . . The modern science of history is to come from Europe not from the Arabs.<sup>105</sup>

<sup>100</sup> See Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, 299, who writes, “Despite their practice of employing Ottomanist, Turkist, and Panislamist rhetoric interchangeably depending on their targeted group, the CPU leaders’ Turkist inclinations had a profound impact on their interpretation of Ottomanism.”

<sup>101</sup> Andrew Mango, *Atatürk* (London, 1999), 65–66.

<sup>102</sup> The reasons for the rise of Turkish romanticism and ethnic nationalism have been well summarized in Karpāt, *Politicization of Islam*, 328–73.

<sup>103</sup> Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, 43. The precise path of “civilization” was subject to an intense debate between Islamists and secularists and those in between. See, for example, Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 385–410; Karpāt, *Politicization of Islam*, 381–88.

<sup>104</sup> Karpāt, *Politicization of Islam*, 229; see also Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire*, 2: 263; Hanioglu, *Preparing for a Revolution*, 42. Again, this does not deny that similar architectural and educational reforms and a more general westernizing turn were taking place in the Arab provinces or that Arabs themselves were developing (or rediscovering) an autonomous sense of Arabism.

<sup>105</sup> Quoted in Berkes, *Development of Secularism in Turkey*, 298–99.

Past Arab and Islamic glory, in short, underscored present Oriental decline, which in Ottoman eyes also encompassed not only the Arabs but Iran, India, and after the 1908 revolution Sultan Abdülhamid himself.<sup>106</sup> Following the Young Turk Revolution, and amidst the development of Arab and Turkish (as well as Armenian and Balkan) national consciousness, the Arabs were increasingly set off (and set themselves off) as linguistically, historically, ethnically, and nationally different.<sup>107</sup> Yet Arabs were also depicted by the Ottoman Turkish press as fellow victims of European imperialism, and were incorporated into the temporally ascriptive landscape of a late imperial Ottoman Turkish modernity.<sup>108</sup> The challenge for the late imperial Ottoman state, however, was not how to exclude Arab subjects (as many Arab historians have claimed and many Turkish historians have denied) but how to *include* them in this modernity.

Nowhere, perhaps, was this more evident than during World War I, where the Arab provinces proved to be the last stand of the Ottoman state as a modern multi-ethnic empire. The perspective of Halide Edib Adivar, an Ottoman pioneer in the field of women's education, is instructive in this regard. Edib was sent to Syria during the war after the Arab revolt against Ottoman Turkish rule had begun. Her goal was to open and run several Ottoman schools to educate Arab women, to teach them Turkish, and most important to ensure their loyalty to the Ottoman state. Despite her own best efforts to encourage a more empathetic view of the Arabs, her understanding of her own mission was startlingly revealing of the imperial dimension of Ottoman modernity: she considered Arabs a "minority" who had to be taught to love their Turkish government and who, after a suitable period of education and uplift, would be allowed self-determination. "Turkey," she wrote, "must help the Arabs to develop a national spirit and personality, teach them to love their own national culture more than any foreign one [by which she meant the French]."<sup>109</sup> The role of the Turk, she added, was critical. The Turk was a natural leader; the Arab naturally corrupt. The Turk was closer to Europe—both physically and historically in the sense that the Turkish nation was undergoing a "tardy renaissance."<sup>110</sup> The Arab, according to Edib, was mired in local passions. When she visited Jerusalem, she noted that "there was a hot and unwholesome atmosphere, mixed with religious passion verging on hysteria. The Turk alone had a calm, impartial, and quiet look. He . . . stood calmly watching, stopping bloody quarrels and preventing bloody riots in the holy places."<sup>111</sup>

Edib's genteel racialism indeed drew on a long tradition of imperial paternalism.

<sup>106</sup> See Palmira Brummett, *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911* (Albany, N.Y., 2000), 91, 116.

<sup>107</sup> See Rashid Khalidi, "Ottomanism and Arabism in Syria before 1914: A Reassessment," in Khalidi, *Origins of Arab Nationalism*, 50–67. It should be noted that until the very end of the Ottoman Empire, the local, communal, and even national interests of the Arab subjects coincided with or were accommodated within an Ottoman imperial framework. See Dawn, "Origins of Arab Nationalism," 22–23. And see James L. Gelvin, *Divided Loyalties: Nationalism and Mass Politics in Syria at the Close of Empire* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998), for a criticism of Arab nationalist historiography's romance of Arabism.

<sup>108</sup> Brummett, *Image and Imperialism*, 323–24.

<sup>109</sup> Halide Edib, *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (New York, 1926), 402.

<sup>110</sup> Edib, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, 244.

<sup>111</sup> Edib, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*, 426–27.



Yet by insisting that “Ottoman *Turks* created an Ottoman citizenship,”<sup>112</sup> and by referring to the Ottoman Empire as “crushed between the East and the West,”<sup>113</sup> Edib expressed the logic of Ottoman imperial modernization that broke decisively with a pre-Tanzimat understanding of the Ottoman Empire. For Edib, the modernizing Ottoman Empire was caught between two forces, the progressive West (with which the empire was trying to catch up) and the stagnant and fanatical Orient (from which the empire was trying to move away). In this narrative of progressive movement, the conflation between Ottoman and Turk signaled a proprietary attitude toward the Ottoman Empire, in which the Arabs were cast in an ambivalent role: at once members of an inferior “minority” who were to be civilized, disciplined, and (ultimately, perhaps) fully integrated, and at the same time as markers of a foreign Orient, above which the modern empire was struggling so hard to rise.

While Ottoman modernization, undergirded and galvanized by a sense of continual crisis, produced the likes of Halide Edib, it also produced Cemal Pasha, the wartime governor of Syria, who declared martial law and oversaw a reign of terror that culminated in famine and in the mass hangings of Syrian subjects in 1915.<sup>114</sup> Despite his reputation in the Arab historiography as an unremitting medieval “butcher,” Cemal Pasha was every bit as committed to modernity as Halide Edib. Before the outbreak of the Arab revolt, and indeed during it, he attended and gave speeches about the necessity and urgency of promoting the welfare of the Arab people.<sup>115</sup> In fact, Cemal Pasha invited Edib to Syria to mollify the Arab subjects whom he had just finished persecuting. He justified his persecution of Syrians by the exigencies of wartime; he accused them of “betraying” the empire, but he was convinced that these harsh measures in no way precluded an imperial Ottoman civilizing mission.<sup>116</sup> “In my reckoning,” Cemal Pasha admitted, “I am first and foremost an Ottoman, but after that I am a Turk and I never forget that. I am absolutely convinced that this element [the Turkish race] is the foundation-stone of the Ottoman Empire.” Cemal Pasha insisted, as well, that because of their promotion of science, knowledge, and civilization, the Turks had fortified Ottoman unity and strengthened the empire, “for in its origins the Ottoman Empire is Turkish . . . Therefore, the Arabs rebelled with the ambition of obtaining their independence; [look] into what condition they have fallen.”<sup>117</sup> The abiding contradiction in such a formulation is that while it underscored a *Turkish* claim to the Ottoman state—and hence in the view of Cemal Pasha, a Turkish responsibility to conduct the affairs of state—it also excoriated the Arabs (and others, most notably, the Armenians) for their “betrayal” of the Ottoman nation. This formulation lamented the seemingly inevitable decline of Arabs without the helping hand of a putatively more advanced and vigorous Turkish nation.

<sup>112</sup> Edib, *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 235, emphasis my own.

<sup>113</sup> Edib, *Memoirs of Halidé Edib*, 237.

<sup>114</sup> See Hasan Kayali, *Arabs and Young Turks* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 199–200, for a discussion of Cemal Pasha from an Ottoman perspective.

<sup>115</sup> Cemal Pasha, *Hatırat* (1920; Istanbul, 1996), 219.

<sup>116</sup> Cemal Pasha, *Hatırat*, 210.

<sup>117</sup> Cemal Pasha, *Hatırat*, 351.

THIS PRELIMINARY STUDY of Ottoman Orientalism points, in conclusion, to a hitherto-neglected aspect of the studies of Orientalism. For the most part, studies of Orientalism have focused on how Europeans have represented the Orient, or how Eastern societies (Ottomans and others) have resisted these portrayals—as if resistance were the only paradigm in which to study the encounter between non-Western worlds and Western powers. Or they have focused on a notion of Occidentalism that is often posited as a “reverse” Orientalism. There has been a reluctance to discuss representations of otherness advanced by non-Western regimes as simultaneous strategies of resistance and empowerment, of inclusion and exclusion.

What is revealing in the Ottoman case is how a double movement (moving an Islamic state independently *toward* a Eurocentric modernity and *away* from a representation of a stagnant Orient) modernized the representation and the raw language of power that characterized the pre-Tanzimat empire but did not do away with it. The challenge before scholars of the Ottoman Empire, specifically, is to explore how Ottoman resistance to Western imperialism engendered its own interrelated forms of Orientalist representation and domination that existed simultaneously at the center and the periphery. It is also to consider how these forms were shaped not by a will to exclude but by a desire and determination to include subjects and empire in a hierarchy of modernity.

Equally significant is that this double movement created the ideological space for Ottoman subjects to participate in this Orientalism as a project of national Ottoman resistance to Western colonialism. Unlike Western Orientalism, Ottoman Orientalism was as much a self-designation as it was a marker of difference from other, putatively less advanced, nations and races. It sought to unify Turks and Arabs within a rejuvenated East. At the same time, it differentiated them by overlaying temporal hierarchies with increasingly explicit ethnic and racial ones in which Ottoman became synonymous with Turk. To the extent that Arab elites were themselves involved in a similar dynamic with their own peripheries (whether constituted along ethnic, gender, or class lines), it becomes clear that the project of Ottoman modernization in an age of Western empire produced and anticipated multiple Orientalist discourses, many of which persisted long after the fall of the Ottoman Empire and with it the end of the specific line of Ottoman Orientalism.

“East,” observes Todorova, “is a relational category.”<sup>118</sup> How, then, to speak of Western Orientalism without taking into account the fact that Western colonialism, within which the former is embedded, has created myriad other Orientalisms? While it is true that the forms of Western Orientalism are unquestionably the most enduring, prolific, confident, and relentless because Western (and now American) power has remained so overwhelming, it is equally true that other non-Western forms coexist with yet resist, validate yet challenge, the original discourse itself. They mimic parts but are not clones of the original; they draw on indigenous histories and indeed become the very basis of its critique of modern Western Orientalism. Ultimately, both Western and non-Western Orientalisms presuppose a static and essential opposition between East and West; yet both are produced

<sup>118</sup> Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, 58.

by—and are an attempt to overcome—a crisis in this static opposition created by the same dynamic colonial encounter.

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*AHR Forum Essay*  
**Bringing the Natural World into History**

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*Environmental history is now a well-established field. However, Ted Steinberg argues in this Forum Essay, it remains a field at the periphery of the discipline. Major narratives about the past rarely include information about the natural world, let alone confront the implications of such information for our understanding of the past. Steinberg asserts that this situation should change. He contends that taking environmental history seriously means that historians must recognize that nature is more than a mere backdrop to other events and forces. Indeed, he insists that historians should begin to recognize the environment as a critical factor affecting human agency. Steinberg develops this argument by drawing on examples from the history of the United States that illustrate how pivotal developments in the American past must be reconceptualized when the natural world is taken into account. And he maintains that similar revisions must be made in the histories of other times and places as well. Steinberg invites responses to his argument.*

*And so do we. This Forum is the fifth installment of a format in which we solicit comments from readers rather than commission responses to be published along with the essay. We will host a moderated electronic discussion between Steinberg and those who wish comment on his essay. The discussion will take place September 2–16, 2002, on the AHR web site at <http://www.historycooperative.org/>. Participants can send questions or comments of up to 700 words. Guidelines will be posted on the discussion sign-in page. Our primary goals for the discussion are to make the exchanges as open and useful as possible and to ensure that they comply with the established standards of the AHR. After the discussion has concluded, the exchanges will become a permanent part of the electronic version of this Forum Essay. Questions about the Forum can be sent to the American Historical Review, 914 E. Atwater Ave., Bloomington, IN 47401 or to our e-mail address: [ahr@indiana.edu](mailto:ahr@indiana.edu).*

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## Forum Essay

# Down to Earth: Nature, Agency, and Power in History

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TED STEINBERG

TWO YEARS AGO, David Oshinsky, writing in the *New York Times*, called attention to the fragmentation that had descended across American history. No longer interested in writing grand narratives in the tradition of Frederick Jackson Turner, Charles Beard, and Richard Hofstadter, U.S. historians had become more specialized in the wake of the political upheavals of the 1960s, telling stories about ordinary people—blacks, women, and gays—instead of engaging in top-down political or intellectual history. The results, in the minds of some, have been unfortunate. Historians seem incapable of giving larger meaning to their work and thus have failed to command the attention of the general reading public. More recent scholarship, David Thelen lamented, had become “too obscure to appreciate and too remote from everyday life.”<sup>1</sup>

There may be a tendency in such critiques to romanticize the past. Indeed, one wonders whether readers were that much more engaged by history in Hofstadter’s day. But the general trend toward the fragmentation of scholarship can hardly be doubted. As Oshinsky points out, a veritable torrent of new historical categories—“race, gender, ethnicity, sexuality”—has come to the fore. Interestingly, Oshinsky does not mention the word “class,” and yet it too is clearly a driving force behind the more recent work in social and cultural history. Nor does he say anything about environment, an omission that seems particularly stunning, given the photograph of a forest that ran with the article. The caption notes that before the 1960s most historians paid little or no attention to Native American and other minority groups. The woods themselves remain in the background.

I wish to thank Dror Wahrman for first suggesting that I write this essay and for his trenchant criticism along the way to its completion. My gratitude also goes out to Michael Grossberg for his help sorting out what matters most, as well as to the *AHR* staff and the anonymous reviewers recruited to help me. In addition, I am indebted to Timothy Burke, Ken Ledford, Adam Rome, Jonathan Sadowsky, and Donald Worster for their excellent advice and guidance.

<sup>1</sup> Quotation from David Oshinsky, “The Humpty Dumpty of Scholarship,” *New York Times* (August 26, 2000): A17. This concern over fragmentation is an old one, first raised in the 1970s. For more on this debate, see Herbert G. Gutman, *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1976), xii–xiii; Thomas Bender, “Wholes and Parts: The Need for Synthesis in American History,” *Journal of American History* 73 (June 1986): 120–36; Nell Irvin Painter, “Bias and Synthesis in History,” *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 109–12; Richard Wightman Fox, “Public Culture and the Problem of Synthesis,” *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 113–16; Roy Rosenzweig, “What Is the Matter with History?” *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 117–22; Thomas Bender, “Wholes and Parts: Continuing the Conversation,” *Journal of American History* 74 (June 1987): 123–30; and Eric H. Monkkenen, “The Dangers of Synthesis,” *AHR* 91 (December 1986): 1146–57. Nor is public concern with specialization unique to history. The field of anthropology has also come under criticism for its fragmentation. See Sherry B. Ortner, “Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (January 1984): 126.



That nature appears as a backdrop in the article is hardly surprising, given the way most historians conceive of the natural world—defined here as plants and animals, soil and water, climate and weather—in their work. For the vast majority of the profession, nature is little more than a pretty scene or, at most, a preface to the more important social and political story that is about to unfold.

Only a small minority of scholars working in the field of environmental history have made nature the focus of their studies. Over the last generation, these historians have explored topics as spatially and temporally diverse as climate change and agriculture in imperial China (1400–1850), the vast ecological shifts that accompanied the introduction of sheep by the Spanish in sixteenth-century Mexico, the market economy's effect on species diversity in colonial New England, conflicts between rural communities and the British colonial state over forests in nineteenth-century India, soil erosion on South African pastures in the twentieth century, and the rise of the modern environmental movement in Germany. Perhaps the most ambitious and far-reaching study published recently is J. R. McNeill's *Something New under the Sun*, a kind of planetary history that assesses the ecological changes to soil, water, and air that occurred across the globe during the twentieth century.<sup>2</sup>

Although environmental historians have focused on many different continents and regions, it seems fair to say that the field has advanced further for the United States than in any other context. We know more about the United States than about Asia, Africa, Central and South America, and far more than about Europe, which has lagged behind in this area of specialization.<sup>3</sup> The promise and limitations of the field are arguably best assessed, then, in the United States, which remains at the cutting edge. Such an assessment will allow us to distill out some general lessons of value to all historians.

Surprisingly, despite the profusion of work in U.S. environmental history, the field still occupies a spot on the margins of the profession.<sup>4</sup> Consider survey

<sup>2</sup> Robert B. Marks, *Tigers, Rice, Silk, and Silt* (New York, 1998); Elinor G. K. Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (New York, 1994); William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York, 1983); Ramachandra Guha, "The Prehistory of Community Forestry in India," *Environmental History* 6 (April 2001): 213–38; William Beinart, "Soil Erosion, Animals and Pasture over the Longer Term: Environmental Destruction in Southern Africa," in *The Lie of the Land: Challenging Received Wisdom on the African Environment*, Melissa Leach and Robin Mearns, eds. (Oxford and Portsmouth, N.H., 1996), 54–72; Raymond H. Dominick III, *The Environmental Movement in Germany: Prophets and Pioneers, 1871–1971* (Bloomington, Ind., 1992); J. R. McNeill, *Something New under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York, 2000). For some useful reviews of the environmental historiography, see Gregory H. Maddox, "Africa and Environmental History," *Environmental History* 4 (April 1999): 162–67; David Edmunds and Eva Wollenberg, "Historical Perspectives on Forest Policy Change in Asia: An Introduction," *Environmental History* 6 (April 2001): 190–212; Mark Cioc, Björn-Ola Linnér, and Matt Osborn, "Environmental History Writing in Northern Europe," *Environmental History* 5 (July 2000): 396–406; and Michael Bess, Mark Cioc, and James Sievert, "Environmental History Writing in Southern Europe," *Environmental History* 5 (October 2000): 545–56.

<sup>3</sup> One measure of the relative dominance of the United States in the literature can be found by examining the books published in Cambridge University Press's well-regarded series in environmental history, edited by Donald Worster and Alfred W. Crosby. Of the twenty titles published thus far, eight treat the United States proper. Only one deals exclusively with Europe, though obviously, given the tendency of environmental historians to favor either ecosystems or other environmental entities over national ones, a number do touch on the area and its role in such developments as the slave trade or colonialism.

<sup>4</sup> In part, environmental historians, by founding their own specialized organization, played a role in cutting themselves off from the rest of the historical profession. See Alfred W. Crosby, "The Past and Present of Environmental History," *AHR* 100 (October 1995): 1188.

textbooks, a useful if somewhat limited measure of the current state of American history.<sup>5</sup> The inside covers of these textbooks contain perhaps the most telling statement of the inert role that nature plays in the past, a map of the United States, as if place were simply a given. For most textbook writers, environment means politics. The conservation movement and the emergence later of environmentalism remain the old standbys, stories that fit in well with the larger social and political history being told. There tends to be very little, if any, treatment of the roles played by climate change, deforestation, soil fertility, and plants and animals in the past. How Americans went about feeding themselves and getting rid of human and animal waste barely rates a mention, and yet it remains one of the fundamental aspects of human existence.

This is not to say that textbook writers have made no progress in incorporating environmental history into their narratives. Topics such as the ecological transformation precipitated by colonization, pollution in late nineteenth-century cities, or the 1930s Dust Bowl are now more likely to be treated. Often, however, the discussion of environment amounts to little more than tokenism, with the natural world incorporated in a very uncritical and reflexive manner.

Alfred W. Crosby's ideas about the Columbian Exchange, for example, are now a stock item in virtually all U.S. history college textbooks, with authors briefly discussing the biological changes that occurred as Old World plants, animals, and microbes crossed to North America. Textbook writers keen to point out to students the role of power in American history as they discuss topics such as workplace conflict and women's rights have rarely, if ever, applied such an analysis to something as seemingly devoid of politics and objectively "true" as the Columbian Exchange. And yet, as geographer Judith A. Carney has explained, it is important to consider the "ethnic and gendered dimensions of indigenous knowledge" necessary for this sweeping biological and ecological exchange to have taken place. Focusing on the cultivation of rice, Carney demonstrates that it was not primarily Europeans, as is commonly believed, who were responsible for introducing this crop into the New World. Rather, West Africans, especially women, domesticated one important species of the plant and later successfully brought the knowledge necessary to grow the crop to the North American continent.<sup>6</sup> (See Figure 1.)

The textbooks, then, fall short on two scores. They fail to see nature as an active, shaping force in the past, presenting it instead as a stable backdrop. And when nature is introduced, it is often presented as if it existed in a political vacuum, free from the workings of power in society. A fuller understanding of how change takes place, and of who wins and who loses as a result, requires that we knit together the concepts of nature and power. In the process, a more satisfying understanding of human agency will emerge.

TO DATE, THE MOST LUCID if environmentally deficient discussion of the relationship between human agency and structure is offered by William H. Sewell. Sewell begins with Anthony Giddens's promising notion of the dual nature of structures: that

<sup>5</sup> Textbooks still play a very important role in the teaching of American history, with the leading texts remaining profitable investments for the major publishers.

<sup>6</sup> Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Conn., 1972); Judith A. Carney, *The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 7.

**TO BE SOLD**, on board the  
 Ship *Bance-Island*, on tuesday the 6th  
 of *May* next, at *Afoley-Ferry*; a choice  
 cargo of about 250 fine healthy

**NEGROES,**

just arrived from the  
 Windward & Rice Coast.

—The utmost care has  
 already been taken, and  
 shall be continued, to keep them free from  
 the least danger of being infected with the  
**SMALL-POX**, no boat having been on  
 board, and all other communication with  
 people from *Charles-Town* prevented.

*Austin, Laurens, & Appleby.*

**N. B.** Full one Half of the above Negroes have had the  
**SMALL-POX** in their own Country.

FIGURE 1: This advertisement from the late eighteenth century draws attention to the homelands of arriving Africans on the assumption that those in the market for slaves would know about their superior knowledge and skills in the area of rice cultivation. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

human agency and structure do not exist in opposition to each other so much as in tandem, with one presupposing the other.<sup>7</sup> This theoretical perspective, Sewell points out, has underwritten some of the best work in social history. But he also

<sup>7</sup> Giddens outlines his views on structure and agency in the following works: Anthony Giddens, *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley, Calif., 1984), 1–40; Giddens, *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis* (Berkeley, 1979), 49–95; Giddens, *New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies* (New York, 1976), 118–26. For a general introduction to Giddens's work, see Christopher G. A. Bryant and David Jary, "Introduction: Coming to Terms with Anthony Giddens," in *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: A Critical Appreciation*, Bryant and Jary, eds. (London, 1991), 1–31.

observes that Giddens's notion of structure remains vague and ambiguous. Sewell posits instead a new view of structures as made up of "schemas" and "resources." Schemas are essentially the meanings and interpretations through which people see the world. Resources, both human and nonhuman, are the media that empower people to make history. As he writes: "Structures, then, are sets of mutually sustaining schemas and resources that empower and constrain social action and that tend to be reproduced by that social action. But their reproduction is never automatic. Structures are at risk, at least to some extent, in all of the social encounters they shape—because structures are multiple and intersecting, because schemas are transposable, and because resources are polysemic and accumulate unpredictably."<sup>8</sup>

Yet Sewell's notion of nonhuman resources—what some would call nature—seems somewhat undertheorized. Agency arises, he writes, "from the actor's control of resources." He continues: "The specific forms that agency will take consequently vary enormously and are culturally and historically determined."<sup>9</sup> They are also, to a degree, ecologically circumscribed. Structures are at risk, he explains, because of the unpredictability associated with the accumulation of nonhuman (and human) resources. But the *source* of that uncertainty rests at least partly with the very nature of those resources. To conceive of the world of plants and animals, climate and weather, and so forth, as nonhuman "resources" is to render them dead and to obscure their role in historical change. In other words, I am arguing instead for a concept of human agency that credits ecological and biological factors without reducing them to rigid determining elements operating on a one-way causal highway.

The anthropologist Roy A. Rappaport once observed that humankind "survives biologically or not at all."<sup>10</sup> That fact is too little recognized by historians. Such daily and obvious routines as securing enough food and getting rid of bodily waste, essential practices that must occur in ways that do not undermine a culture's ecological base, have received painfully little attention from historians. Indeed, one of the questions that might be asked is how the ecological consequences of eating and flushing became so invisible, so enmeshed in the wish to forget.

Historians have concerned themselves with race, class, and gender because they offer a means of exploring the history of oppression. Power inequalities unfold along these three lines.<sup>11</sup> But they also literally take place, occurring in landscapes with their own peculiar ecological attributes. The transformation of the natural world—for resources to feed, clothe, and shelter—is yet another venue for

<sup>8</sup> William H. Sewell, Jr., "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation," *American Journal of Sociology* 98 (July 1992): 19.

<sup>9</sup> Sewell, "Theory of Structure," 20.

<sup>10</sup> Roy A. Rappaport, "The Flow of Energy in an Agricultural Society," in *Energy and Power*, Dennis Flannigan, et al., eds. (San Francisco, 1971), 80. For useful explanations of Rappaport's work, and cultural ecology more generally, see Ortner, "Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties," 132–34; and Donald Worster, "History as Natural History: An Essay on Theory and Method," *Pacific Historical Review* 53 (February 1984): 1–19.

<sup>11</sup> Historians have embraced race, class, and gender as categories of analysis, but also as axes on which power operates. It is in the latter sense that I think nature, viewed as yet another axis, is worth taking into consideration, at least for the purposes of this essay. But that said, although there is little question that nature is different from other categories of social organization such as class, race, and gender, it does share with these concepts the ability to shed light on both the causes and consequences of historical phenomena.

exploring the history of power. By focusing on how different groups within a culture went about transforming nature to feed themselves and the struggle that ensued to shape how that happened, we can create a more usable past, one more relevant to the everyday lives of people today.

What follows is an attempt to describe briefly the genesis of environmental history, as well as the objections raised to it. The essay will then go on to show, in a concrete way, how viewing nature as an active, shaping force in the past can help change our understanding of some conventional topics in American history. My goal is to leave readers with both a more nuanced view of human agency and an appreciation of the way power operates through and across landscapes.

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY IN ITS PRESENT FORM emerged during the 1970s in the context of national and global debates over the fate of the planet. It built on the work done in American political and intellectual history by Samuel P. Hays and Roderick Nash, as well as the earlier environmentally oriented studies of Walter Prescott Webb and Frederick Jackson Turner. It also drew on the Annales school, which has long made the environment an integral part of its approach to the past.<sup>12</sup> And yet environmental historians sought to move beyond the ideas and methods of their French predecessors. Fernand Braudel, for example, made nature a major focus of his study of the Mediterranean world, arguing that environmental trends, which he believed occurred slowly and repeatedly, influenced the course of human history. But because virtually all of the material that deals with this issue is confined to the opening of the book, it acts chiefly as a preface to the largely social and political study that follows.<sup>13</sup> Environmental historians in the United States have tried to move beyond this approach by integrating nature into all aspects of their narratives, as opposed to setting it off in a section of its own. Their goal is to examine the reciprocal relationship between humankind and nature, that is, how the natural world has constrained and shaped the past, how humankind has affected the environment, and how these environmental changes have in turn limited the choices available to people as they made history.

What is most remarkable about the field's recent evolution is that it came of age at precisely the same time that many historians were moving in precisely the reverse direction, away from a concern with material reality toward the social construction of knowledge. William Cronon has already addressed the challenge that postmodernism poses for environmental historians. He makes the case for the art of telling stories but points out that our narratives about the past, in the end, must make ecological sense.<sup>14</sup> Environmental historians, however, have spent perhaps too much time looking over their shoulders at the postmodern ghosts chasing them and not enough time considering what social historians, who have evinced indifference

<sup>12</sup> For an overview of the field, see Richard White, "American Environmental History: The Development of a New Historical Field," *Pacific Historical Review* 54 (August 1985): 297–335. For an essay on method, see Donald Worster, "Doing Environmental History," in *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History*, Worster, ed. (New York, 1988), 289–307.

<sup>13</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, 2 vols., Siân Reynolds, trans. (New York, 1976). See also J. R. McNeill, *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World: An Environmental History* (New York, 1992).

<sup>14</sup> William Cronon, "A Place for Stories: Nature, History, and Narrative," *Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1347–76.



to the field, think of their work.<sup>15</sup> Nothing speaks better to this indifference than the small amount of literature critiquing environmental history from a social history perspective.

Elizabeth Blackmar offers what remains perhaps the only critique of the field as seen through the eyes of a social historian. She broaches the issue of moral responsibility and its place in environmental history, and worries that a field seeking to reconcile human and natural history might somehow descend into ecological reductionism. Such a course, she explains, risks “letting people off the hook for the history they have wrought,” allowing them “to evade the question of politics.”<sup>16</sup> That is, of course, a legitimate concern, and one can perhaps point to some works that have fallen into this trap.<sup>17</sup> But neither the methods nor the assumptions of the field necessarily dictate that it is any more prone to moral handwashing than other fields of history.<sup>18</sup>

Blackmar also objects that environmental history seems better suited to address agrarian life and culture. When urban issues are discussed—such as water pollution and toxic waste—the tendency among most environmental historians is to embrace “the stance of engineers and managers contemplating a problem to be solved.”<sup>19</sup> In other words, rather than exploring how power has shaped the approach taken toward pollution and waste, many environmental historians are simply replicating the interpretive frameworks and skewed assumptions of their subjects. She is on firm ground here; much of the work that has emerged on the issue of cities and the environment has failed to integrate fully a concern with power and class into its analysis. Too much emphasis has been placed on urban ecological change without explaining what the social impact of such change has been.<sup>20</sup>

Blackmar’s more general point that the field has been biased toward agriculture at the expense of urban and industrial issues is, moreover, one shared by some environmental historians themselves. Some of the discontent arises from Donald Worster’s 1990 call for an agro-ecological approach to the past. Simply put, Worster argued that how a culture goes about feeding itself involves the restructuring of the

<sup>15</sup> This point about the indifference shown environmental history by social historians is made by Alan Taylor, who has tried to bridge the divide between the two fields. See Taylor, “Unnatural Inequalities: Social and Environmental Histories,” *Environmental History* 1 (October 1996): 6–19.

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth Blackmar, “Contemplating the Force of Nature,” *Radical Historians Newsletter*, no. 70 (May 1994): 4.

<sup>17</sup> See, for example, Paul Bonnifield, *The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1979), a work that sees the dust storms of the 1930s as literally a “natural” disaster. Blackmar is far more inclined toward Donald Worster, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York, 1979), which locates the origins of the disaster in the economic culture of capitalism.

<sup>18</sup> Speaking from personal experience, I can say that it was the prospect of moral engagement that attracted me to environmental history in the first place. See Ted Steinberg, *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America* (New York, 2000), which explores the history of natural calamity over the last century and argues that what Americans have called “natural disasters” are, on closer examination, actually acts of social and economic injustice.

<sup>19</sup> Blackmar, “Contemplating the Force of Nature,” 4.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Joel A. Tarr, *The Search for the Ultimate Sink: Urban Pollution in Historical Perspective* (Akron, Ohio, 1996). For all the merits of Tarr’s work, which has done a great deal to bring to life the darker ecological underside of urbanization, it largely fails to consider the issue of power. For an essay that does apply a class analysis to the issue of sewers and flush toilets, see Peter Linebaugh, “(Marxist) Social History and (Conservative) Legal History: A Reply to Professor Langbein,” *New York University Law Review* 60 (May 1985): 238–42. Linebaugh was responding to John H. Langbein’s criticism of Douglas Hay, et al., *Albion’s Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1975), in particular, Langbein’s complaint that Marxist analysis is as irrelevant to the issue of crime as it is to “the history of climatic changes, the invention of the flush toilet, or what have you.” See Langbein, “Albion’s Fatal Flaws,” *Past and Present* 98 (February 1983): 97.

natural world, that is, the domestication of ecosystems. Sometimes, the effect of that restructuring can lead to harmful ecological consequences that undermine a culture's very ability to exist. He urged environmental historians to embrace such an agro-ecological model as they went about unpacking the ramifications of capitalist development. Critics have indicted Worster's approach as too narrowly construed to encompass fully the range of interests currently employed by environmental historians.<sup>21</sup> That may well be a fair criticism. But it would be wrong to imagine that an agro-ecological approach can only be applied to agrarian societies. Metropolitan-based societies face the same dilemma of finding a way of feeding themselves. Moreover, one can factor power into this question simply by asking which groups in society ended up harmed, as a culture evolved from, for instance, a reliance on nearby land to supply it with food toward a more consumption-oriented mode that rested on dispersed factory farms and distant slaughterhouses.

Regardless of the merit of Blackmar's critique, environmental history still exists as a very peripheral concern for most scholars. Historians might be more inclined toward the field if they felt that it could enrich their rendering of some of the oldest and most venerable topics in history. Or, perhaps more important, that an environmental approach could help penetrate the mystifying forces at work under the capitalist economic system and ultimately give us a fuller sense of the environmental and social costs that arise as a culture attempts to survive biologically on the planet.

Some examples will help make clear these points. I have chosen the cases below, first, for their range through time and, second, because they deal with topics familiar to most historians. In effect, I will be telling four somewhat different stories about the American past: industrial change in the East, the enclosure of common resources in the New South, the Progressive Era attempt to clean up the city, and the conservation movement and its impact on Native Americans and rural whites. Generally speaking, the examples all fall within the period between the late eighteenth century and the early twentieth. All of them deal with the conflicts that emerged as industrialists, reformers, and other more powerful groups in society sought to rationalize the use of the natural world in ways that disproportionately affected America's dispossessed.

MOST AMERICAN HISTORY TEXTBOOKS have little or nothing to say about the role of the environment in early industrial transformation.<sup>22</sup> Typically, they locate the origins of factory life in New England and go on to describe the rise of the Lowell mills, the women workers who, at least initially, made up the work force, and the class conflict that resulted as wages were cut in the 1830s. Rarely is the natural world mentioned, except for an occasional reference to the rivers along which the

<sup>21</sup> See Donald Worster, "Transformations of the Earth: Toward an Agroecological Perspective in History," *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1087–1106; William Cronon, "Modes of Prophecy and Production: Placing Nature in History," *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1122–31; and Worster, "Seeing beyond Culture," *Journal of American History* 76 (March 1990): 1142–47.

<sup>22</sup> I consulted the following textbooks: Edward L. Ayers, et al., *American Passages: A History of the United States* (Fort Worth, Tex., 2000); Paul S. Boyer, et al., *The Enduring Vision: A History of the American People*, 4th edn. (Boston, 2000); Alan Brinkley, *American History: A Survey*, 10th edn. (Boston, 1999); Christopher Clark, et al., *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society*, rev. edn., 2 vols. (New York, 2000); James West Davidson, et al., *Nation of Nations: A Narrative History of the American Republic*, 4th edn. (Boston, 2001); Robert A. Divine, et

textile mills were located. An exception is Gary B. Nash and Julie Roy Jeffrey's popular *The American People*, which has a brief section devoted to the environmental consequences of industrial growth. Economic change, the authors note, led to deforestation, air pollution, and a decline in spring fish runs. "Yet most Americans," the section concludes, "accepted the changing environment as an inevitable part of progress."<sup>23</sup>

In fact, the evidence suggests that some people did object to the environmental impact of industrial transformation. Perhaps because the authors sequestered the environment in a separate section, instead of integrating it into the main lines of their story, they failed to grasp this point. Had Nash and Jeffrey made nature their point of analytical departure, they might have realized that the widespread opposition to industrialization's ecological dark side offers a nice parallel to the class conflict that concerns them (and other textbook authors).

Consider the issue of the decline in spring fish runs. Since the seventeenth century, New Englanders had come to depend for food on various species of anadromous fish, the most important of which were shad, salmon, and alewives. The adult members of these species migrate from the ocean to rivers, generally in the spring, in order to reproduce. As the fish swam upstream to spawn, the colonists and their descendants gathered at various fishing spots along rivers and used hooks, nets, and seines to harvest them. Enormous numbers of fish passed upstream as late as the eighteenth century. In the Merrimack River watershed, fishers caught 840,000 shad in 1784 alone.<sup>24</sup>

Fish played a critical role in the diet of seventeenth and eighteenth-century New Englanders. This was still a world where the seasons largely determined the availability of food. Winter proved problematic mainly because of the monotony of the food supply, which often consisted of little more than pork, peas, and bread. But it was in the early spring that families confronted their toughest dietary challenge, as grain and meat supplies neared exhaustion. In such a context, the spring fish runs were literally a godsend. As one proverb had it, "We hope meat will last 'till fish comes, and fish will last 'till meat comes."<sup>25</sup>

A number of factors contributed to the decline of the river fisheries. First,

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*al.*, *America: Past and Present*, 6th edn. (New York, 2002); John Mack Faragher, *et al.*, *Out of Many: A History of the American People*, 3d edn. (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 2000); David M. Kennedy, Elizabeth Cohen, and Thomas A. Bailey, *The American Pageant*, 12th edn. (New York, 2002); John M. Murrin, *et al.*, *Liberty, Equality, Power: A History of the American People*, 2d edn. (Fort Worth, Tex., 1999); Gary B. Nash, *et al.*, *The American People: Creating a Nation and a Society*, 5th edn. (New York, 2001); Mary Beth Norton, *et al.*, *A People and a Nation: A History of the United States*, 6th edn. (Boston, 2001); George Brown Tindall and David E. Shi, *America: A Narrative History*, 5th edn., 2 vols. (New York, 1999).

<sup>23</sup> Nash, *American People*, 301. A sidebar essay in Brinkley, *American History*, 335–37, deals with flowing water and mentions that dams blocked fish.

<sup>24</sup> Daniel Vickers, "Those Dammed Shad: Would the River Fisheries of New England Have Survived in the Absence of Industrialization?" (paper delivered at Conference in Honor of John Murrin entitled "What If? Counterfactualism and Early American History." Princeton, N.J., March 2001), 15.

<sup>25</sup> Quotation from Diana Muir, *Reflections in Bullough's Pond: Economy and Ecosystem in New England* (Hanover, N.H., 2000), 63. For more on the seasonal nature of the colonial food supply, see Sarah F. McMahon, "A Comfortable Subsistence: The Changing Composition of Diet in Rural New England, 1620–1840," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 42 (January 1985): 26–51; and Sarah F. McMahon, "'All Things in Their Proper Season': Seasonal Rhythms of Diet in Nineteenth Century New England," *Agricultural History* 63 (Spring 1989): 130–51.

overfishing may well have played a role, especially during the middle to latter part of the eighteenth century, as population pressure in older coastal towns increased.<sup>26</sup> Second, the deforestation that accompanied the clearing of land for agriculture during this same period led to soil erosion; no longer held in place by the roots of trees, the soil washed into rivers and streams, where it covered and destroyed spawning beds.<sup>27</sup>

But the greatest threat came from dams erected to create canal transportation and, more important, to power textile and other factories. As water was increasingly drawn into the world of exchange, the fish—prized and depended on by backcountry farmers since the beginning of European settlement—declined dramatically. In the early 1770s, Rhode Island farmers from the Blackstone River Valley, finding the supply of fish reduced as a result of industrial development downstream, succeeded in forcing the legislature to pass “An act making it lawful to break down and blow up Rocks at Pawtucket Falls to let fish pass up.” Before the nineteenth century, the common law protected both the public’s right to fish and licensed people to remove dams and other obstructions themselves if they interfered with their ability to partake of this resource. The Rhode Island legislation reinforced this common-law avenue of redress, but the fact that it had to do so is evidence that such rights to fish had already been compromised.<sup>28</sup>

The mills involved in the Rhode Island dispute, however, paled in comparison with the large-scale factory complexes built along the region’s more powerful Merrimack and Connecticut rivers in the nineteenth century. During the 1840s, the Boston Associates constructed dams at Lawrence and Holyoke, Massachusetts, which effectively delivered the finishing blows to the region’s embattled fish species.<sup>29</sup> Fish were largely irrelevant to the plans of this innovative group of Boston capitalists, who mainly viewed water as a commodity, an objectified entity, separate from the land, that had to be controlled, packaged, and sold for energy.<sup>30</sup> From their perspective, water was in need of domestication; it could no longer be allowed to flow according to seasonal rhythms but instead required control in accordance with industrial time. The factory enterprises the associates had in place by mid-century involved elaborate water-control infrastructures—dams and canals, sometimes built at great distances from the factories themselves—measures that delivered water to the mills when they needed it most, especially during the dry spells of late summer.

Reengineering the valley to benefit such large-scale enterprises played havoc with both ecological and social relations. Changes to the flow of water flooded and destroyed meadowland that farmers depended on to provide fodder for their livestock (perhaps even compromising agricultural prospects, which had formerly benefited from the nutrient subsidy that the meadows provided arable land, as

<sup>26</sup> Vickers, “Those Dammed Shad,” 23–24.

<sup>27</sup> Muir, *Reflections in Bullough’s Pond*, 64.

<sup>28</sup> Gary Kulik, “Dams, Fish, and Farmers: Defense of Public Rights in Eighteenth-Century Rhode Island,” in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation*, Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude, eds. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1985), 39.

<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of industrial transformation as it unfolded in the Merrimack River Valley, see Theodore Steinberg, *Nature Incorporated: Industrialization and the Waters of New England* (New York, 1991). For industrial change in the Connecticut River Valley, see John T. Cumbler, *Reasonable Use: The People, the Environment, and the State: New England, 1790–1930* (New York, 2001).

<sup>30</sup> For more on the commodification of water, see Steinberg, *Nature Incorporated*, 77–95.

fodder fed to animals produced manure to fortify the soil). It also interfered with lumbering operations and the waterpower needs of small-scale mills. Conflict erupted as a result. That conflict was especially acute in the region of the New Hampshire lakes, where water was commandeered by the Boston Associates and made to answer the energy needs of the factories along the lower Merrimack at Lowell and Lawrence. In 1859, malcontents rioted and attempted to tear down a dam in Lake Village, New Hampshire. The dam affected the lives of people throughout the upper Merrimack Valley and also came to symbolize the incredible arrogance at the heart of the associates' designs for water.<sup>31</sup>

The full story behind the changes in law and property that occurred in response to the environmental impact of industrialization is far too involved to do justice to here. I simply want to call attention to the way that bringing nature into the center of the study of economic change can enlarge our understanding of how oppression manifests itself throughout an interdependent river system. Focusing on water and fish, in this case, can help historians grasp the full transformative effects of the factory order, especially the far-reaching social ramifications of ecological change.

TEXTBOOK WRITERS have more of an excuse for failing to pay proper heed to nature's role in southern history. In truth, they have had few studies to draw on. From a spatial standpoint, environmental historians have spent far more time considering the West and New England than the South.<sup>32</sup> Not surprisingly, even the most environmentally sensitive textbooks replicate this lopsided state of affairs. Alan Brinkley's well-regarded *American History: A Survey* contains a number of sidebar essays dealing with the environment. Putting aside how placing the environment in a sidebar locates it outside the main lines of the American past, we find that the bulk of the essays deal with the West and, to a much lesser extent, the North. Otherwise, passing mention is made in the main text to the role of southern soil and climate in growing tobacco and later cotton.<sup>33</sup> A number of other textbooks do discuss the part that animals, especially livestock, played in the antebellum South. They note that slaves often went hunting and fishing to supplement plantation rations and that yeoman and poorer white farmers commonly turned cattle and hogs loose to graze in the woods.<sup>34</sup>

But whatever little attention is paid to the natural world in the antebellum period does not carry over into the period after the Civil War. The books typically focus on cotton's stranglehold over the economy and the development of the crop-lien system. Occasionally, passing reference is made to the closing of the range, beginning in the 1870s.<sup>35</sup> Otherwise, the battle to control the common lands of the South is, for the most part, overlooked.

Yet it seems amply clear that such lands played a significant role in southern

<sup>31</sup> Steinberg, *Nature Incorporated*, 99–134.

<sup>32</sup> See Otis L. Graham, "Again the Backward Region? Environmental History in and of the American South," *Southern Cultures* 6 (Summer 2000): 50–72.

<sup>33</sup> Brinkley, *American History*, 372.

<sup>34</sup> See, for example, Nash, *American People*, 333–34; Norton, *People and a Nation*, 338–46; Boyer, *Enduring Vision*, 340; and Faragher, *Out of Many*, 311.

<sup>35</sup> See, for example, Boyer, *Enduring Vision*, 459–62. Passing mention is made of the closing of the range in Tindall and Shi, *America*, 849. An important exception, however, is Clark, *Who Built America?* 2: 109–11, which deals with the class conflict that emerged in the southern countryside during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Murrin, *Liberty, Equality, Power*, 337–38, contains a one-paragraph discussion of the customary and legal reasons behind the lack of fencing in the South.



history both before and after the Civil War. The importance of the open range in this region was in part the result of climate. Because the South is located in a humid subtropical zone, where winters are significantly less harsh than in the North, it was possible to keep large numbers of animals without building barns to protect them from freezing weather. Cattle and pigs could thus survive off the range on a year-round basis.<sup>36</sup> The focus on cotton has tended to obscure the important part that livestock played in the antebellum southern economy. In 1860, for example, the region's livestock was valued at twice that year's crop of cotton.<sup>37</sup> That the animals flourished was in part a tribute to the huge quantities of unimproved land, a great deal of it unenclosed, that dominated the landscape, even as late as 1860, land made up of woods and marsh that slaves, yeomen, and plain folk turned to for hunting, fishing, and grazing.<sup>38</sup>

Animals roamed freely across the landscape of the antebellum South, a custom institutionalized in law. Fence laws, which dated from the colonial period, made agriculturalists responsible for enclosing their crops adequately or liable for any damage caused by roving animals. Apart from these laws, a set of customs and legal decisions protected the rights of those who sought to graze animals on the open range. As one Georgia farmer put it in 1885, "The citizens of this county have and always have had the legal, moral, and Bible right to let their stock. . . run at large."<sup>39</sup> But the very fact that this privilege needed to be pointed out betrayed the struggle that was then taking place over the attempt to invoke the law to privatize what many took to be their customary right to common land.

In the wake of Emancipation, a movement emerged in the South to rationalize both labor and land. Desperately concerned to reassert control over the labor of the newly freed slaves, the planter class sought to limit access and use of the open range. Game laws passed beginning in the 1870s limited the ability of African Americans to hunt and fish. In 1875, three counties in Georgia outlawed the killing of partridge and deer between April and October, precisely the months when planters needed field hands the most.<sup>40</sup> At times, such laws were directed specifically at areas with large black populations. An 1876 Alabama game law applied only to fourteen counties in the Black Belt.<sup>41</sup>

Game laws aimed at a largely marginal and dispossessed group drew nowhere near the outcry that attempts to curb open-range grazing did. The effort to repeal the so-called fence laws, because they cut across lines of class and race, proved far more contentious.<sup>42</sup> "Why in the name of common sense," one planter asked, "am I compelled to maintain 12 or 13 miles of hideous fence around my plantation at an annual cost of upwards of a thousand dollars, in order to prevent the cattle and hogs

<sup>36</sup> Paul K. Conkin, "Hot, Humid, and Sad," *Journal of Southern History* 64 (February 1998): 3–4; R. Ben Brown, "The Southern Range: A Study of Nineteenth Century Law and Society" (PhD dissertation, University of Michigan, 1993), 7.

<sup>37</sup> Brown, "Southern Range," 3.

<sup>38</sup> Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840–1860* (Carbondale, Ill., 1972), 73–74.

<sup>39</sup> Quotation from Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850–1890* (New York, 1983), 252; see also pp. 58–63 for more on the southern commons.

<sup>40</sup> Hahn, *Roots of Southern Populism*, 242.

<sup>41</sup> Brown, "Southern Range," 190.

<sup>42</sup> Brown, "Southern Range," 199.

which my neighbors turn loose . . . from destroying my crops and robbing my property?"<sup>43</sup> If such concerns, in part, represented a thinly veiled attack on labor, there were also more practical environmental issues at stake in the quest to end the open range. Southern fences were designed in a way that used a large amount of wood, a resource that had become increasingly scarce in the postbellum years, especially in light of the depredations that occurred during the Civil War. The most common fence was the zigzag or Virginia fence, a design favored because it required much less labor than the post-and-hole variety.<sup>44</sup> But what it lacked in labor it made up for in wood, a resource also under mounting attack from increased development and industrial timber operations by the latter part of the nineteenth century.

For several reasons, including ones of principle and the design of fences, those who favored an end to the open range triumphed. It would take decades, in some places until the 1970s, before the range was fully closed.<sup>45</sup> But by the late nineteenth century, the law was moving in a direction that now made the owners of livestock legally responsible for the damage their animals caused to the property of others. The new legal climate had biological consequences to match its social effects on those seeking to gain their subsistence from the land. The closing of the range worked to limit the spread of the cattle tick, a carrier of the parasitic infection babesiosis, familiarly known as Texas fever. With the cattle no longer free to roam at will, the federal government, in the early twentieth century, seized the opportunity to intervene with a program for eradicating the tick. But the capital-intensive measures required to eliminate the problem wound up benefiting the large stock raisers at the expense of the yeoman farmers who could not afford to purchase the necessary technology.<sup>46</sup> Thus did a social development, the closing of the range, bring about a biological shift, a less hospitable environment for the tick, that led to still more social transformation, a negative one from the standpoint of farmers seeking to survive on the land.

WHILE NATURE'S ROLE IN SOUTHERN HISTORY has gone relatively unnoticed, textbook writers seem more inclined to discuss the issue of the environment in treating late nineteenth-century urban change. In general, the books convey a picture of the urban landscape as disease-ridden and filthy, replete with polluted water, heaps of manure, and garbage-strewn streets. Progressive reformers then intervened to clean up cities, lobbying for public water supplies and sewer systems, municipal trash

<sup>43</sup> Quotation from Steven Hahn, "Hunting, Fishing, and Foraging: Common Rights and Class Relations in the Postbellum South," *Radical History Review* 26 (October 1982): 46.

<sup>44</sup> J. Crawford King, Jr., "The Closing of the Southern Range: An Exploratory Study," *Journal of Southern History* 48 (February 1982): 57. See also Shawn Everett Kantor and J. Morgan Kousser, "Common Sense or Commonwealth? The Fence Law and Institutional Change in the Postbellum South," *Journal of Southern History* 59 (May 1993): 215.

<sup>45</sup> King, "Closing of the Southern Range," 54.

<sup>46</sup> Claire Strom, "Texas Fever and the Dispossession of the Southern Yeoman Farmer," *Journal of Southern History* 66 (February 2000): 49–74.

collection, and other environmental measures.<sup>47</sup> And of course these reforms did indeed improve public health. Yet the problem with such a portrayal of the cleansing of the urban environment is that it fails to acknowledge the virtues of the filth. In other words, it does not allow readers to see the social and environmental logic behind the city in its dirtier incarnation.<sup>48</sup>

*Nation of Nations*, for example, calls attention to the pigs and sheep that roamed New York City as late as 1860. It also briefly mentions that the horses used for transportation produced tons of manure, providing an ideal environment for disease to take root.<sup>49</sup> Roaming pigs were indeed an annoyance, especially in the eyes of better-off city dwellers. These animals were feral and occasionally killed children; they also fornicated and relieved themselves in public. Horse manure, meanwhile, bred countless numbers of flies, which carried disease, including typhoid fever.<sup>50</sup> The pigs and horse manure unquestionably represented a nuisance and health problem, but the story of their role in the city should not end there. Pig meat and horse droppings once played important parts in the lives of working-class families and surrounding farmers.

Before the advent of municipal trash collection, working-class women may have kept pigs very cheaply, sending the creatures out to feast on the piles of garbage that littered city streets. They then formed a valuable source of protein. A kind of urban commons existed in some nineteenth-century American cities, and when reformers sought to close it down they met stiff resistance. In New York, the best-documented case, city officials tried to ban swine from the streets beginning in the 1810s. By 1819, setting hogs free to roam the city had become a crime. But the practice continued. In 1821, authorities seeking to lock up the animals faced off against Irish and black working-class women, who organized to defend the creatures. The effort to create a hog-free city continued, with other porcine conflicts erupting in 1825, 1826, 1830, 1832, and 1849. By 1860, the area below 86th Street was secured as a pig-free zone, but the animals still thrived further north in Harlem, where they may have continued to supply meat for the working class.<sup>51</sup>

The horse manure found in cities also had its uses. Farmers living on the outskirts of urban areas relied on it to fertilize hay and vegetable crops. The hay was eventually sold as horse feed to dairies and stables, while the vegetables enhanced

<sup>47</sup> See, for example, Faragher, *Out of Many*, 563–64. Nash, *American People*, 578–79, contains a sidebar essay on the rise of the flush toilet. The essay ends by asking readers a set of questions about the social impact of the toilet, that is, its effects on family life and class relations. The stunning ecological consequences of this new technology, however, are barely even broached.

<sup>48</sup> Instead, the tendency is to treat horse manure and human waste as “problems” in need of a solution, without recognizing the far more complex role that waste played in cities before they were cleansed. See, for example, Boyer, *Enduring Vision*, 536; and Divine, *America*, 552.

<sup>49</sup> Davidson, *Nation of Nations*, 648. This particular textbook also links crime and filth, treating these topics in succession and, in a sense, replicating the assumptions of Progressive reformers who believed that a healthy environment could defend against a life of crime.

<sup>50</sup> See Clay McShane and Joel A. Tarr, “The Centrality of the Horse in the Nineteenth-Century American City,” in *The Making of Urban America*, 2d edn., Raymond A. Mohl, ed. (Wilmington, Del., 1997), 120–23; and Tarr, *Search for the Ultimate Sink*, 326–29.

<sup>51</sup> See Hendrik Hartog, “Pigs and Positivism,” *Wisconsin Law Review* 1985 (July/August 1985): 899–935; Edwin G. Burrows and Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (New York, 1999), 477, 747, 786; and Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (Chicago, 1962), 113. Hartog does note that many of the pigs in New York City, his place of study, belonged to butchers. How extensive the practice was among the urban poor remains unclear. A stronger connection between livestock, in this case cattle, and the poor has been established for nineteenth-century Atlanta. See Brown, “Southern Range,” 280–84.

the diet of the city's better-off residents. In such places as New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston, manure traveled one way and vegetables and hay the other, as organic matter was recycled in the nineteenth century, if not before.<sup>52</sup> Manure was the ecological lifeblood of the truck farms that once dominated Brooklyn and Queens, with the excrement acting as a vehicle for returning nutrients that planting crops had robbed from the soil. (See Figure 2.) Horse manure played such an important role in farm life that one King's County landowner even stipulated in his will that his son receive "all manure on the farm at the time of my decease."<sup>53</sup>

Even human excrement helped boost soil fertility in regions adjacent to cities. In 1880, almost half of the more than two hundred cities surveyed deposited night soil on the land or sold it to dealers who transformed it into fertilizer. In 1912, so-called necessary tubmen, a job that often went to African Americans, cleaned out roughly 70,000 privy vaults and cesspools in Baltimore; the waste was eventually shipped off to farmers, who purchased it in thousand-gallon quantities and used it to, in effect, pay off the ecological mortgage they had taken out on the soil by growing vegetables.<sup>54</sup>

Ultimately, the rise of public water supplies, the flush toilet, and the building of sewer systems combined to divorce urbanites and their waste from the soil cycle. Instead of playing a part in bolstering soil fertility, human waste coursed into rivers, streams, and lakes, where it led some species of animal and plant life to flourish and others to decline markedly. The potential ill effects of transforming human excrement from an agricultural resource into plain, ordinary shit were not completely lost on contemporaries. In 1871, for example, Horace Greeley lamented New York's practice of flushing human waste into sewers. The city, he wrote, "annually poisons its own atmosphere and adjacent waters with excretions which science and capital might combine to utilize at less than half the cost."<sup>55</sup> Karl Marx in the third volume of *Capital* wrote: "Excretions of consumption are of the greatest importance for agriculture. So far as their utilization is concerned, there is an enormous waste of them in the capitalist economy. In London, for instance, they find no better use for the excretion of four and a half million human beings than to contaminate the Thames with it at heavy expense."<sup>56</sup>

Flush toilets and sewers not only removed urbanites from the soil cycle, they also helped cut people off from the environmental consequences of their behavior. City residents became increasingly ignorant of where their bodily waste wound up once they pulled the handle. But that did not stop human waste, with its high phosphorous content, from entering waterways, where it eventually caused algae to flourish in great amounts. The algae blooms, in turn, drained oxygen from the water and launched a chain of ecological consequences that at times helped reconfigure the species of fish that made up some of the nation's largest lakes. Rivers were

<sup>52</sup> McShane and Tarr, "Centrality of the Horse," 120; Richard A. Wines, *Fertilizer in America: From Waste Recycling to Resource Exploitation* (Philadelphia, 1985), 6–21.

<sup>53</sup> Quotation from Marc Linder and Lawrence S. Zacharias, *Of Cabbages and Kings County: Agriculture and the Formation of Modern Brooklyn* (Iowa City, 1999), 46.

<sup>54</sup> Tarr, *Search for the Ultimate Sink*, 295, 299.

<sup>55</sup> Quotation from Wines, *Fertilizer in America*, 32.

<sup>56</sup> Karl Marx, *The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*, Vol. 3 of *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (1894; rpt. edn., New York, 1967), 101.



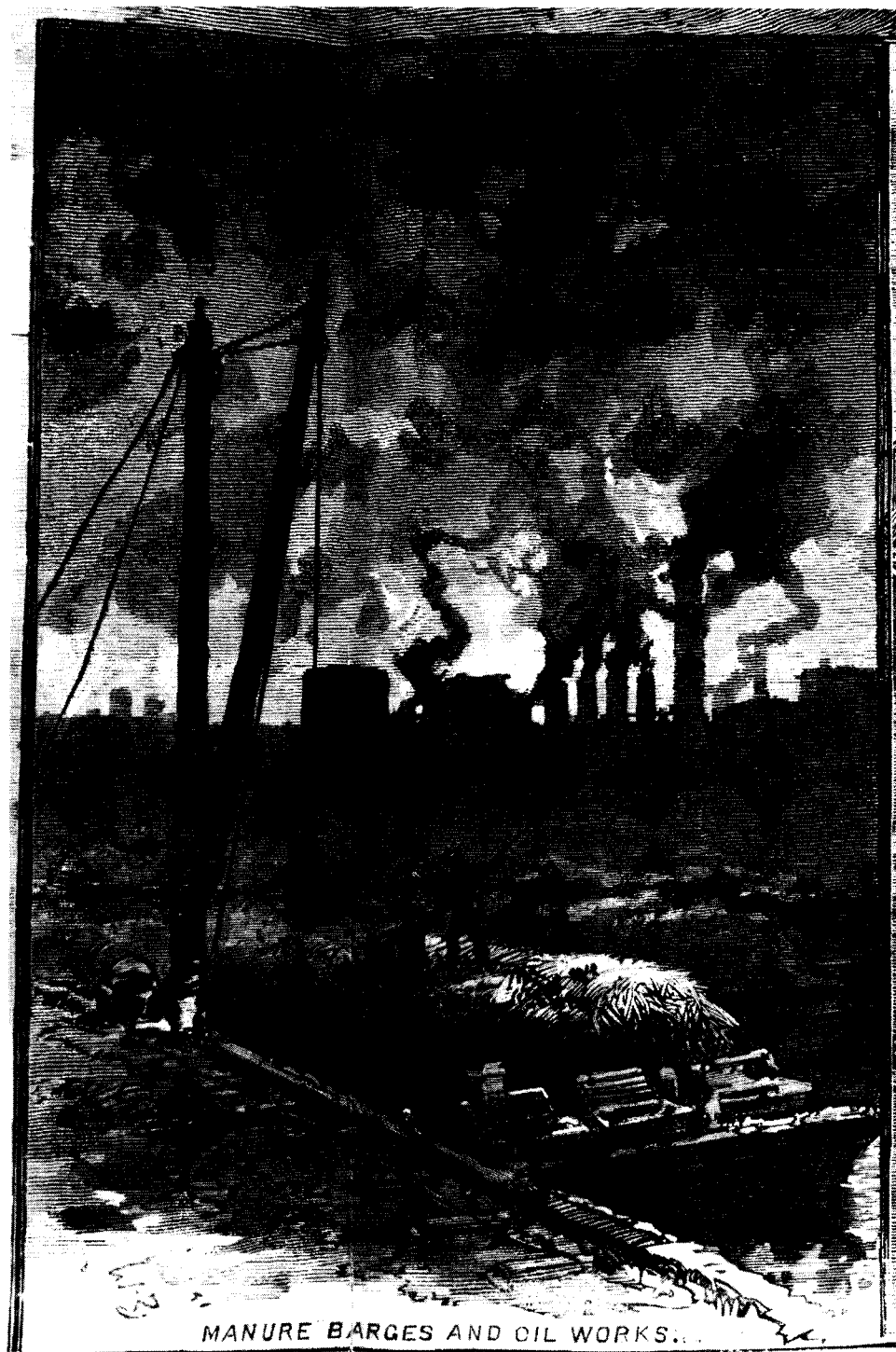


FIGURE 2: The lifeblood of truck farms on the outskirts of Manhattan, manure produced by city horses was shipped to farmers, who used it to boost soil fertility and grow vegetables for urban consumption. *Harpers' Weekly*, August 6, 1881. Courtesy of the Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.

similarly affected as sewage caused dissolved oxygen levels to plummet to the point



where fish suffocated.<sup>57</sup> These changes often occurred in places far from the original source of the waste itself, out of sight and thus largely, if not totally, out of mind.

This erosion of ecological memory was compounded by another set of changes, which masked the social and environmental consequences involved in how Americans went about obtaining food. The shift toward a flush-it-and-forget-it mentality occurred at roughly the same time (the 1880s) that refrigerated railroad cars allowed large commercial farms in the South and West, especially California, to outcompete the nearby truck farms that once provided cities with fruits and vegetables.<sup>58</sup> Large single-crop factory farms, which in California at least depended on migrant labor and large inputs of water and fertilizer, were invisible to urbanites who bought oranges and raisins from local grocers and, increasingly, chain stores.<sup>59</sup>

Also invisible to them were the meatpacking plants that took live animals and disassembled them into dressed beef, ready for shipment to eastern cities (now largely devoid of roving pigs and whatever meat they might have provided working-class families).<sup>60</sup> The industrialization of livestock farming, especially in the years after World War II—combined with a later trend toward corporate consolidation—resulted in huge concentrations of cattle, hogs, and chickens in some southern states (mainly those with a tendency toward anti-unionism and lax environmental regulations). The result has been unheard-of amounts of animal waste, which in turn has made agriculture today a leading source of water pollution.<sup>61</sup>

The roots of some of North America's most pressing ecological dilemmas, in other words, go back to the turn of the century, when eating and flushing became severed from space. City dwellers became less aware of the conditions under which their food was produced and about where their bodily waste went. Together, these shifts mark a key turning point—on a par even with the ecological consequences set in motion by the Columbian Exchange—in the nation's environmental history.

THE ENVIRONMENTAL TOPIC that to date has received the most attention from American historians is of course the conservation movement. Every textbook I consulted (with one exception noted below) spends space discussing Theodore

<sup>57</sup> William Ashworth, *The Late, Great Lakes: An Environmental History* (New York, 1986), 123, 132, 134–35; Margaret Beattie Bogue, *Fishing the Great Lakes: An Environmental History, 1783–1933* (Madison, Wis., 2000), 169; Charles Hardy III, "Fish or Foul: A History of the Delaware River Basin through the Perspective of the American Shad, 1682 to the Present," *Pennsylvania History* 66 (Autumn 1999): 507, 518, 522–25, 533n.

<sup>58</sup> Linder and Zacharias, *Of Cabbages and Kings County*, 68–70.

<sup>59</sup> On California factory farming, see Steven Stoll, *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California* (Berkeley, Calif., 1998); and Douglas C. Sackman, *Orange Empire: Nature, Culture, and Growth in California, 1869–1939* (Berkeley, forthcoming).

<sup>60</sup> On the ecological and geographic impact of meatpacking, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York, 1991), 207–59.

<sup>61</sup> According to a recent General Accounting Office report, approximately five tons of animal waste are produced each year for every U.S. citizen. See U.S. General Accounting Office, *Animal Agriculture: Waste Management Practices*, GAO/RCED–99–205, July 26, 1999. In 1995, after heavy rains, urine and feces from a lagoon at a North Carolina animal "barn"—home to some 12,000 hogs—overflowed and coursed into the New River, killing almost all aquatic life within a seventeen-mile stretch. The amount of toxic waste spilled in this incident was more than twice the amount involved in the notorious *Exxon Valdez* disaster.

Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and their quest to manage the nation's forests and other natural resources efficiently, wisely, and in a way that would allow industry to prosper and Americans to enjoy the nation's natural wealth for generations after. Revealingly, the one textbook that has the least to say about this topic is the American Social History Project's *Who Built America?*—which devotes to the issue just two sentences and a map detailing national parks and forests.<sup>62</sup> Is the reader to conclude that conservation was irrelevant to the lives of ordinary Americans, the main protagonists in this otherwise compelling textbook? One can certainly understand the authors' decision to downplay the conservation movement in light of the way the topic has been treated in most textbooks—as primarily a political and intellectual trend. Yet the decision to conserve resources begs the question: For whom were they being conserved?

Consider the movement to establish national parks, specifically the creation in 1872 of Yellowstone in northwestern Wyoming. Park officials and others would for decades call the park area a "wilderness." In fact, it was nothing of the sort, at least not from the perspective of those Native Americans who depended on it to hunt, fish, and gather food. (See Figure 3.) Although park officials claimed that Indians avoided the area out of superstitious fear of its geothermal features, in truth, the Indian groups were very familiar with the region and what it had to offer in the way of plants and animals; they also commonly set fire to the land in order to encourage regrowth in those species of wildlife and vegetation that they depended on most to survive. Moreover, it bears noting that park preservation and Indian removal proceeded in lockstep motion. A number of treaties and executive orders signed between 1855 and 1875, for example, effectively removed the Bannock, Shoshone, Blackfeet, and Crow Indians to reservations, where it was hoped they would be unlikely to interfere with the stream of tourists headed for Yellowstone. Forcing Native Americans onto reservations, however, where they were denied adequate rations, only made them more dependent on Yellowstone for its fauna and flora. In 1896, in the leading case of *Ward v. Race Horse*, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a provision in an 1868 treaty that allowed the Shoshone and Bannock to hunt game on unoccupied government land, a move that effectively undermined the rights of Native Americans in the Yellowstone area to engage in the subsistence practices that had sustained them for centuries.<sup>63</sup>

Rural whites also turned to Yellowstone as a source of food, as well as a way of escaping the discipline and subservience bound up with wage labor. Those who poached game in the park, for example, seemed to come from the ranks of the working class. In 1912, a park official observed that the elk that wandered outside of Yellowstone's boundaries were often killed by "families that otherwise might have had a slim meat ration for the winter due to dull times for workingmen in this section of country." Two years later, an unemployed man was arrested for poaching game in the park, claiming that being "broke all the time" drove him to crime.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>62</sup> Clark, *Who Built America?* 2: 240, 241.

<sup>63</sup> Mark David Spence, *Dispossessing the Wilderness: Indian Removal and the Making of the National Parks* (New York, 1999), 4–5, 45–53, 67–68; and Karl Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature: Squatters, Poachers, Thieves, and the Hidden History of American Conservation* (Berkeley, Calif., 2001), 231n. For more on *Ward v. Race Horse*, see David E. Wilkins, *American Indian Sovereignty and the U.S. Supreme Court: The Masking of Justice* (Austin, Tex., 1997), 91–104.

<sup>64</sup> Quotations from Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature*, 137.



FIGURE 3: "The Tower of Tower Falls," Yellowstone National Park, circa 1875, by Thomas Moran (1837–1926). This wild and pristine view of Yellowstone is drawn as though no human being had ever stepped foot in the area, whereas Native Americans had long been familiar with Yellowstone's offerings. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Whites also cut and gathered wood inside the park for subsistence purposes and allowed their livestock to graze in the area as well. To deal with the poaching, wood gathering, grazing, and other customary uses of parkland, officials instituted a set of rules and laws to wrest control of the area away from both Indians and rural whites. By the 1880s, however, the number of unlawful transgressions had risen so high that park administrators felt compelled to call on the U.S. Army to help bring order to the chaos.<sup>65</sup>

The criminalization of such customary practices as hunting, collecting, and fire-setting was part of a broader plan by the park's administrators to manage the area in a way that would help stimulate tourism. Specifically, the goal was to encourage those big-game species—elk and bison, especially—that seemed to appeal most to visitors. To accomplish this goal, the army declared war from time to time on such predators as mountain lions, wolves, and coyotes in an attempt to keep them from harming those species that tourists came from far and wide to see. Conservation of some species went hand in hand with the extermination of others. The policy had some ironic results. Deprived of their predators, the elk population grew, perhaps to as high as 30,000–40,000 animals by 1909–1910, putting significant pressure on the range's vegetative cover. A summer drought in 1919 followed by a severe winter left so little forage that some 6,000 elk, according to park service estimates, starved to death—killed, at least in part, by those purportedly charged with saving them.<sup>66</sup>

Like the effort to preserve big-game animals, the attempt to conserve forest resources also resulted in unpredictable and at times tragic consequences. The suppression of forest fires lay at the heart of the Progressive Era's and especially Gifford Pinchot's view of conservation. Native Americans had a long tradition of using fire to manage forests. In New England, for example, setting fire to the land encouraged the growth of new vegetation that, in turn, led to an increase in precisely the wildlife (elk, deer, turkey, and other creatures) the Indians relied on to survive.<sup>67</sup> Even as late as the early twentieth century, rural southerners carried on the tradition of burning to keep down the brush and drive out game. In California, timber owners engaged in the practice to reduce the stock of fuels and limit the spread of conflagrations when they did start.<sup>68</sup> Pinchot and his disciples at the Forest Service, however, in their attempt to assert control over the nation's timber resources, transformed light burning, an accepted and customary practice, at least in the South, into a crime. Forest fires, as Pinchot put it in 1898, "encourage a spirit of lawlessness and a disregard of property rights."<sup>69</sup> Yet suppressing forest fires proved in the end both misguided and self-defeating. Fires aid the decompo-

<sup>65</sup> Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature*, 99–120.

<sup>66</sup> Jacoby, *Crimes against Nature*, 119; Michael B. Coughenour and Francis J. Singer, "The Concept of Overgrazing and Its Application to Yellowstone's Northern Range," in *The Greater Yellowstone Ecosystem: Redefining America's Wilderness Heritage*, Robert B. Keiter and Mark S. Boyce, eds. (New Haven, Conn., 1991), 211. For more on the relationship between conservation and the extermination of animals, see Donald Worster, *Nature's Economy: A History of Ecological Ideas* (1977; rpt. edn., New York, 1985), 261–71.

<sup>67</sup> See Cronon, *Changes in the Land*, 51.

<sup>68</sup> Stephen J. Pyne, *Fire in America: A Cultural History of Wildland and Rural Fire*, rev. edn. (Seattle, 1997), 101, 143–60.

<sup>69</sup> Quotation from Stephen J. Pyne, *Year of the Fires: The Story of the Great Fires of 1910* (New York, 2001), 80.



sition of forest litter and help recycle nutrients through an ecosystem. Without them, growth slows down. Worse still, by suppressing fires, the Forest Service allowed fuels to build up, increasing the possibility for catastrophic conflagrations.

The conservation movement needs to be seen as yet another chapter in the eclipse of the commons, as part of the struggle between those seeking to rationalize the use of natural resources and those who tried to assert their customary rights to hunt, fish, cut wood, and graze animals. In this respect, it has as much in common with the closing of the southern range or the rise of the pigless city as it does with the workings of the administrative state during the Progressive Era. Criminalizing activities that stood at the center of people's ability to survive off the land left them more dependent on the cash economy and drew them even further into the world of wage labor and exchange, but to what extent we do not yet understand. We know even less about whether the customary practices these common people engaged in prior to enclosure made ecological sense, that is, whether commoners who fished in New England's rivers, grazed animals in southern forests, or took game in the West were doing so in a manner that was ecologically sustainable over the long term.<sup>70</sup> Clearly, it would be wrong to romanticize Native Americans or rural whites as the nation's first conservationists. But it is equally wrong to leave the impression, as many textbooks do, that federal conservation improved the environment, plain and simple, without taking into account its complex social and ecological effects on the ground.

ELSEWHERE, I HAVE SPELLED OUT IN DETAIL what an ecologically informed survey of American history might look like.<sup>71</sup> Here, I will examine how environmental history changes the way we view the role of agency and power in the past. In particular, how, if at all, should such an approach shape our understanding of capitalism? Capitalism, indeed, is one of the structures that most interests William Sewell in his effort to provide a theoretical framework for understanding agency. Sewell argues that it is not wage labor so much as the commodity form that constitutes the core schema of capitalist development. As he writes: "The core procedure of capitalism—the conversion of use value into exchange value or the commodification of things—is exceptionally transposable. It knows no natural limits; it can be applied not only to cloth, tobacco, or cooking pans, but to land, housework, bread, sex, advertising, emotions, or knowledge, each of which can be converted into any other by means of money."<sup>72</sup> Certainly, the enclosure of all the various common resources that in large part defines nineteenth-century U.S. environmental history lends

<sup>70</sup> Late in his life, E. P. Thompson, who did more than any other historian to further our understanding of common rights, observed that, contrary to Garrett Hardin's famous assertion of the inevitable tragedy that followed from the use of common resources, "the commoners themselves were not without commonsense." In other words, those who used common resources engaged in a variety of self-regulatory behaviors. See Thompson, *Customs in Common: Studies in Traditional Popular Culture* (New York, 1991), 107; and Garrett Hardin, "The Tragedy of the Commons," *Science* 162 (December 13, 1968): 1243–48. What is missing, however, from Thompson's analysis is any appreciation of the fact that not all self-regulatory behavior makes ecological sense. As anthropologist Roy A. Rappaport has explained, there is a disparity between how a culture goes about understanding and thus transforming the natural world and the actual structure of a particular ecosystem: "images of nature are always simpler than nature and in some degree or sense inexact, for ecological systems are complex and subtle beyond full comprehension." Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979), 97.

<sup>71</sup> See Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth: Nature's Role in American History* (New York, 2002).

<sup>72</sup> Sewell, "Theory of Structure," 25–26.



support to Sewell's assertion of the interchangeableness at the heart of the capitalist structure.

But are there really no "natural limits" to the commodity form? On the one hand, given the extraordinary number of commodified dimensions to modern life, I am inclined to agree. On the other hand, however, ecological constraints do at least pose obstacles to capitalism's colonizing tendencies and contribute to the unpredictability that at times ruptures the surface of the economic structure. The power of capitalism derives in large part from its ability to reduce everything to the lowest common financial denominator, that is, to money. As Sewell points out, changes in one realm, the automobile industry to use his example, can result in ramifications and parallel changes in other spheres, such as the rise of rubber plantations centered on forced labor. Rubber, in other words, became commodified to meet the demand of the early twentieth-century auto industry for tires, with far-reaching consequences for tropical areas across the globe.<sup>73</sup> But there were, historically speaking at least, some natural limits to the commodification of rubber, as Henry Ford's failed Fordlandia venture in Brazil during the 1920s and 1930s demonstrates.

The demand for rubber exploded in the 1920s, the product of increasing numbers of cars and the Goodyear company's introduction of a new, more comfortable-riding tire that required 30 percent more elastic material than the one it replaced. Unfortunately for U.S. automakers, Southeast Asian plantations, controlled by the British and Dutch, had a virtual monopoly on the rubber market. In 1927, Henry Ford tried to break the Asian monopoly by purchasing rights to 2.5 million acres of land in the Brazilian Amazon, where rubber had long been grown. Indeed, the *Hevea* species first evolved there before Europeans transplanted it for use in Asia. By 1929, nearly 1,500 acres of rainforest had been cleared and planted with rubber trees. Five years later, however, leaf blight traumatized the project. Rubber trees had evolved to adapt to the fungal menace by growing in a scattered fashion across the forest floor. But the imperatives of capitalist production demanded the concentration of trees—allowing laborers to tap the latex without having to travel much as they went about their job—a move that provided the fungus a convenient avenue for spreading its ills. With the blight wreaking havoc, Ford's associates moved to a new site, but again things went wrong as drought struck in 1938 and swarms of caterpillars in 1942. In 1945, Ford withdrew from the project.<sup>74</sup>

To understand the "chronic instability or unpredictability of capitalism's surface structures," to quote Sewell, we need to perhaps consider a fourth dimension in our historical analysis, apart from race, class, and gender.<sup>75</sup> Taking into account the independent world of nature should cause us to rethink the meaning of human agency.<sup>76</sup> We need, in short, a less anthropocentric and less arrogant view of the

<sup>73</sup> Sewell, "Theory of Structure," 26.

<sup>74</sup> Richard P. Tucker, *Insatiable Appetite: The United States and the Ecological Degradation of the Tropical World* (Berkeley, Calif., 2000), 232–33, 244, 258–61.

<sup>75</sup> Sewell, "Theory of Structure," 26.

<sup>76</sup> It should also cause us to rethink the meaning of culture. Richard White argues forcefully that the line between "nature" and "culture" is, in fact, hardly a line at all but a blurry boundary that would seem to defy all efforts at nailing it down. That is an important insight. But it is equally important to realize that attempts to articulate a hard line between the natural and the cultural have been carried out in order to serve various political interests. See White, *The Organic Machine: The Remaking of the Columbia River* (New York, 1995).

concept, something more along the lines of what the anthropologist Sherry Ortner once proposed: "To say that society and history are products of human action is true, but only in a certain ironic sense. They are rarely the products the actors themselves set out to make."<sup>77</sup>

One of environmental history's greatest achievements has been to draw our attention to obscured or buried relationships—the connection between the control of water and the demise of fish, between the rise of cleaner cities and the decline of the working-class's roaming pigs, between conservation for white, middle-class vacationers and its consequences for rural whites and Native Americans. Whether pursuing such an agenda can help put history back together again remains to be seen. But at the very least, such an ecologically minded and socially sensitive approach will give us a more humble view of human agency as well as a clearer picture of how oppression operates, creating a link between history and matters of everyday existence, survival, and struggle. Without it, we risk letting people off the hook.

<sup>77</sup> Ortner, "Theory in Anthropology since the Sixties," 157.

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*Review Essay*  
Worrying about Emotions in History

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BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN

AS A MEDIEVALIST, I have cause to be worried about emotions in history. I do not worry about the emotions themselves: people in the past, as now, expressed joy, sorrow, anger, fear, and many other feelings; these emotions had multiple meanings then (as they do today); they had their effects on others and were manipulated in turn (as ours do and are). What medievalists—indeed, all historians who want to get their history right—must worry about is how *historians* have treated emotions in history. The purpose of this article is to survey the historiography of emotions in Western history and to suggest some fresh ways to think about the topic.

IT MAY BE OBJECTED THAT, for the most part, historians have not treated the subject of emotions at all. Despite numerous calls for their study, starting at least as far back as 1941 with a famous article by Lucien Febvre, most historians have shied away from the topic. Why indeed should they have essayed it? As an academic discipline, history began as the servant of political developments.<sup>1</sup> Despite a generation's worth of social and cultural history, the discipline has never quite lost its attraction to hard, rational things.<sup>2</sup> Emotions have seemed tangential (if not fundamentally opposed) to the historical enterprise.

When Febvre called for histories of emotions in 1941, he was not so much repudiating the political focus of history as recognizing something that, perhaps,

I dedicate this article to the memory of my father, Norman Herstein (1921–2002). This article was written during a year of research (1999–2000) supported by a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship and subvented by Loyola University Chicago. I am grateful to both. I wish to extend warm thanks to Esther Cohen, Mayke de Jong, Lynn Hunt, Piroška Nagy, Daniela Romagnoli, Tom Rosenwein, Daniel Smail, Stephen D. White, and members of the *AHR* Board of Editors for reading and commenting on this article in draft. At the behest of Allen Frantzen, I presented one version of it as a lecture for the Loyola Medieval Studies program; I would like to thank him, Theresa Gross-Diaz, and other members of the audience. Finally, I thank my graduate students—Kirstin DeVries, Frances Mitilineos, Jilana Ordman, David Roufs, and Sonya Seifert—for cheerfully worrying the topic with me throughout a year-long course.

<sup>1</sup> For a brief summation, see Georg G. Iggers, *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge* (Hanover, N.H., 1997), 5.

<sup>2</sup> Less than forty years ago, when the *Journal of Social History* was founded, its founder, Peter Stearns, bewailed the fact that social historians were acting as handmaidens to political history; see *Journal of Social History* 1 (Fall 1967): 4. (Stearns figures prominently in emotions historiography, as will be noted below.) But even as late as 1994, Lyndal Roper's study of subjectivity in the early modern era, *Oedipus and the Devil: Witchcraft, Sexuality and Religion in Early Modern Europe* (London), 5, had to fight "our own attachment to the story of the rise of individualism and rationality." This bias is an aspect of history's gender: see Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women, and Historical*

only the Nazis could have brought home to a Frenchman: politics itself is not rational, not unemotional. (Let us leave to the side for a moment consideration of the rational nature of emotions. In the 1940s—and indeed until the 1960s—everyone assumed without question that emotions were irrational.) Febvre believed it was important to study emotions because “the emotional life [is] always ready to overflow the intellectual life . . . [You might say:] The history of hate, the history of fear, the history of cruelty, the history of love; stop bothering us with this idle chatter. But that idle chatter . . . will tomorrow have turned the universe into a fetid pit of corpses.”<sup>3</sup> Note which emotions Febvre evoked in this passage: hate, fear, and love. He threw in cruelty for good measure because he thought that all “irrational” matters went together. He was calling for histories of what we would call the “Dark Side”—hate, fear, cruelty. It is love, in fact, that is out of place here.<sup>4</sup> But Febvre included love because it could easily fall out of bounds, to become passion and lust.

Why did Febvre imagine that histories of these gruesome feelings could stave off fascist nightmares?<sup>5</sup> His answer was that “the history of ideas and the history of institutions . . . are subjects that the historian can neither understand nor make understood without this primordial interest that I call the psychological.”<sup>6</sup> Inspired by the psychological theories of his friend Henri Wallon, who had just published an article on the topic in the *Encyclopédie française*, Febvre argued that emotions were basic in that they brought people together in the first place.<sup>7</sup> But they were also

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*Practice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). Emotions were similarly avoided until recently in anthropology: see Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey M. White, “The Anthropology of Emotions,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 15 (1986): 405–36. Small wonder that William M. Reddy, who is interested in the history of emotions, has made politics an instrument of emotional control: Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), 124: “Emotions are of the highest political significance. Any enduring political regime must establish as an essential element a normative order for emotions, an ‘emotional regime.’” See also Reddy, “Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions,” *Current Anthropology* 38 (June 1997): 335: “Emotional control is the real site of the exercise of power: politics is just a process of determining who must repress as illegitimate, who must foreground as valuable, the feelings and desires that come up for them in given contexts and relationships.”

<sup>3</sup> Lucien Febvre, “La sensibilité et l’histoire: Comment reconstituer la vie affective d’autrefois?” *Annales d’histoire sociale* 3 (January–June 1941): 5–20 [hereafter, “La vie affective”], quote on 19; in English as “Sensibility and History: How to Reconstitute the Emotional Life of the Past,” in *A New Kind of History: From the Writings of Febvre*, Peter Burke, ed., K. Folca, trans. (London, 1973), 12–26. All translations in this article are my own unless otherwise indicated.

<sup>4</sup> Febvre, “La vie affective,” 18, also included “death” among the emotions. The net effect was to tie *sensibilité* to the more familiar *Annales* subject of *mentalités*. Though theoretically part of *mentalités* history, emotions have figured little in the overall thrust of such studies. See *Europäische Mentalitätsgeschichte: Hauptthemen in Einzeldarstellungen*, Peter Dinzelbacher, ed. (Stuttgart, 1993), where emotions figure quite secondarily to topics such as death, work, and nature. The case is the same in the overview in Hans-Henning Kortüm, *Menschen und Mentalitäten: Einführung in Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1996).

<sup>5</sup> In the first version of “La vie affective” (Lucien Febvre, “La sensibilité dans l’histoire: Les ‘courants’ collectifs de pensée et d’action,” in *La sensibilité dans l’homme et dans la nature*, 10<sup>e</sup> Semaine Internationale de Synthèse, 7–11 juin 1938 [Paris, 1943], 77–100), Febvre spoke (p. 98) of “les foules hallucinées de Nuremberg et d’ailleurs.”

<sup>6</sup> Febvre, “La vie affective,” 19.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyclopédie française*, Vol. 8: *La vie mentale*, Henri Wallon, ed. (Paris, 1938), pt. 24, pp. 1–7; the first section of the article, “Rapports affectifs: Les émotions,” was written by Wallon himself. Present at the 1938 conference at which Febvre first gave his paper, Wallon thanked Febvre for having “élargi mon exposé sur l’émotion, l’a enrichi et complété.” See *La sensibilité dans l’homme*, 104. It is perhaps useful to know that Febvre was the general editor of the *Encyclopédie française*. Wallon was his close friend from their days as fellow students at the Ecole Normale. See Carole Fink, *Marc Bloch: A Life*

primitive. Upon the foundational associations that emotions created were built the languages, ideas, and institutions of human civilization, but emotions remained separate from the culture that they generated. For Febvre, emotions were not *part* of civilized life, however essential they were to its existence.

Febvre's ideas are important because the small number of historians who have been interested in emotions habitually invoke him as the prophet crying in the wilderness, the man who saw the light but had few followers. It is my contention, to the contrary, that Febvre was simply following some others and was leading historians on the wrong path as he did so. In particular, he was following Johan Huizinga. This may seem surprising, because Febvre's article was ostensibly an attack on Huizinga. In *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, published in 1919 in Dutch (Febvre read it in the French translation of 1932), Huizinga spoke of the childlike nature of medieval emotional life. The opening of his first chapter announced the theme:

To the world when it was half a thousand years younger, the outlines of all things seemed more clearly marked than to us . . . All experience had yet to the minds of men the directness and absoluteness of the pleasure and pain of child-life . . . All things in life were of a proud or cruel publicity . . . All things presenting themselves to the mind in violent contrasts and impressive forms, lent a tone of excitement and of passion to everyday life and tended to produce that perpetual oscillation between despair and distracted joy, between cruelty and pious tenderness which characterize life in the Middle Ages.<sup>8</sup>

When Febvre read those words in the context of Nazi horrors, he objected to them not because he thought there was anything wrong in calling the Middle Ages childlike but because, in his view, Huizinga ought to have pointed out that emotions are *always* violent, shifting, and extravagant. However, some eras (in Febvre's view) could keep passions tamped down better than others. The historian's task was to identify such periods and explain how and why they worked. Febvre was calling for moral history, history that would explain fascism and reveal the principles on which a more rational order could be constructed. His call was public policy masquerading as history.

In the event, this was not the legacy of Febvre's article; its most important impact was to legitimize the emotionally childlike Middle Ages. How convenient this has turned out to be for modernists shall soon be made clear. Certainly, it was two modernists—Peter Stearns and his psychiatrist/historian wife Carol Stearns—who next called for a history of emotions. Their manifesto, published in the *AHR*

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in *History* (Cambridge, 1989), 137, 149. Nevertheless, Febvre's emphasis on violent emotions was not Wallon's. Wallon was interested in all sorts of emotions: fear, joy, pleasure, anger, anxiety, and even shyness.

<sup>8</sup> Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, Frederik J. Hopman, trans. (New York, 1924), 9, from the original Dutch: *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen: Studie over levens- en gedachtevormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (Haarlem, 1919). See also now *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, Rodney J. Payton and Ulrich Mammitzsch, trans. (Chicago, 1996), 1: "every experience had that degree of directness and absoluteness that joy and sadness still have in the mind of a child." What Huizinga really said is perhaps of less importance than what historians think he said. The French version, where Febvre read his Huizinga, is *Déclin du Moyen âge*, Julia Bastin, trans. (Paris, 1932). Here (p. 10) the translation is rendered "toute expérience avait encore ce degré d'immédiat et d'absolu qu'ont le plaisir et la peine dans l'esprit d'un enfant."



in 1985, proclaimed a new field for historians of emotions: “emotionology.”<sup>9</sup> It was an unlovely word but extremely useful, with its scientific panache recalling “sociology” or “psychology.” Within a year, the two had published *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America’s History*.<sup>10</sup> These opening salvos marked the creation of a virtual mini-industry: an impressive series of books and articles by Stearns himself and others inspired by him on the emotional history of the United States.<sup>11</sup> Taken together, this body of work comprises the most significant research in the history of emotions to date. What are its premises?

“Emotionology,” a term created by the Stearnses, refers to “the attitude or standards that a society, or a definable group within a society, maintains toward basic emotions and their appropriate expression [and] ways that institutions reflect and encourage these attitudes in human conduct.”<sup>12</sup> Its emphasis, then, is not on how people felt or represented their feelings but on what people thought about such matters as crying in public, getting angry, or showing anger physically. It assumes that what people *think* about feelings they will eventually actually feel. The Stearnses were here astutely picking up on some sociological theories of the 1970s and 1980s. The sociologist Arlie Hochschild, for example, was arguing that society could and did control emotions and their expression, that there were “feeling rules,” or “emotion rules” that told people, in essence, how to feel and how to express those utterly socially mandated feelings.<sup>13</sup> Hochschild argued that airline stewardesses learned at training schools not only to smile but to *feel* pleasant when travelers yelled at them. She called this the “managed heart.” The Stearnses wanted to look at the managed hearts of the past.

But it turned out to be a very shallow past. For how do you get at the “emotional standards” of a society? The Stearnses’ answer: by looking at popular advice manuals. But these must be non-elite to qualify as emotionology. Thus, in *Anger*, for example, the Stearnses explicitly avoid using “high-culture sources”; their focus is on the “common folk,” which, in point of fact, turns out to mean the middle classes.<sup>14</sup> Was there emotionology before the advent of modern advice

<sup>9</sup> Peter N. Stearns with Carol Z. Stearns, “Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards,” *AHR* 90 (October 1985): 813–36.

<sup>10</sup> Carol Zisowitz Stearns and Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America’s History* (Chicago, 1986).

<sup>11</sup> For example, Peter N. Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York, 1989); Peter N. Stearns and Timothy Haggerty, “The Role of Fear: Transitions in American Emotional Standards for Children, 1850–1950,” *AHR* 96 (February 1991): 63–94; *An Emotional History of the United States*, Peter N. Stearns and Jan Lewis, eds. (New York, 1998); Peter N. Stearns, *Battleground of Desire: The Struggle for Self-Control in Modern America* (New York, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” 813. The definition, which is presented as a sort of epigram to the article, is followed by one for “emotion,” but only the latter was derived from the social-scientific literature, namely from Paul R. Kleinginna, Jr., and Anne M. Kleinginna, “A Categorized List of Emotion Definitions, with Suggestions for a Consensual Definition,” *Motivation and Emotion* 5 (1981): 355. The necessity for the term “emotionology” is not self-evident; at the time that the Stearnses were writing, social scientists were using the term “sentiment” to mean “socially articulated symbols and behavioral expectations,” as opposed to private feelings. See Lutz and White, “Anthropology of Emotions,” 409.

<sup>13</sup> For example, Arlie Russell Hochschild, “Emotion Work, Feeling Rules, and Social Structure,” *American Journal of Sociology* 85 (November 1979): 551–75; Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983).

<sup>14</sup> Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, 249, n. 31; 12 (“common folk”); 16 (“middle class Protestants”).

manuals?<sup>15</sup> The answer is no. The Stearnses explicitly rule out courtly love literature as an emotionology, for example, because it “simply did not penetrate far enough into popular culture or into institutional arrangements to count as a genuine emotionology.”<sup>16</sup> But if courtly love literature, written in the vernacular and sung orally by troubadours in the south of France and by other poets elsewhere, must be considered simply part of “intellectual history,” then virtually nothing from the pre-modern period can be considered true emotionology.

This is why in a review of Jean Delumeau’s *Sin and Fear* Peter Stearns took the book to task: “The fact that Christian preachers reached out to urge and play upon the terror of death receives important new documentation in this study, but their degree of success remains oddly elusive. This is top down history at its worst.” And “laypeople figure relatively rarely.” Finally, the cutting blow: “The results do not fully escape the more limited confines of intellectual history.”<sup>17</sup> There is plenty to criticize about Delumeau’s approach (as we shall see below), but the fact is that no medievalist or pre-modernist is going to find the sorts of materials that will allow for what the Stearnses call “genuine emotionology,” because emotionology by definition belongs to the modern period, when advice manuals for the middle classes began.

A short section in *Anger*, “Premodern Emotionology toward Anger,” is not about “emotionology”; it is about its lack. Tapping Huizinga (with grateful acknowledgment), the Stearnses claim that the pre-modern period had “less precise” standards than the modern, that its society tolerated “significant anger,” which was expressed more “frankly and overtly” than in the modern period. Indeed, there was no “general emotional control.”<sup>18</sup> They continue: “Public temper tantrums, along with frequent weeping and boisterous joy, were far more common in premodern society than they were to become in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Adults were in many ways, by modern standards, childlike in their indulgence in temper, which is one reason that they so readily played games with children.”<sup>19</sup>

This broad dismissal of the period before the middle of the eighteenth century nicely narrows the field for the emotionologist. In *Anger*, the Stearnses distinguish three periods in the history of emotionology: the hundred years from about 1750 to 1850 introduced the ideal of the anger-free family; the period from 1850 to 1920 “produced the most distinctive American ambivalence about anger,” as the values of the earlier century began to “take hold”; the era from circa 1920 to the present showed (and shows) a general condemnation of anger, whose *only* outlet has

<sup>15</sup> Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, 2, suggest that “intimate community supervision” in the pre-modern period took the place of emotionology.

<sup>16</sup> Stearns and Stearns, “Emotionology,” 830.

<sup>17</sup> Peter N. Stearns, review of Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture, 13th–18th Centuries*, Eric Nicholson, trans. (New York, 1990), in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23 (Summer 1992): 156–58. Delumeau’s original book, *Le péché et la peur: La culpabilisation en Occident (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)* was published at Paris in 1983.

<sup>18</sup> Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, 21–23, 25.

<sup>19</sup> Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, 25; Huizinga is quoted approvingly by the Stearnses on 28. The use of the loaded term “tantrum” in this context is odd, since the Stearnses themselves had already pointed out in “Emotionology,” 826–27, that “tantrum” was a modern invention. It is not clear whence the idea that medieval people “readily played games with children,” but the source is probably Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, Robert Baldick, trans. (New York, 1962), 50, 71, 90.

become (ironically) the family itself.<sup>20</sup> In *An Emotional History*, the periodization is again threefold: there are “changes in the decades around 1800 and again around 1920.”<sup>21</sup> This is a very narrow time frame. Emotionology, touted as a “boost” to the larger effort of getting at emotions in history, in fact boosts essentially the period that created emotionology.<sup>22</sup> For that was the moment when (in the Stearnses’ view) people’s emotional lives stopped being childish and violent and, instead, started undergoing restraints.

The Stearnsian/Huizingian picture of the pre-modern period is powerfully undergirded by the work of Norbert Elias and his students.<sup>23</sup> *The Civilizing Process*, written in German while Elias was in England as a refugee from the Nazis, made little impact when it was first published in 1939. But upon its republication in 1968 and its translation into English and French in the 1970s, it became an extremely influential text.<sup>24</sup> Elias viewed Huizinga’s naïve Middle Ages through Freudian glasses:

People [in the Middle Ages] are wild, cruel, prone to violent outbreaks and abandoned to the joy of the moment. They can afford to be. There is little in their situation to compel them to impose restraint upon themselves. Little in their conditioning forces them to develop what might be called a strict and stable super-ego, as a function of dependence and compulsions stemming from others transformed into self-restraints.<sup>25</sup>

The “people” Elias spoke of were the elite, the warriors, men used to bloodshed and plundering. Without a state to restrain them, they could do whatever their impulses led them to do. The one exception was at the courts of the very greatest lords (here Elias was thinking of the twelfth century on), where “within the restricted court circle, and encouraged above all by the presence of the lady, more peaceful forms of conduct become obligatory.”<sup>26</sup> It was in the psychology of the courtiers—the men who entertained, administered, and taught at the courts of the great—that the “civilizing process” first began. “Restraint” and “renunciation” led to the “transformation of drives,” tempered by love of a lady of high station.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, 11, where their conclusions are summarized.

<sup>21</sup> Stearns and Lewis, *Emotional History*, 6. The editors in fact call theirs a “dual periodization,” but it depends on a prior, though largely undefined, pre-modern period.

<sup>22</sup> Stearns and Lewis, *Emotional History*, 7: “By narrowing the historian’s task and defining it with precision, Stearns and Stearns gave the new field [namely, the study of emotions] an important boost.” Not all historians took seriously the Stearnses’ limitation of emotionology to middle-class controls. Thus Kari Konkola, for example, considered her study of the relationship between emotion and sin in the writings of seventeenth-century English divines to be part of the history of emotionology. True, she considered only “popular” authors. But what can “popular” mean in the seventeenth-century context? What classes were literate? See Konkola, “Psychology of Emotions as Theology: The Meaning and Control of Sin in Early Modern English Religion” (PhD dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1994), esp. 13–16.

<sup>23</sup> For a comparison of the views of Febvre and Elias, see André Burguière, “La notion de ‘mentalités’ chez Marc Bloch et Lucien Febvre: Deux conceptions, deux filiations,” *Revue de synthèse*, 3d ser., 111–12 (July–December 1983): 333–48.

<sup>24</sup> A large bibliography on the reception of Elias is surveyed in Gerd Schwerhoff, “Zivilisation-sproß und Geschichtswissenschaft: Norbert Elias’ Forschungsparadigma in historischer Sicht,” *Historische Zeitschrift* 266 (June 1998): 561–606.

<sup>25</sup> Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, 2 vols. in 1: *The History of Manners and State Formation*, Edmund Jephcott, trans. (Oxford, 1994), 319.

<sup>26</sup> Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 324.

<sup>27</sup> Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 327.

Only at the absolutist court of the modern state, however, did this new behavior and emotional style become obligatory and generalized. The state, far more surely than the “lady,” ended the reign of the warrior-knight. It monopolized taxes and the army, the twin pillars of power. It dominated the many complex institutions of society. To participate in this all-inclusive structure, people were forced to “attune their conduct [including emotional expression] to that of others.”<sup>28</sup> (Indeed, even without the state, increased social coordination, interdependence, and regulation demanded individual self-restraint.<sup>29</sup>)

Elias’s scheme is seductive. It makes room for change, and it explains it. Moreover, it welcomes emotionology and other explorations of constraints, as all of these are part of the civilizing process.<sup>30</sup> With Elias at their elbows, historians have constructed the “grand narrative” of emotions that this article seeks to problematize.

In brief, the narrative is this: the history of the West is the history of increasing emotional restraint. Greece and Rome may be quickly dismissed: did not Homer sing of the sweet delights of anger?<sup>31</sup> The Middle Ages had the emotional life of a child: unadulterated, violent, public, unashamed. The modern period (variously defined) brought with it self-discipline, control, and suppression.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 445.

<sup>29</sup> Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 93–95. To the objection that the postwar period has seen a decline in “more or less automatic self-supervision,” Elias and his students have elaborated the notion of “informalization,” which postulates that “the loosening of restraints and codes of behaviour . . . is closely connected with, and contains at the same time[,] a ‘tighter binding of drives.’” See Cas Wouters, “Informalisation and the Civilising Process,” in *Human Figurations: Essays for Norbert Elias*, Peter R. Gleichmann, Johan Goudsblom, and Hermann Korte, eds. (Amsterdam, 1977), quote at 442.

<sup>30</sup> For new constraints not part of emotionology, see, for example, Abram de Swaan, “The Politics of Agoraphobia: On Changes in Emotional and Relational Management,” *Theory and Society* 10 (May 1981): 359–85, on the development of “agoraphobia” in the nineteenth century as the internalization of once formal city laws that provided for public order. Masculinity studies are also generally in easy accord with Elias, especially if they trace a trajectory from the privileging of brute strength to “a gentler and more domesticated type of man” who emerges at the end of the nineteenth century. See Pieter Spierenburg, “Masculinity, Violence, and Honor: An Introduction,” in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, Spierenburg, ed. ([Columbus, Ohio], 1998), 6. Karen Lystra, *Searching the Heart: Women, Men, and Romantic Love in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York, 1989), 21, argues that, in nineteenth-century love letters, men, like women, valued “sincere, open, heart-felt [emotional] expression,” which, in her view (p. 8), “contributed to American individualism.” See other studies bearing on masculinity in n. 40 below.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Stearns and Stearns, *Anger*, 7 and 21. Scholars of the ancient period have a rather more nuanced approach. A small sample of some recent bibliography on ancient emotions includes Carlin A. Barton, *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster* (Princeton, N.J., 1993); Edward Champlin, *Final Judgments: Duty and Emotion in Roman Wills, 200 B.C.–A.D. 250* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991); *The Emotions in Hellenistic Philosophy*, Juha Sihvola and Troels Engberg-Pedersen, eds. (Dordrecht, 1998); Martha C. Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Princeton, 1994); *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, Susanna Morton Braund and Christopher Gill, eds. (Cambridge, 1997). But William V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), contributes to the bracketing off of the Middle Ages, arguing that emotional control existed in the ancient world and then again in the sixteenth century. “In my view” (he writes, p. 150), “[Elias] described a real historical process but did so partially and inaccurately . . . What is suggested here is that the process had an important precursor in the classical world.”

<sup>32</sup> The philosophers’ counterpart to the grand narrative of historians is the erroneous view that early modern philosophers separated the mind from the body and reason from emotion, so that modern philosophy represents the triumphant healing of these dichotomies. Countering this view is Susan James, *Passion and Action: The Emotions in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Oxford, 1997), with her programmatic statement on 17–18.

It is not only historians who subscribe to this paradigm: it is, indeed, the narrative suggested by all the great theorizers of the twentieth century. For Max Weber, modernism and the state brought bureaucracy, which in turn promoted “the development of ‘rational matter-of-factness’ and the personality type of the professional expert.”<sup>33</sup> The Calvinist emphasis on proof of election led to “a systematic self-control,” the religious foundation of the modern capitalist mentality.<sup>34</sup> For Sigmund Freud, “civilization”—he was certainly speaking of modern European civilization, with its telephones, airplanes, parks, and obsessive cleanliness—“is built up on renunciation of instinctual gratifications,” which in a mythical past—not necessarily the Middle Ages but certainly not modern times—were allowed freer reign.<sup>35</sup> Even for Michel Foucault, whose work on ancient sexuality destroyed the myth of Greek hedonism, the disciplines destined to prod, study, parse, and control the body and sexuality proliferated on the whole after the medieval period.<sup>36</sup>

MOST HISTORIANS OF THE MODERN PERIOD are used to having the Middle Ages serve as a convenient foil for modernity, so the grand narrative is extremely easy for them to swallow.<sup>37</sup> Let us briefly consider the terrain. In the United States, modern emotions history tends to fall into two groups: studies concerned with the formation of the “affective family” and those interested in “honor-based” societies—the Deep South in the United States and Mediterranean cultures in Europe.<sup>38</sup>

Historians of the affective family tend to claim that in the Middle Ages and early modern period the family was cold and loveless; only in the eighteenth century did

<sup>33</sup> Max Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, Hans H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, eds. and trans. (New York, 1958), 240.

<sup>34</sup> Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Talcott Parsons, trans. (New York, 1958), 115; for a discussion of the “emotionalism” of the Pietists (as opposed to the Calvinists), see 138.

<sup>35</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents*, Joan Riviere, trans. (London, 1955), 63.

<sup>36</sup> Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 1: *An Introduction*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1978); Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Alan Sheridan, trans. (New York, 1979). On the other hand, Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. 2: *The Use of Pleasure*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1985), and Vol. 3: *The Care of the Self*, Robert Hurley, trans. (New York, 1986), show restraints, controls, and norms at work in the regulation of sexuality in the ancient world.

<sup>37</sup> Anthropologists constructed an analogous foil in their conception of “primitive society.” See Adam Kuper, *The Invention of Primitive Society: Transformations of an Illusion* (London, 1988), who shows, indeed, that at its inception, legal historians such as Henry Maine and N.-D. Fustel de Coulanges were as instrumental in creating the myth of the “primitive” as were the ethnologists E. B. Tylor and Lewis Henry Morgan. Kuper concentrates on notions of primitive kinship, but the idea of the “primitive mind” was not far behind: see Charles R. Aldrich, *The Primitive Mind and Modern Civilization* (London, 1931), who places particular emphasis on fear as the chief emotion of primitive society (similar to some ideas of the Annales school—see below, n. 46); and Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man*, rev. edn. (New York, 1938), chap. 2.

<sup>38</sup> The major exceptions are Peter Stearns (discussed above) and William Reddy (discussed below). I leave aside studies focusing on romanticism (which by definition called attention to the emotions), such as Richard Brantley, *Coordinates of Anglo-American Romanticism: Wesley, Edwards, Carlyle, and Emerson* (Gainesville, Fla., 1993). The study of emotions in non-Western civilizations is just beginning: see *Emotions in Asian Thought: A Dialogue in Comparative Philosophy*, Joel Marks and Roger T. Ames, eds. (New York, 1995); David R. Matsumoto, *Unmasking Japan: Myths and Realities about the Emotions of the Japanese* (Stanford, Calif., 1996); Norman Kutcher, *Mourning in Late Imperial China: Filial Piety and the State* (New York, 1999).





FIGURE 1: Detail from Giotto's Birth of Jesus. Scrovegni Chapel, Padua (1304–1313). In the later Middle Ages, artists such as Giotto humanized the story of Christ's life and death with the addition of homey details, as in this depiction of an exchange of tender glances between mother and child. Courtesy of Fratelli Alinari/Art Resource, New York.

the loving family unit emerge. The notion of the affectless family does not contradict the vision of overwrought emotionalism in the Middle Ages, because the love involved in the affective family unit is understood to be tamped down, restrained, and unwavering. In this view, the pre-modern family was at best a

calculated social institution for reproduction and at worst a theater of violent outbursts. By contrast, the modern family is sentimental.<sup>39</sup>

The South, whether of Europe or of the United States, has also inspired emotions history. Edward Muir's *Mad Blood Stirring* is a remarkably sophisticated example of the Elias paradigm at work. Exploring a particularly fractious group of Italian nobles involved in seemingly endless vendettas to maintain their honor, Muir sees "one of the great transformations in the history of emotions" take place as the nobles learned to hide their anger and become mannerly courtiers.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, Maureen Flynn's thoughtful work on anger in early modern Spanish culture invokes Anna Freud's studies of children at play to explain the purposes of sixteenth-century blasphemy, while she sees clerical "examination, confession, absolution," and so on as "part of the 'civilizing process.'" <sup>41</sup>

In connection with the American South, emotions history tends to postulate the Civil War as the "civilizing moment." Here, the Old South represents "traditional society." In *Southern Honor*, Bertram Wyatt-Brown is perhaps most open about these assumptions, seeing ancient—indeed, "Indo-European"—origins in the code of ethics ruling the Old South.<sup>42</sup> Without quite arguing that southern American

<sup>39</sup> For the loveless family, see Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York, 1975); Lawrence Stone, *The Family. Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (London, 1977). The grandfather of these studies is Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*. For a survey of the literature, see Tamara K. Hareven, "The History of the Family and the Complexity of Social Change," *AHR* 96 (February 1991): 95–124. An early exception is *Interest and Emotion: Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*, Hans Medick and David Warren Sabean, eds. (Cambridge, 1984), where the editors suggest that "not talking about affect" need not mean that no affect exists. The collective import of the articles in this latter book is that material calculation and emotion are always intertwined. More recently, Louis Haas, *The Renaissance Man and His Children: Childbirth and Early Childhood in Florence 1300–1600* (New York, 1998), 2, argues for "close affective bonds" between Renaissance fathers and children, but this simply pushes back the date of the birth of the affective family without challenging the notion theoretically. Similarly, Steven Ozment, *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), counters the Shorter/Stone point of view by arguing for a "turning point . . . in the treatment of children" (p. 58) during the twelfth century, with the affective family in full bloom circa 1500. In just the last decade, *medievalists*, however, have effectively countered the progressivist vision that these accounts, for all their revisionism, leave intact. Two recent review articles cover the evidence and cite the relevant bibliography: Pauline Stafford, "Parents and Children in the Early Middle Ages," *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001): 257–71; and Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Medievalists and the Study of Childhood," *Speculum* 77 (April 2002): 440–60.

<sup>40</sup> Edward Muir, *Mad Blood Stirring: Vendetta and Factions in Friuli during the Renaissance* (Baltimore, 1993), xxvi. See also Muir, "The Double Binds of Manly Revenge in Renaissance Italy," in *Gender Rhetorics: Postures of Dominance and Submission in History*, Richard C. Trexler, ed. (Binghamton, N.Y., 1994), 65–82. Muir considers the turn from vendetta to the duel evidence of the civilizing process, since duels were rule-based. But Thomas W. Gallant, "Honor, Masculinity, and Ritual Knife Fighting in Nineteenth-Century Greece," *AHR* 105 (April 2000): 358–82, finds that, although Greek lower-class duels were equally scripted, "civilizing" took place when the duels were abandoned in favor of litigation in the courts. Both of these views adhere to Elias, although they place "civilizing" at different points on the continuum of progressive self-restraint that defines that process. For other studies of the affective life of the Mediterranean world, see Gallant's excellent and up-to-date bibliography.

<sup>41</sup> Maureen Flynn, "Blasphemy and the Play of Anger in Sixteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present*, no. 149 (November 1995): 29–56; Flynn, "Taming Anger's Daughters: New Treatment for Emotional Problems in Renaissance Spain," *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (Autumn 1998): 864–86, quote on 868.

<sup>42</sup> Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), 33. Honor is not ordinarily included in psychologists' lists of emotions, but Wyatt-Brown quite rightly links it to "feeling" (*Southern Honor*, xi). For some indications of the role of emotions in bolstering honor, see Lila Abu-Lughod, *Veiled Sentiments: Honor and Poetry in a Bedouin Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986); and William Ian Miller, *Humiliation: And Other Essays on Honor, Social Discomfort, and Violence* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1993), esp. chap. 3.

mores were discovered in the forests of Germany, Wyatt-Brown claims that a set of traditions about honor, transmitted “from the wilderness of central Europe and Asia” to the world of southern whites, necessitated a certain type of culture that privileged valor, family, and patriarchy.<sup>43</sup> It was only with the Civil War—and the secularization and industrialization that followed—that honor’s hold was swept away.<sup>44</sup>

Turning from U.S. historiography to that of Europe, we find emotions history rooted in the Annales school approach, represented by Febvre himself, although it has changed and become more international over time. In general, the Annales school, reacting against positivist historians who discussed *only* elites, put the focus on the masses. But, separating ideas from emotions and folding emotions into the larger issue of *mentalités*, *Annalistes* historians depicted the masses as passive slaves to their own mental structures.<sup>45</sup> These the *Annalistes* assumed to be so limited and inadequate as to prevent people from making sense of the world around them. As Stuart Clark has summed up the thinking of this school, “Physical and mental insecurity gave rise to emotional trauma. Preoccupied with surviving in hostile,

<sup>43</sup> Medievalists concerned precisely with such “traditions” see them as far more labile and historically contingent than Wyatt-Brown suggests. The “traditions” were continually reconstructed under new circumstances. See the essays in *Strategies of Distinction: The Construction of Ethnic Communities, 300–800*, Walter Pohl, ed., with Helmut Reimitz (Leiden, 1998); and Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, N.J., 2002). On the South as a traditional or “pre-modern” society, see Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor*, xii–xvii, where he explicitly links his work to that of anthropologists of Mediterranean cultures. On the other hand, Wyatt-Brown writes of southern settlers as having “Celtic” roots (*Southern Honor*, 36). For a critique of the practice of conceptualizing as “pre-modern” groups who live alongside societies that we call “modern,” see Daniel A. Segal, “‘Western Civ’ and the Staging of History in American Higher Education,” *AHR* 105 (June 2000): 770–805. Edward L. Ayers, *Vengeance and Justice: Crime and Punishment in the Nineteenth-Century American South* (New York, 1984), problematizes the relationship between violence and “lack of restraint” on p. 11, yet on p. 20 he quotes Lawrence Stone approvingly on the “ferocity, childishness, and lack of self-control of the Homeric age” as seen in the English propertied classes—and in southerners by extension.

<sup>44</sup> See, however, Bertram Wyatt-Brown’s recent “sequel” to *Southern Honor*, titled *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s–1890s* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2001), where the Civil War and its aftermath do not bring sudden change. Clearly repudiating the Elias paradigm in Southern studies is Altina L. Waller, *Feud: Hatfields, McCoys, and Social Change in Appalachia, 1860–1900* (Chapel Hill, 1988). She suggests (p. 233) that the feud was used to foster “the conviction that Appalachian culture was inferior to bourgeois culture and consigned the mountaineers to the unreal world of savagery, whether degraded or noble . . . The irony here is that the feud [was at least partly] created by the modernizers and then used as an argument for drastic alternations in Appalachian culture.” Cynthia Lynn Lyerly, *Methodism and the Southern Mind, 1770–1810* (New York, 1998), makes much of the values of the southern subculture represented by Methodism. Here, emotions (see esp. 34–39) are rightly considered part of a larger belief system.

<sup>45</sup> On the original conceptions of *mentalités* and their transformations, see Burguière, “Notion de ‘mentalités,’” 333–48, who argues that Febvre’s views, which focused on “[le] jeu alterné de l’affectif et de l’intellectuel” (p. 344), were far less influential historiographically than Bloch’s avoidance of the intellectual. The last few years have seen critiques of this separation of ideas from mass culture. See Alain Boureau, “Propositions pour une histoire restreinte des mentalités,” *Annales: Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 44 (November–December 1989): 1491–1509. Piroska Zombory-Nagy and Véronique Frandon, with David El Kenz and Matthias Grässlin, “Pour une histoire de la souffrance: Expressions, représentations, usages,” *Médiévales* 27 (Autumn 1994): 5–14, criticize Febvre’s notion of “progress” from emotions to intellectual activities; Marcel Gauchet, “L’élargissement de l’objet historique,” *Le débat*, no. 103 (January–February 1999): 131–47, calls (p. 138) for a reinsertion of “la haute culture dans la totalité social-historique.”



mysterious surroundings, lost in a world of which they had only imprecise knowledge, simple men became victims of severe, even psychotic anxiety.”<sup>46</sup>

If medievalists subscribe to the grand narrative—and many do—it is generally via the Annales school.<sup>47</sup> Already, Marc Bloch’s *Feudal Society* included the sober picture of “a civilization in which moral or social convention did not yet require well-bred people to repress their tears and their raptures.”<sup>48</sup> Jean Delumeau adds fear to the heady brew: he sees the sea, the night, strangers, women, witches, God, plague, famine, Turks, papal schism, and war as sources of intense fear in the fourteenth through eighteenth centuries. In addition, for Delumeau, there are other fears, which grow directly out of church teaching. They represent not the passions of primitive minds but rather the transferral and broadening out of the emotional climate of the monastery.<sup>49</sup> It is as if constraints had existed there and

<sup>46</sup> Stuart Clark, “French Historians and Early Modern Popular Culture,” *Past and Present*, no. 100 (August 1983): 62–99, quote at 69. Today, many French historians repudiate *mentalités* history, criticizing it, much like Clark, for its emphasis on stable structures and human passivity. For a statement of the new history, which emphasizes *représentations* over institutions, see the articles in *Les formes de l'expérience: Une autre histoire sociale*, Bernard Lepetit, ed. (Paris, 1995), especially the introductory critique of the old history: Lepetit, “Histoire des pratiques, pratique de l’histoire,” 9–22.

<sup>47</sup> Even without subscribing to the *Annaliste* view, most medieval literary scholars work without difficulty within Elias’s paradigm because it recognizes refined emotions within the court, the cradle of the civilizing process, and thus with the “product,” of that court, vernacular literature. See, for example, Jeannine Horowitz and Sophia Menache, *L’humour en chaire: Le rire dans l’Eglise médiévale* (Geneva, 1994), which speaks of the “birth” of parody and humor in the twelfth century; while Charles Baladier, *Erôs au moyen âge: Amour, désir et délectation morose* (Paris, 1999), argues that the idea of “delayed love”—an ideal of emotional restraint—was elaborated at about the same time in troubadour poetry and scholasticism. However, there are challenges to this view. See Bernhard Jussen, “*Dolor* und *Memoria*: Trauerriten, gemalte Trauer und soziale Ordnungen im späten Mittelalter,” in *Memoria als Kultur*, Otto Gerhard Oexle, ed. (Göttingen, 1995), 207–52. The study of emotion in medieval vernacular literature has a long tradition, perhaps particularly in Germany. Consider, for instance, Karl Korn, *Studien über “Freude und Trüben” bei mittelhochdeutschen Dichtern: Beiträge zu einer Problemgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1932). More recently, early medieval Latin literature has received some attention. There are two schools, one arguing for mature emotion even in pre-twelfth-century literature (see, for example, Peter Dronke, *Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-Lyric*, 2 vols. [1965–66; 2d edn., Oxford, 1968]) and the other denying the possibility (see Peter Dinzelbacher, “Liebe im Frühmittelalter: Zur Kritik der Kontinuitätstheorie,” in *Konzepte der Liebe im Mittelalter*, Wolfgang Haubrichs, ed. [Göttingen, 1990], 12–38).

<sup>48</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, L. A. Manyon, trans. (Chicago, 1961), 73. Closely following Bloch is Paul Rousset, “Recherches sur l’émotivité à l’époque romane,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 2 (January–March 1959): 53–67. For further discussion of Bloch’s notion of the emotions, see Stephen D. White, “The Politics of Anger,” in *Anger’s Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, Barbara H. Rosenwein, ed. (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998), 127–31; and Jean-Claude Schmitt, “‘Façons de sentir et de penser’: Un tableau de la civilisation ou une histoire-problème?” in *Marc Bloch aujourd’hui: Histoire comparée et sciences sociales*, Hartmut Atsma and André Burguière, eds. (Paris, 1990), 407–18.

<sup>49</sup> Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, 21. Delumeau shows how restraints within the monastery can fit easily within the grand narrative, since the monastery is considered an elite institution that, by its very nature, is isolated from the world. In this sense, the numerous studies of medieval monastic emotions do not break with the grand narrative. One example among many is Gerhard Schmitz, “... quod ridet homines, plorandum est: Der ‘Unwert’ des Lachens in monastisch geprägten Vorstellungen der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters,” in *Stadtverfassung, Verfassungsstaat, Pressepolitik: Festschrift für Eberhard Naujoks*, Franz Quarthal and Wilfried Setzler, eds. (Sigmaringen, 1980), 3–15. But recent studies show that monks, even early medieval monks, were *not* isolated from the laity and that, indeed, relations were close. For a survey of the bibliography, see Barbara H. Rosenwein, “Property Transfers and the Church, Eighth to Eleventh Centuries: An Overview,” in *Les transferts patrimoniaux en Europe occidentale, VIII<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècle (I)*, Actes de la table ronde de Rome, 6–8 mai 1999 = *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome, Moyen Age* 111, pt. 2 (1999): 563–75. It seems likely that monastic emotional styles had *some* relationship to concurrent lay emotional styles, although it remains to be seen precisely what that might have been.

there alone, until the monastic *contemptus mundi* (contempt for the world) was picked up by the friars and transmitted to the masses. Only then did a “European guilt mentality” develop.<sup>50</sup> This is not precisely *Annaliste*. It is more an attempt to find an emotionology for the early modern period. Nor does it exactly follow Elias, because the church, rather than the state, is Delumeau’s relentless “civilizer.” But it, too, works comfortably within the grand narrative.

The Austrian Peter Dinzelsbacher makes a similar argument.<sup>51</sup> He proposes that the late medieval church knew how to awaken “the imaginative fears and hopes of medieval men” for its own purposes, though no doubt in all sincerity. Dinzelsbacher also touches on the earlier period, the society of the early Middle Ages, which he describes as organized for war, its fears quickly reassured by the presence of the saints. On the whole, it is a tough and unemotional time. No heart is sounded save in the monasteries. The historian of emotion need hardly consider it. With the twelfth century, the mood changes. The end of external threats and the new complexities of social life lead to the “civilizing process” and the formation of the superego.<sup>52</sup> There are tender feelings and new explorations of the interior self; at the same time, “how surprising is it that the dark side of emotional life entered consciousness just as clearly, that hate and angst were increasingly projected at devils both earthly (heathens and Jews) and unearthly (demons)?”<sup>53</sup>

The strength of both Delumeau and Dinzelsbacher lies in their marvelous breadth of sources, the wonder of their monstrous and striking images, and their exuberant juxtaposition of violent and gruesome topics. But are they right to jump from scary sources to real fear?<sup>54</sup> In the twelfth century, St. Bernard talked about the diversions and pleasures afforded by sculpted monsters; in the twentieth century, Carol Clover points to the multiple affects in viewers of slasher films.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>50</sup> Delumeau, *Sin and Fear*, 240.

<sup>51</sup> Peter Dinzelsbacher, *Angst im Mittelalter: Teufels-, Todes- und Gotteserfahrung; Mentalitätsgeschichte und Ikonographie* (Paderborn, 1996). Dinzelsbacher maintains he differs from Delumeau because he concentrates on religious fears. But the differences are subtler. It is more Dinzelsbacher’s use of pictorial sources than his subject matter that separates him from Delumeau. Another study in the same mold is Piero Camporesi, *La casa dell’eternità* (Milan, 1987), in English as *The Fear of Hell: Images of Damnation and Salvation in Early Modern Europe*, Lucinda Byatt, trans. (University Park, Pa., 1991).

<sup>52</sup> Dinzelsbacher, *Angst*, 94, citing Elias with approval.

<sup>53</sup> Dinzelsbacher, *Angst*, 93. For more along these lines, with particular emphasis on the blossoming of love in the High Middle Ages, see Peter Dinzelsbacher, “Gefühl und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter: Vorschläge zu einer emotionsgeschichtlichen Darstellung des hochmittelalterlichen Umbruchs,” in *Höfische Literatur, Hofgesellschaft, höfische Lebensformen um 1200*, Gert Kaiser and Jan-Dirk Müller, eds. (Düsseldorf, 1986), 213–41. For the counterpart, the lack of “real” love in the early Middle Ages, see Dinzelsbacher, “Liebe im Frühmittelalter.”

<sup>54</sup> The same question must be asked even more pointedly of *Fear in Early Modern Society*, William G. Naphy and Penny Roberts, eds. (Manchester, 1997), which treats threats—such as floods in the Low Countries and fires in France—as direct sources of fear without querying the existence of the emotion these threats (some handled matter-of-factly as obstacles to be overcome) supposedly awakened. *Fear and Its Representations in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, Anne Scott and Cynthia Kosso, eds. (Turnhout, 2002), appeared as this article went to press.

<sup>55</sup> Bernard, *Apologia* 12.29, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, Vol. 3: *Tractatus et opuscula*, Jean Leclercq and H. M. Rochais, eds. (Rome, 1963), 106; Carol J. Clover, *Men, Women and Chain Saws: Gender in the Modern Horror Film* (Princeton, N.J., 1992).



Delumeau and Dinzelbacher teach us pointedly that historians of emotion need to attend to reception theory and its variants, one lesson of which is to consider local contexts of meaning.<sup>56</sup>

C. Stephen Jaeger, an American medievalist and not at all part of the *Annales* school, represents a different sort of partisan of the grand narrative. Without querying the notion of the civilizing process, Jaeger wants to push Elias's chronology back. In *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210*, he sees the process beginning at the court of the Ottonian tenth-century kings rather than among twelfth-century lords. Civilization grows out of the "system of education and its curriculum" set up by men who had the "urge to civiliz[e]" before social conditions made it necessary.<sup>57</sup> In Jaeger's *Ennobling Love*, the restraints are on even earlier: at the Carolingian court, where seemingly homoerotic poetry in fact expresses a well-worn type of spiritual friendship.<sup>58</sup> *Ennobling Love*, ostensibly still within the framework of Elias's scheme, stretches it to the breaking point. If the civilizing process cannot be tied to modernity and state formation, if emotional expression is restrained even in the ninth century, then the grand narrative has essentially become untenable even to one of its own adherents.

THERE IS A CLEAR THEORETICAL UNDERPINNING for the grand narrative. It is a particular model of the emotions, one that prevailed when Huizinga, Febvre, Bloch, and Elias were writing and that prevails today in our very language and in popular conceptions of the emotions. This is the "hydraulic" model: the emotions are like great liquids within each person, heaving and frothing, eager to be let out. The model in fact largely derives from medieval medical notions of the humors.<sup>59</sup> But it

<sup>56</sup> For an overview of reception theory, which includes as well an assessment of some of the most important work in "reader-response" criticism, see Robert C. Holub, *Reception Theory: A Critical Introduction* (London, 1984). The classic is Hans Robert Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics*, Michael Shaw, trans. (Minneapolis, 1982), where, on 153–60, Jauss discusses the range of emotional reactions involved in aesthetic experience. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150–1750* (New York, 1998), show that sometimes horrors lead to both wonder and desire rather than fear.

<sup>57</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideas, 939–1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), 8–9. Jaeger is not alone in pushing back (and sometimes changing the venue of) the process. See Paul Hyams, "What Did Henry III of England Think in Bed and in French about Kingship and Anger?" in Rosenwein, *Anger's Past*, chap. 5; Lester K. Little, "Anger in Monastic Curses," in *Anger's Past*, chap. 1; and Dilwyn Knox, "Disciplina: The Monastic and Clerical Origins of European Civility," in *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice Jr.*, John Monfasani and Ronald G. Musto, eds. (New York, 1991), 107–35.

<sup>58</sup> C. Stephen Jaeger, *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia, 1999). Here, Jaeger explicitly invokes the twelfth-century court as the cradle of civility: see p. 151, where he writes of "the sentiments of the literature of courtly love" as "testimony to social forces at work shaping or trying to shape a rough cut warrior society into a civil society." Nevertheless, his discussion of the Carolingian court, where erotic emotional expression had a highly controlled, stylized, and non-erotic meaning, in effect pushes back the starting date of the grand narrative. For there, already, the aristocrats of the court, trained to be warriors, were at the same time poets of virtuous love.

<sup>59</sup> For a summary, see Nancy G. Siraisi, *Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice* (Chicago, 1990), 104–06; for a survey of medieval views, see Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion, and Art* (London, 1964), pt. 1.



FIGURE 2: Anger Commits Suicide (twelfth century). One tradition, largely associated with medieval monasteries, equated emotions with vices and depicted them as utterly out of control. Such ideas fed into the hydraulic model of emotions. In this Romanesque sculpture from Sainte-Madeleine at Vézelay, anger is personified as a flaming-haired demon, mouth open wide, tongue hanging out, and so frenzied that she (anger, *ira* in Latin, is gendered female) commits suicide. Courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York.

also accords with theories of energy that were up-to-date when Darwin and Freud were writing. Charles Darwin, like other scientists of his day, postulated a “nerve-force” that was liberated “in intense sensations,” among them emotions. Freud talked of impulses that could be deflected, repressed, or sublimated but,

unless given outlet, would never cease to press forward.<sup>60</sup> The hydraulic view meshes with how emotions feel to us and how those feelings are embedded in our language: “He flipped his lid”; “I couldn’t overcome my sadness”; “He channeled his anger into something constructive.”<sup>61</sup> Here, pressures build up and must somehow be accommodated. Such a theory—whether learned or folk—assumes that emotions are universal. Insofar as it recognizes a history, it encourages a “binary” one in which emotions are either “on” or “off” depending on social, superego, or individually willed restraints. The hydraulic view lies behind the grand narrative, validating its search for a turning point based on restraint.

However, this model is no longer tenable. In the 1960s, it was dethroned in most scientific circles, its place taken by two new theories, both resolutely non-hydraulic.<sup>62</sup> In the cognitive view, emotions are part of a process of perception and appraisal, not forces striving for release. Denying that emotions are irrational, cognitive psychologists see them as resulting from judgments about “weal or woe”—that is, about whether something is likely to be good or harmful, pleasurable or painful, as perceived by each individual.<sup>63</sup> In brief—eliding all the variant emphases of different theorists—the process begins with the judgment or “appraisal.” Then come the emotional signals (palpitating heart, increased perspiration), some of which are conscious and nameable and others of which are not. Finally comes “action readiness”: the person is poised to flee, strike, freeze, try harder, or do something new. Although most cognitive psychologists believe that there are certain “basic” emotions true of all human beings—fear and anger are on nearly everyone’s list—it is clear that different perceptions by different individuals of what is relevant to their “weal or woe” will produce very different sorts of emotions even in similar situations.<sup>64</sup> The physical and mental capacity to have emotions is

<sup>60</sup> Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, Paul Ekman, ed. (1872; 3d edn., New York, 1998), 74; Sigmund Freud, “Resistance and Repression,” in *The Complete Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*, James Strachey, ed. and trans. (New York, 1966), esp. 294–302.

<sup>61</sup> Decisive here are the studies of linguists: see George Lakoff and Zoltan Kövecses, “The Cognitive Model of Anger Inherent in American English,” in *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*, Dorothy Holland and Naomi Quinn, eds. (Cambridge, 1987); George Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind* (Chicago, 1987), Case Study 1.

<sup>62</sup> For a convenient survey of theories of the emotions, both old and new, see Randolph R. Cornelius, *The Science of Emotion: Research and Tradition in the Psychology of Emotions* (Upper Saddle River, N.J., 1996).

<sup>63</sup> The pioneering work was done by Magda B. Arnold, *Emotion and Personality*, 2 vols. (New York, 1960); for a brief statement of the current theory, see *The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions*, Paul Ekman and Richard J. Davidson, eds. (New York, 1994), Question 5: “What Are the Minimal Cognitive Prerequisites for Emotion?” There is, in fact, a long tradition of cognitive emotions theory in Western philosophy, beginning with Aristotle (see Stephen R. Leighton, “Aristotle and the Emotions,” in *Essays on Aristotle’s “Rhetoric,”* Amélie Oksenberg Rorty, ed. [Berkeley, Calif., 1996], 206–37) and cultivated (alongside the hydraulic theory) in the seventeenth century (see James, *Passion and Action*, esp. 196–207). See also Richard Sorabji, *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation* (Oxford, 2000), for the Stoics; and Martha C. Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2001), for a “neo-Stoic” view that asserts the cognitive nature of emotions.

<sup>64</sup> On basic emotions, see Ekman and Davidson, *Nature of Emotion*, Question 1: “Are There Basic Emotions?” I leave aside in this account research on the amygdala and other “emotional” sites of the brain. See Joseph LeDoux, *The Emotional Brain: The Mysterious Underpinnings of Emotional Life* (New York, 1966); Antonio R. Damasio, *Descartes’ Error: Emotion, Reason, and the Human Brain* (New York, 1994); and Damasio, *The Feeling of What Happens: Body and Emotion in the Making of Consciousness* (New York, 1999). Although such studies suggest that the brain reacts unconsciously to stimuli, this does not challenge the foundations of cognitive theory, for the brain’s response implies a kind of

universal, but the ways those emotions are themselves elicited, felt, and expressed depend on cultural norms as well as individual proclivities.

In the 1970s, this new model of the emotions was joined by a second one even more decidedly non-hydraulic: social constructionism.<sup>65</sup> According to this view, emotions and their display are constructed, that is, formed and shaped, by the society in which they operate. For “strong” social constructionists, there are no “basic” emotions at all; for “weak” social constructionists (the majority), societies bend, shape, encourage, and discourage the expression of various emotions. Emotions depend on language, cultural practices, expectations, and moral beliefs. This means that *every* culture has its rules for feelings and behavior; *every* culture thus exerts certain restraints while favoring certain forms of expressivity. There can be no “untrammelled” emotional expression in this non-hydraulic view of the emotions because emotions are not pressing to be set free; they are created by each society, each culture, each community. Unlike cognitivists, social constructionists do not care much about—some even deny—the internal mechanisms of emotions’ production. But although on this point the cognitivists and constructionists clash, both together point a way to a history of the emotions that does not postulate “restraint” as its one variable but looks rather at two complementary issues: what people consider (both consciously and unconsciously) conducive to their weal or woe and what possibilities cultures provide for the expression and representation of their feelings.

A FEW HISTORIANS HAVE ALREADY taken these theoretical shifts to heart. While quibbling with social constructionism, William Reddy more importantly introduces the term “emotives” to describe the process by which emotions are managed and shaped, not only by society and its expectations but also by individuals themselves as they seek to express the inexpressible, namely how they “feel.”<sup>66</sup> Although he does not say so, Reddy’s emotives subsume emotionology: whereas emotionology sets standards only for others, the “you” of the advice manuals, emotives set standards for you, me, and them—the people involved in all emotive interactions.<sup>67</sup> Thus Reddy emphasizes the vocabulary of emotion, for only as people articulate their feelings can they “know” what they feel and, reflecting on their newfound

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knowing and evaluation. Consider Damasio, *Feeling of What Happens*, 49: “Emotions are a fairly good index of how conducive the environment is to our well-being, or at least, how conducive it seems to our minds.”

<sup>65</sup> For an overview, see Rom Harré, ed., *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford, 1986). Despite some recent attacks on it (see, for example Ian Hacking, *The Social Construction of What?* [Cambridge, Mass., 1999]), the social constructionist view remains a key theoretical approach in the social sciences. See one recent attempt to reconcile it with (seemingly antithetical) evolutionary psychology: Ron Mallon and Stephen P. Stich, “The Odd Couple: The Compatibility of Social Construction and Evolutionary Psychology,” *Philosophy of Science* 67 (March 2000): 133–54.

<sup>66</sup> Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*; Reddy, “Against Constructionism”; William M. Reddy, “Emotional Liberty: Politics and History in the Anthropology of Emotions,” *Cultural Anthropology* 14 (May 1999): 256–88; Reddy, “Sentimentalism and Its Erasure: The Role of Emotions in the Era of the French Revolution,” *Journal of Modern History* 72 (March 2000): 109–52.

<sup>67</sup> Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, 103, writes of the “powerful effects which emotional utterances can have on emotions.”





FIGURE 3: St. Matthew, Ebbo Gospels (816–835). Despite their dependence on Late Antique and Byzantine models, even early medieval artists elaborated new modes of emotional expression. The St. Matthew in this Carolingian manuscript hunches over his work in furious concentration, his eyes bulging, his brows drawn up, his robe a flurry of zigzag lines. The wintry scene echoes the evangelist's frenzy, heaving and billowing, slashed by lines of gold. It would be hard to find a better depiction of "action readiness." Bibliothèque Municipale, Epernay, MS 1, fol. 18v. Courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York.



knowledge, feel yet more.<sup>68</sup> In Reddy's hands, intellectual history becomes critical to emotions history rather than antithetical to it.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, Reddy revels in sources that are stereotypical, the kinds of materials that other historians might reject or query as "insincere." Arguing that sincerity itself is culturally managed, Reddy sees "official" representations of emotions as effective, if imprecise, shapers of individual representations.<sup>70</sup>

Medievalists taking the new paradigm seriously are, like Reddy, interested in utterances, but they think about gestures even more. The repertory of medieval emotion words is not negligible, but it is not the thesaurus available to, for example, eighteenth-century French people.<sup>71</sup> Emotional gestures, however, crop up in numerous medieval sources, such as chronicles, poems, charters, and legal documents. One important strand of medieval emotions studies has been created by Anglo-American legal historians who take seriously the representations of "royal wrath" and "love days" (during which people were supposed to settle out of court) that appear in their sources.<sup>72</sup> The collective impact of this historiography is to show

<sup>68</sup> William M. Reddy, *The Invisible Code: Honor and Sentiment in Postrevolutionary France, 1814–1848* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), explores an elite culture that gendered "honor" as male and dubbed it rational, while contrasting it with "sentimentality," which was associated with women and unreason. For men, the consequence of this "structure of feeling" was quite literally to suppress emotions as much as possible, "render[ing] daily life flat, prosaic, and lonely" (p. 112). In "Against Constructionism," he reviews a case of nineteenth-century French *délicatesse* in which emotions were expressed (by both a man and a woman) with such delicacy that even people at the time had difficulty construing their meaning. In "Sentimentalism and Its Erasure," he argues that when Enlightenment-period emotional effusions were understood as demonstrating natural virtue, they were cultivated; when, following the French Revolution, "interest came to be seen as the guiding principle of public action" (p. 145), sentiment was newly gendered as female. Continuing this latter theme in *Navigation of Feeling*, Reddy discusses the deleterious consequences of eighteenth-century optimistic sentimentalism, which, he argues, led to the Terror of 1794, and, in a reactive about-face, was succeeded by a new, more pessimistic, emotional regime in the nineteenth century. It would seem that Reddy's approach should help to dismantle the grand narrative. But in fact, it does not do so as effectively as it might for two reasons. First, Reddy's treatment of emotives privileges the period when a rich vocabulary of sentiment emerged, namely the eighteenth century. Second, Reddy's emphasis on emotional regimes leads him to develop a theory of "emotional liberty" that values certain forms of emotional management—those that are most open "to the full character of selfhood" (p. 331)—over others. In this scheme, the Middle Ages gets low marks. (Compare Reddy's discussion of the "violent" culture of pre-conversion Santa Isabel on 117–18.) Indeed, Reddy explicitly adopts Elias's chronology of Western "civility" (p. 324).

<sup>69</sup> In Reddy, "Sentimentalism and Its Erasure," it is, in fact, high theory that guides emotional expression at every level. See Michael Heyd, *Be Sober and Reasonable: The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1995), which suggests that critiques of "enthusiasm" helped transform its very meaning, from a religious phenomenon to a personal sentiment. For a somewhat different approach to the "uses" of emotion, see Julie K. Ellison, *Cato's Tears and the Making of Anglo-American Emotion* (Chicago, 1999), which shows how sentiment became a political institution in the United States, used to renegotiate relationships of equality and inequality.

<sup>70</sup> For Reddy, all emotions are "instrumental." But even if one cannot follow him quite this far, it is helpful to realize that even the most seemingly intimate diary can give us only an approximation of the emotional life of its subject. We cannot know for sure (and often neither can the diarist) if the feelings expressed are purely conventional, idealized, manipulative, or deeply felt. This is precisely the issue that confronts psychiatrists and anthropologists when they talk to living people. Doing emotional history beyond the "grand narrative" demands careful attention to linguistic, social, and political contexts; but that is presumably part of the historian's methodology in any case.

<sup>71</sup> On the range of emotion words of the central Middle Ages, see White, "Politics of Anger," 132–35.

<sup>72</sup> The grandfather of these studies was J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (London, 1955), who clearly did not need cognitive theorists to reveal to him that emotions could be part of hardheaded political strategy. More recent contributions to this tradition include Fredric L. Cheyette, "Suum cuique tribuere," *French Historical Studies* 6 (Spring 1970): 287–99; Michael Clanchy, "Law and Love

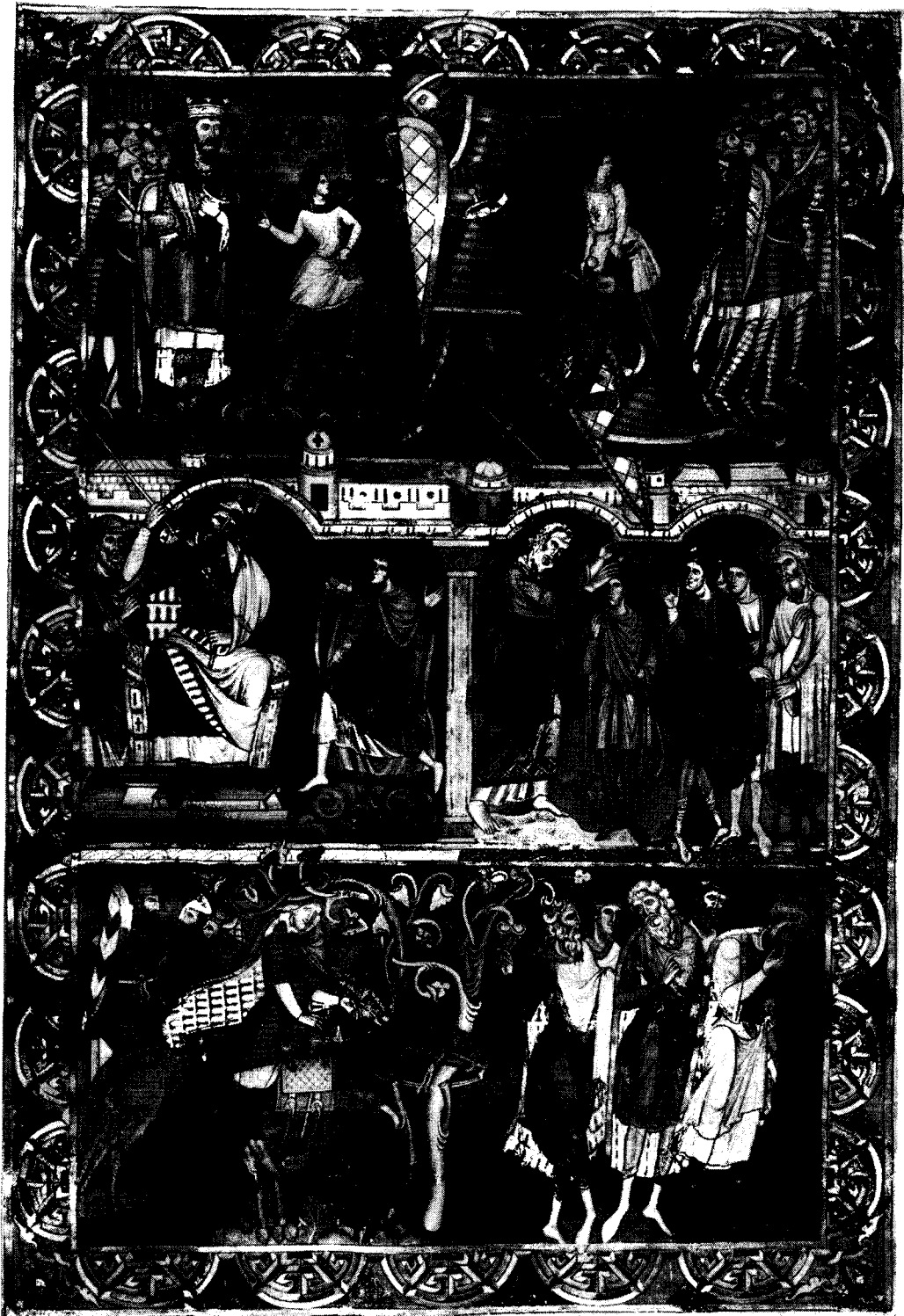


FIGURE 4: Scenes from David's Life, leaf of a Winchester Bible (circa 1180). At the top left, King Saul and his army are "in array" to fight the Philistines, while the young David casts a stone with his slingshot at the enemy's champion, Goliath, too large to be confined by the frame of the picture (1 Kings [1 Sam.] 17:21, 17:49). In the next scene, top right, David takes Goliath's sword and cuts off his head as the Philistines flee

how feelings played a role not only in the creation of legal and political systems but also in the ways in which those systems were manipulated and (sometimes) bypassed.

Coming to such sources from another direction, that of rituals and institutions of confraternity, the German medievalist Gerd Althoff turns Huizinga's Middle Ages—with its childish, direct, and unembarrassed emotionality—directly on its head. For Althoff, the violence and directness of the Middle Ages was pure politics, or, more precisely, the medium through which power was expressed, understood, and manipulated. Emotions telegraphed information. Certain emotions were appropriate at certain times, in certain people who held certain statuses. The use of emotions—their “performance”—told enemies about the possibilities of peace and alerted friends to the likelihood of continued friendship.<sup>73</sup> Vehement emotion signaled resolute determination; the more one wanted to insist on something, then (in Althoff's words) “the more extreme reaction and emotion he show[ed] publicly.”<sup>74</sup> For Althoff, emotions have social functions and follow social rules.

These initiatives in medievalist historiography are welcome and important correctives to a uniformly childish Middle Ages. They consider medieval emotions

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in the Middle Ages,” *Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West*, John Bossy, ed. (Cambridge 1983); White, “Politics of Anger”; Richard E. Barton, “‘Zealous Anger’ and the Renegotiation of Aristocratic Relationships in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century France,” in Rosenwein, *Anger's Past*, chap. 7; Robert Bartlett, “Mortal Enmities”: *The Legal Aspect of Hostility in the Middle Ages* (Aberystwyth, 1998); Daniel Lord Smail, “Hatred as a Social Institution in Late-Medieval Society,” *Speculum* 76 (January 2001): 90–126; Paul Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca, N.Y., forthcoming). Well aware of, drawing on, and amplifying this Anglo-American historiography is Claude Gauvard, “*De grace especial*”: *Crime, état et société en France à la fin du Moyen Age*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1991).

<sup>73</sup> On this point, Althoff is less social constructionist than Darwinian, in whose view certain facial expressions are universal communicators of emotion. For the recent version of this “universalizing” theory, see the summary in Paul Ekman, “Expression and the Nature of Emotion,” in *Approaches to Emotion*, Klaus R. Scherer and Paul Ekman, eds. (Hillsdale, N.J., 1984), chap. 15.

<sup>74</sup> Gerd Althoff, “Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung: ‘Emotionen’ in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 30 (1996): 60–79, quote at 67. See also Althoff, “*Ira Regis*: Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger,” in Rosenwein, *Anger's Past*, chap. 5; Althoff, “Demonstration und Inszenierung: Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 27 (1993): 27–50. Unlike Althoff, Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand, “Gebärdensprache im mittelalterlichen Recht,” *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 16 (1982): 363–79, insists (p. 365) on a distinction between spontaneous gestures, such as laughing and crying, and conventional ones. On gestures and emotion, see also Moshe Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976); Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge, 1987); Jean-Claude Schmitt, *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris, 1990); Martin J. Schubert, *Zur Theorie des Gebarens im Mittelalter: Analyse von nichtsprachlicher Äußerung in mittelhochdeutscher Epik; Rolandslied, Eneasroman, Tristan* (Cologne, 1991).

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(17:51). In the middle tier at the left, David plays the harp while Saul, angry at David's renown, holds the spear that he will soon throw at the boy without success (18:9–10, 19:9–10). To the right, Samuel anoints David “in the midst of his brethren” (16:30). The bottom tier tells the story of David mourning his estranged son Absalom. To the left, Joab thrusts a lance into Absalom, who is caught fast in a tree (2 Kings [2 Sam.] 18:9, 18:14). At the far right, David weeps (2 Kings [2 Sam.] 18:33, 19:1). Unlike the medieval chronicles that Johan Huizinga was presumably thinking of when he described the emotional life of the Middle Ages as “excited,” most medieval art, as this example shows, was very restrained in its emotional representations. Saul's anger is shown by the unnatural tilt of his head, while David, in a gesture of mourning already used in classical antiquity, indicates his grief by raising the edge of his mantle to his eyes. Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. MS M.619, verso.

worthy of study, do not trivialize them, and recognize the constraints that shaped them.<sup>75</sup> But both are quite tied to questions of power, whether royal or legal. Yet if emotions are part of daily (indeed, continuous) evaluations of weal and woe, then they must have been as much a part of intimate family constellations as of high politics. For emotions are among the tools with which we manage social life as a whole.

Given this fact, let me suggest a historical approach to the emotions that takes into account the new non-hydraulic theories of emotions, focuses on more than power and politics, and recognizes the complexity of emotional life. People lived—and live—in what I propose to call “emotional communities.” These are precisely the same as social communities—families, neighborhoods, parliaments, guilds, monasteries, parish church memberships—but the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling: what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them; the evaluations that they make about others’ emotions; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore.<sup>76</sup>

I further propose that people move (and moved) continually from one such community to another—from taverns to law courts, say—adjusting their emotional displays and their judgments of weal and woe (with greater and lesser degrees of success) to these different environments. As Lyndal Roper has put it, “competing cultures [may be seen in the] same individual man [or woman].”<sup>77</sup> There are two points here: not only does every society call forth, shape, constrain, and express emotions differently, but even *within the same society* contradictory values and

<sup>75</sup> William Ian Miller is another medievalist of whom this can be said. Using poetry to get at Icelandic emotions, Miller shows that the violent and seemingly impulsive Icelanders of the sagas are just as involved in emotion management as the courtiers of absolutist courts. See his *Bloodtaking and Peacemaking: Feud, Law, and Society in Saga Iceland* (Chicago, 1990); Miller, *Humiliation*; Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998). Following a similar line of argument vis-à-vis the violent knight of chivalric literature is Richard W. Kaeuper, “Chivalry and the ‘Civilizing Process,’” in *Violence in Medieval Society*, Kaeuper, ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000), 21–35. Challenging the Elias paradigm on two fronts—the date for the rise of “good manners” and its origins in the princely courts—Daniela Romagnoli discusses a long tradition of comportment literature, which dated back to the sixth century and blossomed in astonishing abundance and variety of forms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, not only at the courts but in the monasteries and, above all, the cities. Romagnoli argues that all groups must have rules “indispensable to their survival,” and that the history of “good manners” is both discontinuous and non-evolutionary. See Romagnoli, “La courtoisie dans la ville: Un modèle complexe,” in *La ville et la cour: Des bonnes et des mauvaises manières*, Romagnoli, ed. (Paris, 1995), chap. 1, quote at 73.

<sup>76</sup> Although it may sound similar to Brian Stock’s “textual communities” (*The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* [Princeton, N.J., 1983]), the term “emotional communities” is meant to be considerably broader. These must be, almost by definition (since emotions normally have a social, communicative role), an aspect of every social grouping in which people have a stake and interest. Helpful here is the sort of enterprise represented by *Emotion in Organizations*, Stephen Fineman, ed. (London, 1993), where even a factory is seen to have various “emotional zones” and to elicit and manage various emotions. See also Keith Oatley, *Best Laid Schemes: The Psychology of Emotions* (Cambridge, 1992), where emotions are seen as key to people’s roles in life and (especially) in making transitions from one role to another. Oatley writes as well (p. 356) of “semipermeable membranes” that divide the “distinctive worlds” in which people are engaged. Unlike Reddy’s notion of “emotional refuge” (see *Navigating of Feeling*, 128–29, for the definition), the idea of emotional communities does not require a set of overarching emotional norms from which people seek relief.

<sup>77</sup> Roper, *Oedipus and the Devil*, 119.



models, not to mention deviant individuals, find their place. John Baldwin has pointed to the multiple voices in medieval discourses on sex.<sup>78</sup> I suggest that we recognize the possibility of finding similar varieties, as well as convergences, in emotional feeling and expression.

There is space here for only the briefest of illustrations of emotional communities in the Middle Ages. Our chief source for sixth-century Francia, Gregory, bishop of Tours, had a consistent set of emotional expectations. He justified writing his famous *Histories* because (he thought) the “fury of kings” had to be made known to posterity.<sup>79</sup> But in fact, his most emotional passages were about men, women, and children talking with one another at moments of crisis. He tells us, for example, that when a young aristocrat named Injuriosus first wed, his bride kept him up the whole night, weeping. Gregory imagined their pillow talk: “I beg you to explain what makes you so sad,” the young groom exclaims. The bride turns to him, replying, “If I cry every day of my life, will that be enough tears to wash away the immense sorrow of my heart? For I had determined to keep my body pure for Christ, untouched by a man.” The two continue to talk into the wee hours, the wife’s tears and clamors eventually “moving” her husband, leading the two to vow—and accomplish—a married life of chastity.<sup>80</sup> The point is not that such a moment did or did not “actually happen” but that Gregory imagined an emotional scene between husband and wife, complete with tears and emotional transformations. (If the passions are not the ones that we expect in our own century, that does not obviate their importance.)

Similarly, Gregory recounted his own childhood illness in emotion-laden terms. His uncle (Gregory wrote) lovingly came to visit the sick boy. His mother declared, “This will be a mournful day for me, my sweet son, for you have such a fever.” Gregory’s triumphant response to his mother, while predictably pious, was also solicitous of her feelings: “I beg you not to be sad at all, but send me to the tomb of the blessed bishop Illidius. For I believe and have faith that his virtue will bring happiness to you and health to me.”<sup>81</sup>

When this normal, “sympathetic” family broke down, in Gregory’s view, anger and fury rather than love and happiness were the results. Gregory recounts the story of the stepmother of Prince Sigeric. She took to wearing Sigeric’s real mother’s clothing. The boy, “moved to gall,” upbraided her. She, in turn, was “inflamed by fury.”<sup>82</sup>

The family was thus clearly a site of many sorts of emotions, and when Gregory

<sup>78</sup> John W. Baldwin, *The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200* (Chicago, 1994). On the likelihood that even within one culture there are different takes on the same experience, see Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis*, 2d edn. (Boston, 1993), where, on 20–21, culture is described not as a “self-contained whole” but rather as the site of “heterogeneous processes.”

<sup>79</sup> Gregory of Tours, *Histories*, præf., Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, eds., *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum* (hereafter, *MGH SRM*) 1, pt. 1 (Hanover, 1951) (hereafter, Gregory, *Histories*), 1: “regum furor.”

<sup>80</sup> Gregory, *Histories*, 1.47, pp. 30–31. On chaste marriages, see Dyan Elliott, *Spiritual Marriage: Sexual Abstinence in Medieval Wedlock* (Princeton, N.J., 1993). The scene depicted by Gregory would seem to be a good example of “emotives” at work.

<sup>81</sup> Gregory, *Liber Vitae Patrum*, 2.2, Bruno Krusch, ed., *MGH SRM* 1, pt. 2 (1885; rpt. edn., Hanover, 1969), 220.

<sup>82</sup> Gregory, *Histories*, 3.5, pp. 100–01.



turned (in his imagination and representation) from the domestic nexus to the world of politics, his emotional expectations remained the same. The civil wars of the Franks were, for Gregory, family matters. This helps explain why he thought that he was writing about the “fury” of kings, even though it was (and remains) perfectly possible to depict Frankish royal warfare in the language of power politics.<sup>83</sup> For Gregory, two potentially separate emotional communities—home life and the battlefield—converged.

But in twelfth-century France, the “gift of tears” was cultivated in certain circles—among the Italian hermits, at Fécamp, and in Cistercian monasteries—while, at the very same moment, it was utterly rejected in other milieux, especially at the monastery of Cluny and the cathedral school of Saint-Victor.<sup>84</sup> These were separate emotional communities. Similarly, in the later Middle Ages, childbearing women had license to scream in pain. But idealized women of the same period—women depicted as saints—suffered painful diseases or torments not only without complaint but gratefully, as a token of their identification with the suffering of Christ.<sup>85</sup>

In the fourteenth century, preachers’ handbooks claimed that hatred was a sickness of the soul.<sup>86</sup> But in the neighborhoods of fourteenth-century Marseilles, everyone knew that hatred was a right (*iūs*) that could be maintained and nourished by families and friends or (on the other hand) ceded and given up. Within the emotional community represented by the neighborhoods of Marseilles, hatred was a good, a necessary part of honor, an advertisement of alliances, and even a “defense” of sorts when a murderer was hauled into court. But officials of the Angevin crown, which ruled Marseilles during this period, did not recognize these hatreds; they decontextualized violent acts, condemning them as irrational, in effect adopting the viewpoint of the preachers’ handbooks. The crown’s men represented an emotional community very different from Marseilles’ neighborhoods. Yet those very officials shuttled from one community to the other, participating in the culture of hatreds at home, belittling the same culture when compiling records for their Angevin masters.

To sum up: there were many medieval emotional communities. Certain of these applauded histrionic expression;<sup>87</sup> some privileged gestures or bodily symptoms.<sup>88</sup> Certain communities gendered emotions. Some emotional communities overlapped

<sup>83</sup> See Guy Halsall, “Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West: An Introductory Survey,” in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, Halsall, ed. (London, 1998), 1–45.

<sup>84</sup> Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Age* (Paris, 2000), pts. 3 and 4. Is a study of a religious doctrine such as “the gift of tears” really emotions history, or must it be relegated to the “intellectual history” bin? As Reddy shows, it is quite wrong to separate the two. Indeed, one school of anthropological thought considers “narratives, conversation, performances, poetry, and song not as texts for cultural analysis but as social practices with serious effects.” See *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, Catherine A. Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, eds. (Cambridge, 1990), vii. If songs, why not treatises on tears? The representation and discussion of emotion in *any* source ought to be grist for the historian’s mill, since all texts are social productions, reflect certain norms, and presumably have impact on at least some groups.

<sup>85</sup> Esther Cohen, “The Animated Pain of the Body,” *AHR* 105 (February 2000): 61–62. The Latin *dolor*, much like English “pain,” can refer to both physical and mental anguish.

<sup>86</sup> For what follows, see Smail, “Hatred as a Social Institution.”

<sup>87</sup> This is surely the more fruitful interpretation of Huizinga’s overwrought chronicle sources. See White, “Politics of Anger,” for a useful approach.

<sup>88</sup> For gesture, see n. 74 above. For somatic symptoms of emotions, see the discussion of Icelandic

(or were perceived by those living in them to overlap) with others nearby; others called forth very different, sometimes even antithetical, emotional configurations. In the end, it will of course be necessary to organize these observations into a coherent narrative. It will not be a narrative based on the progress of (self-)control but rather on the interactions and transformations of communities holding various values and ideas, practicing various forms of sociability, and privileging various emotions and styles of expression.

THE GRAND NARRATIVE that has dominated emotions scholarship cannot stand. It is based on a debunked theory of the emotions and its concomitant, but flawed, notion of progressive self-restraint. Jettisoning the hydraulic view does not mean that one new approach must take over: there are plenty of issues to consider and a variety of useful modes of attack, no one of which is going to compass the whole field for all periods and every sort of evidence. The new narrative will recognize various emotional styles, emotional communities, emotional outlets, and emotional restraints in *every* period, and it will consider how and why these have changed over time.

Once we have embarked upon that narrative (and some already have), we may stop worrying about emotions in history and begin to enjoy them.

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emotions in Miller, *Humiliation*, chap. 3; and Carolyne Larrington, "The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period," *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001): 251–56.

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## Reviews of Books

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### METHODS/THEORY

DAVID BAGULEY. *Napoleon III and His Regime: An Extravaganza*. (Modernist Studies.) Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2000. Pp. xxii, 425. \$49.95.

When Pierre Monteux taught conducting at Tanglewood, he sat in the back of the pavilion with the score. His most frequent criticism was "I cannot hear the melody." The anecdote fits the book under review: I cannot find the thesis or a leit motif that holds together the many ingredients thrown into this erudite pot-pourri.

David Baguley, whose work on Émile Zola is respected, is aware that his is an unconventional book: not history, biography, or literary criticism. The subtitle is offered as an ordering device. "I shall be primarily concerned with more 'extravagant' texts and images: representations and inventions in a variety of media and forms" of "the dynamic process . . . by which the legend or the myth of Napoleon III was elaborately fabricated and vigorously dismantled." "Thus the 'extravaganza' of the title . . . refers both to the events of the Second Empire and to their representation in the texts and images that I have chosen to present" (pp. 3–4).

Baguley ranges over the cultural and social history of the Second Empire. Politics are excluded from his work, as are events. His focus is on Louis Napoleon and the court. Baguley summarizes a vast amount of information from contemporary texts and secondary authorities (overwhelmingly of the genus *petite histoire*). Chapter five on the Bonaparte family is as good as any summary in English. The author's analysis of Victor Hugo's obsessive, tempestuous literary vendetta against the man who exiled him is similarly good. He nails Hugo's "breathless narrative" of the fighting on the boulevard Montmartre (in *Histoire d'un crime*): "A rather sordid, messy, brutal event . . . is transformed into a Titanic confrontation of epic proportions" (p. 42). His handling of visual sources, especially the portraits of Napoleon and Eugénie, is sensitive, and his chapter on vaudeville is filled with energy and shrewdness. He can write with precision and power, as in his description of the marriage of the imperial couple (p. 233).

According to Baguley, the reign shared with vaudeville characteristics of "the revue, the plotless, irreverent vignettes and songs about current affairs, the cabaret, and, of particular relevance to the Second Empire, the opérette or opéra bouffe. All were manifestations of the enduring spirit of the carnivalesque and the *esprit gaulois*, in which the denizens of the Second Empire, at least amongst the leisured classes of the capital, found boundless opportunities to indulge" (p. 301). Unfortunately the same description fits Baguley's book. Like the court of Louis XIV without the genius of Saint-Simon to transform intrigue into literary art and, to a lesser degree, that of his uncle, Louis Napoleon's public life (and as much of his private doings as could be observed or imagined) was a theatrical representation and the subject of scandalous gossip. Whatever literary value gossip may have, these artifacts are sources for the historian. There is no scientific method available to differentiate them, but some common-sense questions have to be asked about provenance, proximity, general reliability, political alliance, qualities of observation, date, and circumstances of publication. Baguley asks the questions and ignores the answers. He quotes and cites, without distinction, the good, the bad, and the ugly. In a long description of Louis Napoleon's sexual adventures, a subject that gets considerably more space than the transformation of Paris, Baguley notes—not before mining some dubious sources for all the prurient details—that the details of "however many there were, their looks, their circumstances . . . are less important than the seriality of the affairs and amorous adventures" (p. 241). So too when he considers Louis Napoleon's birth: first comes the caveat that the sources are uneven and contradictory, and then the scandal mongers are cited.

In the nineteenth century, when Leopold von Ranke and his successors began writing history from the state archives, they naturally wrote the history of states. The sources, the nature of the evidence, dictated their narrative. Gossip, court memoirs, satire and caricature similarly dictate what kind of narrative one will write. Baguley's book bears the mark of his sources. There is nothing here about the economic history of the Second Empire, almost nothing about the working class (except some bits from Zola), nothing about the politics

of the age. Jean-Gilbert-Victor Fialin de Persigny and Charles-Auguste-Louis-Joseph de Morny are discussed, but only their *affaires*. Émile Ollivier is hardly mentioned (Theodore Zeldin's books on the Liberal Empire are absent from the bibliography), and the opposition is invisible. The disaster of Sedan is treated at some length, but only as the emperor lived it, in pain, despair, and in quest of death on the battlefield. Michael Howard's *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Invasion of France, 1870–1871* (1961) is not in the bibliography. The transformation of Paris gets a few pages and the only book cited is David Pinkney's, written more than forty years ago. "The notion that Parisian life under the Second Empire was a continual round of pleasures," Baguley writes, "as the preceding survey suggests, is largely based upon anecdotal evidence" (p. 308). He offers no other kind of evidence.

Baguley's Second Empire is "a continual round of pleasures" unrelieved by any attempt to confront the anxieties of the age. There is no mention of syphilis or tuberculosis, no discussion of the cholera epidemic of 1849 or crime, or the painful adolescence of French capitalism and industrialism. Karl Marx makes a cameo appearance for his portrait of Louis Napoleon, as does Pierre-Joseph Proudhon. Socialism is not treated.

This book will take its place on a shelf reserved for histories of *la vie parisienne*.

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SUSAN VANDIVER NICASSIO. *Tosca's Rome: The Play and the Opera in Historical Perspective*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 335. \$45.00.

Susan Vandiver Nicassio's book is a creative and innovative attempt to combine the themes of religion, history, and music in telling the story of *Tosca's* Rome, a city that was at once Italian and French, the combined artistic achievements of Victorien Sardou's play and Giacomo Puccini's opera. Nicassio insists that the opera was deeply embedded in the transition between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries just as the opera's setting straddled the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The author wonders why two late nineteenth-century artists such as Sardou and Puccini based their writing and music on the ill-fated Roman Republic of 1798–1800. While acknowledging that playwrights and composers often made use of the conventions of historical representation and melodramatic plots to sell their art, Nicassio's book focuses on reading *Tosca* as a historical document that "tells us less about 1800 than about the perception of 1800 that was current in France in the late 1880s (Sardou's play was first produced in November 1887) and in Italy a decade later (the opera *Tosca* was premiered in Rome in January 1900)" (p. 3). She does not analyze the meanings of those perceptions very well for the late nineteenth century, however. She spends much more

time describing and narrating the events of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries so as to give historical context to the opera's plot, for it is her aim to explore in an interdisciplinary way the times, places, and ideas of *Tosca*.

Nicassio argues that the opera (like the play on which it was based) is not very good history, but nevertheless it has something very valuable to teach us because as a work of art *Tosca* "internalizes and expresses the images of history useful to the time in which the art is created." Understanding the creative process as well as the relationship between the artist and the historical context within which the artist works is at the heart of Nicassio's methodological approach in this study. She admittedly borrows from the new historicism in privileging the close relationship between the writer and the historical context in which the writer creates. At the same time, she spends a good portion of the book analyzing the music itself in relationship to historical context. And while her facility in analyzing the story and its music is impressive and often fun to read, it is not, in the end, grounded very clearly or convincingly in historical interpretations and arguments. She does not situate this study in relationship to others; in fact, her reading of the French Revolution and the Roman and Neapolitan republics does not make use of very recent historical studies on France and Italy. She uses historical scholarship as background to her analysis of the meanings of the opera and its central protagonists, and while she is very clever and creative in her interpretations of events from the perspective of Sardou and Puccini, she is less convincing when it comes to seeing the past through the eyes of their fictional representations.

Chapters in the first half of the book use the Rome of the painter (Cavaradossi), the singer (Tosca) and the policeman (Scarpia) to analyze the play and its historical settings. These chapters are richly described and detailed but enormously frustrating in terms of analysis and organization. They are interesting snippets of social history that do not connect very well with each other except as characters in the same play. Yet I found these chapters stronger than those in the second half of the book, which analyze the play, opera, the composer, and his music in even greater detail. While I admit to having little expertise when it comes to opera, I know a good deal about fin-de-siècle France and Italy and hence was frustrated reading these chapters because historical context was here in disguise. Nicassio reads so much into Puccini's intentions and the play's music that one loses sight completely of any kind of context, historical or otherwise.

Her prose is dramatic and lively but often gets caught up in the drama of the opera and consequently provides us with no map to navigate our way through time, space, and music. The first part of the book pulls us back to the French Revolution and the second half pulls us into the twentieth century, where Nicassio is too inclined to rely on psychological interpretations of Puccini's motives to explain complex cultural and

political changes that marked the fin-de-siècle period. While Nicassio attempts to get at the audience's response to the opera, she suggests much more than she proves about *Tosca's* reception and what conclusions we can draw from it. This is a book with too many plots, too many details, and too many *Toscas*. It is not very clear what is to be learned from putting the opera in historical perspective because there are too many perspectives. In the end, the author needed to weave a more convincing argument and analysis throughout the book's many chapters for readers to appreciate the very important connections between melodrama and history, fact and fiction, text and context that her study hoped to make.

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#### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

IDA ALTMAN, *Transatlantic Ties in the Spanish Empire: Brihuega, Spain, and Puebla, Mexico, 1560–1620*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 254. \$45.00.

With this monograph, Ida Altman completes her innovative conspectus of postconquest culture in specific regions of sixteenth-century Spain and New Spain, begun with her *Emigrants and Society: Extremadura and America in the Sixteenth Century* (1989). Her oeuvre fuses two currents in the social historiography of Spain's sixteenth-century America stimulated by James Lockhart's *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (1972) and Enrique Otte's publications, notably his edition of *Cartas privadas de emigrantes a Indias, 1540–1616* (1988) with Guadalupe Albi Romero. Altman's first book explored the repercussions of the American conquest on Extremadura in the metropole; here her optic is the reverse: how hundreds of Brihuega emigrants from central Spain began to adapt to conditions in Puebla about fifty years after Spain's "encounter" with New Spain. This is ground-level social history based on careful exploitation of manuscript materials, notably in repositories of Puebla and Mexico City, Seville, and Madrid.

Altman opens with a brief conspectus of Brihuega and Puebla underscoring the salience of woolen manufacture in both economies. Brihuega's cottage manufacture was contracting; its artisan emigrants could transfer overseas to their manufactories (*obrajes*) at Puebla production techniques they could modify to serve newly opening markets in New Spain and Guatemala. At the core are three chapters—on society ("Social Relations," "Marriage and Family") in both micro-zones, and on their economic structures ("The Economic Sphere"), laying the basis for analyzing *brihueños'* entry into local politics and religious life. Given manuscript materials available and her New World focus, Puebla's treatment is more fleshed out. As social history, this study is not prosopographic;

rather it is often and unavoidably "impressionistic and anecdotal" in pursuing Brihuega émigrés' adaptation of "socio-economic, political and cultural institutions" to preserve a "distinctive sense of community and identification as they moved" (pp. 5–6).

In migrating and adapting to the Puebla locale, Brihuegans on the whole predictably comported themselves much like recent migrants to the western hemisphere. At home, economic contraction, poverty, fiscal pressure, and limited alternatives pushed them to depart. In the new land they clung together at first, exchanged mutual assistance, intermarried; most improved their lot, some moderately, others remarkably so. In Puebla as in Brihuega, religious charities and activities remained the social cement (for New Spain's subaltern peoples, religion could also be a weapon of domination). Overall, as postconquest arrivals, Brihuega's *obraje* owners and/or traders on the main road from Veracruz to Mexico City had to play second fiddle to politically and socially prominent *encomenderos* and their immediate descendents. However, still-frontier Puebla had none of Brihuega's seigniorial constraints, and the weight of the colonial fiscal apparatus was still comparatively light.

Brihuegans' success at Puebla stemmed from prior technical mastery of small-scale woolen manufacture. In a matter of decades, and responding to indigenous people's rapidly developing demand (Altman neglects this factor), these Spanish artisan-émigrés shifted from cottage industry employing family labor to spin, weave, and finish to an astonishingly enlarged labor force in their *obrajes*: anywhere from 50 to 100 or more workers, mostly native people, male and female (usually coerced), some Africans (mostly slave, a few free). *Obraje* operations generated silver peso earnings that underwrote local and distant merchandizing, the creation and/or purchase of large properties containing hundreds of heads of cattle and sheep (in Spain, most Brihuegans could not afford even plow oxen), investments in religious institutions like nunneries, schools, *capellanías*, and, for a few Brihuegans, opportunity to visit the homeland and even to return to Puebla with family or relatives in tow.

There are dark asides in the success story of hard-working peninsular immigrants "making America" in a postconquest frontier zone. It would be appropriate to emphasize that Brihuegans' prosperity depended on exploiting native peoples already badly ravaged by repeated epidemic disease. Put another way, what seems muted is Brihuegans' callous indifference toward the subaltern colonials they encountered, whether Indians, Africans, or mixed peoples. From our perspective 450 years after Brihuegans began to trickle into Puebla, this labor force was coerced, often literally locked into the workplace, sometimes tortured. This Spanish variant of European migrants' New World "experiment" carried a heavy baggage of unnoticed collateral damage, which helps explain why Span-



ish rule lasted for 250 years after Brihuegan emigrants settled in Puebla.

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NATALIE KLEIN. *"L'humanité, le christianisme, et la liberté": Die internationale philhellenische Vereinsbewegung der 1820er Jahre.* (Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz. Abteilung für Universalgeschichte, number 178.) Mainz: Philipp von Zabern. 2000. Pp. xii, 382. DM 88.

There appears to be a renaissance of interest in the Balkan insurrection of 1821 that eventually resulted in the creation of the kingdom of Greece. At least six books on the Greek War of Independence have appeared in the last two years alone. Some have been general works that add little to the existing literature, while others, like the tome under review here, make substantive contributions to a better understanding of the conflict within a broader historical framework. It would seem also that there is an especial interest among German scholars in the philhellenic movement. Over the last decade, a number of monographs and edited collections have appeared in German on the history of philhellenism. Natalie Klein's book provides an excellent capstone to this literature.

The book is divided into three sections. In section one, Klein presents an in-depth analysis, based on primary sources, of the Philhellenic movement on both sides of the Atlantic over the course of the Greek War of Independence. By organizing her discussion along chronological and geographical lines, Klein is able to show how the nature and organization of the various movements changed and developed over time and how they differed in various national contexts. In section two, the author summarizes the history of the movement on a country-by-country basis, synthesizing her own primary source-driven research with the existing literature. By doing so, she is effectively able to discuss the movement within the context of each country's internal, national, and political situation. In the third section, Klein compares and contrasts the movement in Europe and the United States. This enables her to draw conclusions regarding the broader international context in which philhellenism developed. The book concludes with an excellent catalog of the primary sources available on the philhellenic movement, a comprehensive bibliography of works published outside of Greece, and a truly useful prosopography of the membership of the various philhellenic committees established in the United States and in Europe.

Klein's study will be the starting point for all future research on this topic. Her discussion of the genesis of movements to support the Greek War of Independence within each country and their development over time will be indispensable reading, not only for Greek historians but also for scholars interested in the other liberal independence movements that emerged in Europe and elsewhere after 1815 and for those who study

the political culture of the period. Klein's study would have been stronger if she had incorporated works produced by Greek scholars using Greek sources. Nonetheless, this is an important book both for its comprehensive assessment of the various philhellenic movements and for its detailed explication of why an understanding of those movements is so important for the study of the politics of the age.

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JEAN STENGERS and ANNE VAN NECK. *Masturbation: The History of a Great Terror.* Translated by KATHRYN A. HOFFMANN. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. ix, 239. \$24.95.

A fact cunningly concealed by the copyright page of this book is that it was originally published in 1984 and has not been significantly updated. Appending less than half a page alluding to the exclusion of questions about masturbation from the British National Sexual Attitudes and Behaviour Survey of the early 1990s, and to the 1994 dismissal of Joycelyn Elders as U.S. Surgeon-General for advocating masturbation as safe sex, is hardly adequate. Since 1984, there have been a number of significant articles on the history of masturbation specifically, a discursive explosion in the history of sexuality more generally, illumination of the world of eighteenth-century medical ideas and practice and doctor/patient relationships, studies of medical quackery, and research on the history of childhood, as well as work on the history of masculinity (since men were always the major target of masturbation panic), all of which surely need to be taken into account when writing a history of this "great terror."

Even for 1984 it was old-fashioned. A name notable by its absence from the citations is that of Michel Foucault. While it may be refreshing to think that a francophone work on onanism could be produced eight years after the publication of *Histoire de la sexualité* (1976) without feeling it necessary to mention it, this underscores the relatively untheorized and unanalytical nature of Jean Stengers and Anne Van Neck's account. There is none of the reflexivity found in E. H. Hare's article ("Masturbatory Insanity: The History of an Idea," *Journal of Mental Science* 108 [1962]) or Alex Comfort's *The Anxiety Makers: Some Curious Preoccupations of the Medical Profession* (1967), both of which used the medical discourse on the evils of self-abuse as a salutary warning to the medical profession (and indeed the public) to think critically about contemporary accepted "truths" concerning health and illness. Many of the authors' arguments are presentist and Whiggish: a characteristic statement is "Tissot had been taken for a man of science because physiology was still in its infancy in his day" (p. 110).

The book deals almost exclusively with "high," medical opinions on masturbation. Occasional quacks and fringe practitioners (such as the phrenologist O. S.

Fowler) are mentioned, and toward the end survey and literary evidence of individual attitudes among the general public are adduced. There is no mention of the rise of the social purity/social hygiene movement at the end of the nineteenth century, which, while it was responsible for disseminating such terrorizing tracts as Reverend Sylvanus Stall's *What a Young Boy/Young Man Ought to Know* (1905), may paradoxically have contributed to the decline in belief in the pernicious effects of masturbation, or at least of the view that it was the ultimate sexual evil. Social purity emerged from the abolitionist movement against regulated prostitution, which rejected the idea that sexual intercourse was a necessity for male health: this led by the early twentieth century at least to suggestions that while masturbation was bad, it was less deleterious than fornication, whether this involved seducing decent women or exploiting prostitutes. This point of view was supported by changing medical understanding of the venereal diseases during the later nineteenth century, in particular the revelation of the long-term pernicious effects of gonorrhea in women, and the responsibility of syphilis for such tertiary manifestations as general paralysis of the insane, and for congenital disorders in offspring. Fornication was coming to seem not such a healthy alternative to the evils of self-abuse. The role of commerce in keeping masturbation anxiety alive is also neglected. By the 1880s, Henry Maudsley and Thomas Clouston, previously leading hardliners on the subject of masturbatory insanity, were attributing adverse mental effects not to the actual practice but to the terror inculcated by "quack literature," which was very widely disseminated.

This book has some value in that it provides a continental European slant on a subject that has been perhaps more thoroughly explored in the Anglo-American context and undermines arguments that would attribute worries over masturbation to a Protestant worldview. Such fears were clearly much more widely dispersed throughout Europe. What are not explored, however, are the subtle differences between countries and regions in the concerns manifested and the measures recommended. There is an allusion to the early introduction of infibulation as a remedy in Germany, and the primacy of masturbatory insanity in British writings, but the work of René Spitz ("Authority and Masturbation," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 21 [1952]) on national variations is not taken up and expanded upon, although his article is cited.

LESLEY A. HALL

*Wellcome Library for the History and Understanding of Medicine,*  
London

ERIC MUMFORD. *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928–1960*. Cambridge: MIT Press. 2000. pp. xv, 375. \$45.00.

Eric Mumford has written a detailed, richly illustrated history of the *Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne* (International Congresses of Modern Architecture, or CIAM). CIAM was the name both of a series of meetings of self-proclaimed "modern architects" and of an organization that planned those meetings and promoted the views of its leading members. The organization was founded in Switzerland in 1928 and dissolved in the Netherlands in 1959. It was always dominated by Western Europeans and their concerns, although it included members from all corners of Europe. It became more truly international during and after World War II.

The picture that emerges from this book shows that CIAM was never a monolithic organization with a single purpose. The architects and planners who founded CIAM in 1928 shared a desire to promote modern solutions to the challenges of urban life. They saw themselves as members of an *avant garde*, who could work together in spite of their artistic and political differences. However, their apparent unity ebbed considerably within five years, which, ironically, is the very time at which CIAM's best-known programmatic statements were being formulated and publicized. In its later years, it was described by one of its members, P. A. Emery, as an "intellectual drugstore . . . where each person finds what he has come to seek" (p. 228). Some of the "drugstore" quality can be applied to CIAM even at its inception, when French and German-language versions of resolutions used different concepts that reflected different outlooks of French and German-speaking members (p. 25). Similarly, there were two alternate authoritative versions of the conclusions reached at the famous congress of 1933 (pp. 86–87).

For this study, Mumford used published and unpublished materials in many languages. He also conducted interviews in the 1990s with surviving members of the organization. The records he used include materials in the CIAM archives in Zurich, where the organization's secretary-treasurer, Sigfried Giedion, was a professor of art history. Those of us who are not architects must thank Mumford, who is one, for his running comments about the professional work of CIAM's leading members. Those of us who are familiar with the work of architects and planners primarily through the history of one country should find it interesting to see national figures from an international perspective. Mumford's conclusion about CIAM (p. 267), that "Its precise influence in the world of built artifacts is difficult to define," stands in contrast to the overstatement of the significance of CIAM both by its supporters and its detractors. Mumford deflates the conclusion by Le Corbusier that CIAM was "a real precursor of our United Nations" (p. 160) as well as the criticism of CIAM for all the standardized, non functional "modern" structures built around the world in the 1950s and 1960s (pp. 268–69).

Mumford summarizes the activities at each of CIAM's congresses and at other organizational meetings.

He follows CIAM through several distinct stages. At the beginning, the dominant elements were a French-speaking faction, whose members tended to see themselves as being above politics, and a German-centered faction, most of whose members were committed to socialism or communism. Modern architects and planners lost favor in the Soviet Union around 1932 and in Germany by 1933. As a result, the French faction of CIAM led by Le Corbusier became dominant, but CIAM members found fewer commissions. During World War II, the United States became a second home to many CIAM architects. The temporary influence of Americans in CIAM was so great that in 1944 the *New York Times* could report that planning for the reconstruction of postwar Europe by a New York chapter of CIAM would "put the imprint of our architecture and structural methods on rehabilitated war torn areas throughout the world" (p. 148).

After the war, Europe again became the center of CIAM activity. British architects and planners became more prominent. The use of English at CIAM meetings became so common that Le Corbusier objected in 1955, in a request for more translations, that "English is not a world language" (p. 255). The diversity of views and interests within CIAM grew in the 1950s, as a new generation of architects became involved, and as architects were drawn to the problems facing Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Eventually the officers of the organization saw no purpose in trying to perpetuate its existence.

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LAWRENCE DOUGLAS. *The Memory of Judgment: Making Law and History in the Trials of the Holocaust*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 318. \$35.00.

Of the many books on war crimes, genocide, and justice recently published, Lawrence Douglas's study is among the most accessible and penetrating. Combining expert knowledge of national and international law with a historian's sensibility to context and nuance, Douglas analyzes the transformation in legal approaches to the Holocaust from its first emergence in the courtroom to the eventual blurring of its memory as those who experienced it slowly leave the scene.

Beginning with the Nuremberg tribunal of the major Nazi war criminals (1945), Douglas argues that while the prosecution formulated the unprecedented offense of crimes against humanity, it also chose to restrict its understanding of this crime as a subcategory of war crimes so as to be able to rely on legal precedent. Further striving to protect itself against accusations of meting victor's justice, the prosecution relied primarily on perpetrator documents and eschewed victim testimonies. Consequently, the genocide of the Jews was relegated to a by-product of Nazi war crimes. Conversely, writes Douglas, the prosecution in the trial of Adolf Eichmann (1961) chose precisely the opposite

strategy, presenting an array of witnesses who testified about the horrors of the genocide, even as the judges protested about the irrelevance of such testimonies for establishing the guilt of the accused. Indeed, Douglas insists that this tension between a court that derived its sense of legitimacy from a strict adherence to traditional procedure and a prosecution that viewed the trial as an opportunity to bear witness to the inhumanity of genocide—an opportunity missed at Nuremberg—helped establish the Jerusalem trial as an historical event of great import.

Subsequent trials, however, have demonstrated the limits of both legal strategies and the changing realities of judging ever more distant crimes. In the trial of John Demjanjuk in Israel (1986), the prosecution's attempt to reenact the Eichmann trial with a flood of witness accounts faltered both because it ultimately failed to establish the identity of the accused as the former Ukrainian guard from Treblinka, "Ivan the Terrible," and because the defense constantly undermined the reliability of the witnesses' memory of events that took place four decades earlier. For its part, the trial of the former Gestapo officer Klaus Barbie in Lyon, France (1987), exposed the politics of legal discourse. Under pressure from the former members of the Resistance, the French high court of appeals ruled that war crimes (in this case committed against members of the Resistance) were a subcategory of crimes against humanity, and that therefore the statute of limitations would no longer apply to them (if committed by a totalitarian state, which got France off the hook for war crimes in Algeria). This made it possible to charge Barbie also with crimes against the Resistance, but it totally reversed the logic of Nuremberg and equated the murder of innocents and the killing of political opponents. Meanwhile, Barbie's defense was engaged in blurring another boundary, that between genocide and occasional or nonsystematic atrocities or war crimes perpetrated by a state that was not necessarily a so-called *Verbrecherstaat*, i.e. "a state that is criminal by its very nature and to its very core" (p. 195).

These legal conundrums came to a head in the trials of the Canadian Holocaust denier Ernst Zundel (1985, 1988). Tried for "willfully publishing a statement . . . that he knows to be false," Zundel's defense strove to show both that there was no reliable way of establishing the reality of the Holocaust either through eyewitness testimonies or by relying on historical reconstructions. Thus both the memory of the event and the notion of a single true version of the past were rejected in favor of a view of historical facts and memories as merely subjective opinions and constructions. The implication of this line of defense by the proponents of Holocaust denial may well be, as Douglas suggests, that we have reached a point where the court of law is no longer the appropriate venue in which to guard the memory of atrocity and to establish its historical veracity. To be sure, the strongly worded dismissal by the British court of David Irving's recent libel suit

against Deborah Lipstadt and Penguin Books indicates that, under certain circumstances, the courtroom may still have a role to play. But by and large one must agree with Douglas's position. His excellent book will be of great value to historians, legal scholars, and all those who want to understand the potential and limits of judging past and present crimes against humanity.

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NICOLA WHITE. *Reconstructing Italian Fashion: America and the Development of the Italian Fashion Industry.* (Dress, Body, Culture.) New York: Berg. 2000. Pp. xvii, 181. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.50.

Nicola White's original and informative exploration of the rise and consolidation of an internationally recognized Italian fashion industry in the two decades following World War II offers a welcome corrective to those several uncritical celebrations of Italian style that offer up the late twentieth-century success of famous brands including Versace, Armani, MaxMara, Gucci, and Prada as evidence of a more recent and apparently spontaneous flowering of national talent. White's work is grounded in the methods of design history, a discrete discipline that has developed its focus in answer to the intellectual and pedagogical concerns of the art and design sector of the British university system over the past thirty years. In this way it differs from the kinds of studies relevant to any consideration of postwar Italian style that have emerged from the fields of social and economic history, from perspectives informed by the more overtly political and representational concerns of cultural studies, or from the descriptive analyses associated with publications on dress produced in the museum and promotional sectors. Its ambition is rather to draw on the benefits of all these approaches in a synthesis that has the significance of the designed object and the factors affecting its manufacture, reception, and use at its heart. In working toward this end, its primary sources consist of those garments of the period surviving in public and private collections in Europe and the United States; the archives of significant industrial players, particularly MaxMara; interviews with corporate managers, designers, buyers and journalists; and the content of the contemporary fashion media including trade journals, consumer magazines, and film.

The central premise of the book is that the emergence of a definable Italian mode of sartorial design and address cannot be properly understood in isolation from a consideration of American financial and organizational support via the Marshall Plan and, perhaps more interestingly, without an acknowledgment of the various forms of cultural exchange between the publicity and design departments of Hollywood and Cinecittà, or the editorial desks of American *Vogue*, *Women's Wear Daily*, and Italian titles such as *Linea Italiana*, *Linea Maglia*, and *Bellezza*. Furthermore, the individual acts of patronage exercised by celebrities

including Jackie Kennedy and Ava Gardner, who promoted Italian couturiers such as Micol Fontana in the United States, and Sophia Loren and Gina Lollobrigida, who exuded a sensualized version of Hollywood glamour in the Roman costumes of Emilio Schuberth, are also revealed as worthy of close examination. What these activities suggest is the influence of a hybridized version of "Italianicity" that not only sold American products and images to commodity-hungry Italian audiences but also informed the sleek coordinates of postwar fashion production in New York and California.

These ideas are clearly expressed in focused chapters that explore the political and economic context of Italian textile manufacturing during the years of the Marshall Plan, when American financial assistance and technological know-how created the favorable conditions necessary for expansion, the related development of ready-to-wear clothing production and its marketing to American consumers, the concerted promotion of characteristics including stylistic innovation, the value and quality of fabric and color that ensured Italian products a niche in the global system of fashion, and the reception of these commodities in the context of American consumer culture. White's evidence clearly suggests that by 1965 the well-orchestrated concept of "casual elegance" associated with Italian fashion offered a formidable alternative to the established primacy of American "sportswear" with which it shared a common stylistic language and some similarities in terms of production and promotion. This trajectory precedes and informs the more extensively documented emergence of Italian brands in the mid-1970s and the rise of Milan as a competitor to Paris as a symbolic center for the circulation of international style signifiers.

White's book generates fascinating modes of further enquiry, specifically on the roles played by ordinary American and Italian consumers whose reactions and adaptations to the new Italian styles are largely absent (presumably due to the constraints of time and space) from White's reading. Although the book is generally well organized and lucidly written, it still carries the traces of the dissertation from which it emerged, which makes it a useful text for teaching purposes but perhaps limits its appeal to a broader audience. Its subject matter also deserves larger and more artfully styled images than those included. Editorial issues aside, White's work undoubtedly makes an enlightening contribution to a growing literature on aspects of dress and the formation of national identities in the modern period.

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CARMEN TERESA WHALEN. *From Puerto Rico to Philadelphia: Puerto Rican Workers and Postwar Economies.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 309. Cloth \$74.50, paper \$24.95.



When Operation Bootstrap failed even to provide jobs for the agricultural workers displaced by its program of industrialization, the Puerto Rican commonwealth government, in concert with U.S. policy makers, turned to a two-pronged policy to solve what they saw as the problem of "overpopulation" between 1940 and 1970. According to Carmen Teresa Whalen's brilliantly conceptualized study, governmental programs of sterilization and migration to the United States were both "gender-based programs" (p. 49). In encouraging emigration, policy makers focused on Puerto Rican men primarily as agricultural contract labor, and on women initially as domestics. Migrants assessed the opportunities for themselves, however, and took advantage of their status as U.S. citizens to leave fields and households for the comparatively remunerative work available in industrial cities such as Philadelphia.

This is an ambitious and important book. Whalen's well-conceived research design links global and local political economies, as well as the social and cultural conditions of Puerto Rican people, both on the island and in the second largest migrant community in the United States, after New York City. She presents a staggering amount of data about economic and social conditions in what are essentially three community studies: of economic (under)development in and emigration from San Lorenzo and Salinas, Puerto Rico, and of the developing Puerto Rican community in Philadelphia, 1940–1970. Methodologically, the book integrates extensive oral history with imaginative use of an abundance of archives, from government documents in Puerto Rico and the United States, to parish records indicating places of birth and marriage, to community newspapers (including, interestingly, *Palante*, the publication of the Young Lords). But it would be a mistake to regard this book simply as an unusually agile, transnational community study. Whalen insists on using her data to make crucial arguments about gender and work; race and immigration; social policy; and immigration historiography in general. It is her ambition, and its success, which marks this as a particularly engaging book, deserving of a wide readership in labor, social, women's, and policy history, as well as immigration and Puerto Rican studies.

Throughout the book, Whalen insists on the agency of migrants, buffeted as they were by declining opportunities at home, contract labor programs, and a contracting industrial labor market in the United States. For example, she asserts that because traditional Puerto Rican notions of work often integrated "reproductive work, subsistence labor on the family farm, home sewing, and paid employment outside the home" (p. 4), and because women often gained access to the limited jobs provided by Operation Bootstrap, migrant women did not discover wage labor abroad. Rather, Puerto Rican men and women migrants negotiated the constricted openings made available to them in the context of colonial collusion that intended to use

them as contract labor. Aware that their citizenship was valuable, many left contract labor programs and targeted cities as having better economic opportunities, as well as the chance to unite families and form meaningful communities in the United States.

In addition to providing careful documentation of the economics and politics of Puerto Rican migration in these communities during the postwar period, the book includes crucial analysis of the racial ideologies that guided both governmental and social service understanding of Puerto Ricans, as well as other migrants of color. Like many postwar arrivals to urban centers, Puerto Ricans arrived in Philadelphia during a period marked by deindustrialization and racial tension. As conflict and economic struggle marked the development of a Puerto Rican community in the city, commentators tended to view the community in light of the "culture of poverty" thesis popularized by Oscar Lewis. Lewis's analysis ignored the structural context of poverty, reading a Puerto Rican "national culture" of "fatalism and low aspirations" as one of the key imports of the migrants. Just as social scientists and policy makers understood the economic problems of Puerto Rico as the results of "overpopulation" rather than the structural inequalities of colonial agriculture and import substitution industrialization, their urban counterparts diagnosed migrants as suffering from a culture of poverty that could only lead them to welfare dependency.

Whalen wades into some critical debates here: about the "underclass" and urban social orders; about gender and labor; about race, migration, and a historiography of ethnicity and immigration still very much modeled on the experiences of European immigrants. At times the book reads like the dissertation it recently was. Whalen tends to spend a lot of time documenting the three local contexts that form the basis for this book, moving to a broader analysis in later chapters. The rich and essential research here can be a source of further analytical work. Readers can look forward to what will surely be pivotal articles and possibly even another volume to supplement and extend what Whalen has begun so well.

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MARKKU RUOTSILA. *British and American Anticommunism before the Cold War*. (CASS Series: Cold War History, number 3.) Portland, Ore.: Frank Cass. 2001. Pp. xiv, 274. Cloth \$57.50, paper \$26.50.

The author of this book, Markku Ruotsila, advances two basic propositions. The more general one is that ideas, as a factor in British and American political life, are crucially important but have been greatly undervalued. This will command widespread assent. The other, more specific notion, elaborated here with much detail from archives, memoirs, and other sources, is that, contrary to conventional Cold War historiographical practice, which gives great explanatory promi-



nence to ideology as a primary impulse in Soviet policy but very little to the ideas that lay behind Western actions, there was a crucially significant but neglected Anglo-American ideology of anticommunism. This is rather more problematic.

Most strikingly, Ruotsila presents a bold explanation of the Cold War. "The fundamental thesis of the book," he writes, "is that the Cold War was not primarily about opposition to the foreign expansionism of the Soviet Union or, even, to the communism practised in the Soviet Union. It was just as much about the competition between conservatism and modern liberalism and socialism for the right to shape the direction of the twentieth century" (p. xiii).

This is bracingly provocative. The notion that fascist and communist regimes were gripped by rigidly deterministic abstractions while the West was animated by wholesome values was, after all, a staple of both popular and scholarly thought during the Cold War. They stood for regimentation and dangerously transformative doctrine. We believed in freedom, tolerance, and justice, all derived from cherished evolutionary processes. Such seductively congenial comparisons certainly bear reexamination. Unfortunately, Ruotsila does not join the issue very vigorously. He does not define "ideology" with any precision, equating it too casually with "core beliefs." And he relies on the noisy anticommunism of a few ambitious British and American politicians (many of them obscure figures) rather than a full comparative exposition. A demonstration of the pattern of ideas that guide a great power's political conduct surely requires a substantial sample of representative opinion and some engagement with that society's leading philosophical authorities. John Locke, Adam Smith, Thomas Jefferson, John Stuart Mill, George Orwell—none of them appear.

The author goes on to argue that anticommunism was the main feature of modern domestic politics in the two Atlantic democracies. His point here is not that local communist parties were significant (clearly they were not). And to his credit he does not rely on such spasmodic eruptions as the 1919 Red Scare, the Zinoviev Letter scandal, or the McCarthy-era excesses to strengthen the case. Rather he strives for something larger by insisting that "anti-communist" really meant "anti-collectivist." But with this dubious conflation of two very distinctive strains of thought and action he gives the game away. "Anti-collectivism" was indeed fundamental in both British and American politics; "anti-communism" was not. And the battles over collectivization (meaning basically the rising power of the state) were fought out among conservatives, liberals, and democratic socialists within the relatively narrow spectrum that the transatlantic evolutionary tradition has allowed for political divisions. Anticommunism was always available as a useful rhetorical stick that conservatives have often used against the Left. It had little demonstrable effect on generations of Britons and Americans who repeatedly voted collectivizing Labour and Democratic parties to power.

From this rather fragile groundwork, Ruotsila moves to his view of the Cold War as the product substantially of Anglo-American ideas and domestic preoccupations. There are associations here with revisionist thinking and also, implicitly, with older methodological and philosophical arguments about the relative primacy of ideas or events. Clearly both are important. But the author avoids the issue by focusing almost exclusively on the former. Whatever one's views about Cold War causation, one needs to examine contemporary thinking in the light of what was actually happening. It must be said, moreover, that in their general conduct in international politics both Britain and the United States would appear to have been guided in most instances by discernible interests. Only very rarely did they tilt at ideological windmills. Only reluctantly were they drawn into each world war. And the most elementary reconstruction of the stages through which the Western powers moved to contain or confront the Soviet Union between 1945 and 1949 still suggests that, while anticommunist sentiment undoubtedly soured the residual goodwill of the wartime alliance, inspired fears of subversion on occasion, and was employed to help mobilize public support, their leaders were inspired mainly by geopolitical concerns and national interests.

This is, then, despite its bold initial promise, a frustrating and awkwardly presented book. Yet by forcing the reader to reconsider comfortably familiar assumptions, it leaves a positive impression. British and American statesmen may not have been ideologues, but in their categorical, over-confident, and often narrow-minded way they have often sounded as if they were. Our leading philosophical traditions—utilitarianism in Britain, pragmatism in the United States—stress experience rather than dogma, yet we often draw dogmatic conclusions and miss the lesson. In our pride, we claim descent from the Enlightenment, yet we repeatedly act carelessly and irrationally. There are therefore, as Ruotsila's book reminds us, many deep currents still to explore beneath the surface of democratic complacency. Anticommunism is undoubtedly one of them, but it was not, I think, the decisive twentieth-century agency argued for here.

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RICHARD J. ALDRICH. *The Hidden Hand: Britain, America and Cold War Secret Intelligence*. London: John Murray. 2001. Pp. xv, 733. £25.00.

Whatever else it was, the intelligence apparatus of the Cold War was a vast bureaucracy, with the institutional imperatives and incentive structures of bureaucracies everywhere. Indeed, the intelligence bureaucracies may have exhibited the properties of the genus in purest form, shielded as they were from the intrusive oversight of parliamentarians and other representatives of the ordinary folk who footed the bills.

Richard J. Aldrich did not set out to write an

organizational history of intelligence, and in fact his formidable volume is a great deal more. Yet the strongest impression the reader takes away is that the cloaks of the cloak-and-dagger crew were really gray flannel suits, and that the daggers flashed as swift and sharp against the agents of rival offices at home as against the spies of the other side. "Since we are, in fact, deceiving both the Soviets and our Allies with regard to our nuclear capability," Aldrich quotes the British Joint Planning Staff, "it is essential that any questions on deception plans . . . be handled with great reserve" (p. 371).

The book is presented as an account of British and American intelligence in the Cold War, but the emphasis is plainly on the British. This is just as well, for Aldrich's coverage of the American half of the equation adds little to the very large literature that already exists on the subject. The usual American suspects are interrogated (via documents)—William J. Donovan, Allen Dulles, George F. Kennan—and they say about what they have been saying since first declassified in the 1970s. The British angle, however, has never been revealed as fully or with such detail as here. This yields dividends on its own terms, of course. For the first decade and a half of the Cold War—until technical advances allowed an important shift from human intelligence gathering to electronic methods—the British fought above their weight in intelligence affairs, and although the sun was setting on the British empire, Her Majesty's shadow warriors battled gamely into the dusk. They won some noteworthy victories: the defeat of Communist guerrillas in Malaya was at least as much a triumph of British intelligence as of British arms.

Yet Aldrich's British emphasis also pays off for students of American intelligence. Though not cast as a comparative study, the book serves that purpose, enabling readers interested in American intelligence and foreign policy to draw certain conclusions about U.S. actions that might not be obvious otherwise. The cat fights between the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, for example, had less to do with the neuroses of James Jesus Angleton and J. Edgar Hoover, strange as those men were, than with the competing claims of their respective agencies—at least if similar struggles on the British side have any relevance to the matter, as they doubtless do.

Readers, in their role as citizens (or subjects), will want to know whether they received value for their intelligence dollars (or pounds). This question has more than historical significance now, in light of the events of September 2001 and after, which have thrust intelligence again into the spotlight. Aldrich offers no neat answer, no pat balance sheet. But the essence of his judgment is clear enough. Consumers of intelligence (ultimately the taxpayers) overpaid for what they got in the Cold War, in the same way that consumers of public transport typically overpay for their rides. Yet countries need intelligence, as cities

need subways, and the former will not disappear before the latter.

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#### ASIA

PETER J. GOLAS. *Science and Civilisation in China*. Volume 5, *Chemistry and Chemical Technology*, part 13, *Mining*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xxvi, 538. \$150.00.

This is the first, and therefore the only, substantive monograph in English on the history of mining in China. Peter J. Golas follows established tradition by attempting to project his subject in the broad context of Chinese technological, economic, and social development. It is accordingly not a specific exercise in mining history and not a modern *De Re Metallica* of eastern machinery and methods, but it undoubtedly represents a major contribution for those with interests in comparative mining history.

The discussion is divided into thirteen parts, which are then subdivided, by issue and activity and sometimes by mineral. Most of the first half of the book is taken up with a review of the geological conditions under which minerals were found and an account of the principal metallic and nonmetallic ores, building materials, and fossil fuels in commercial production. Useful accompanying information is provided on the methods of processing those materials and their principal uses. The next broad section looks at the principal processes and activities of surface and underground mining as well as ore dressing and precipitation and provides the core discussion of the industry's machines and methods. A last short section reviews the roles and organization of labor, capital, and the state in the industry and its technological evolution. This includes informative sections on the labor contract system as well as miners' beliefs, superstitions, and values. All sections are extensively and informatively footnoted, as befits a research monograph.

Golas's efforts are bedeviled throughout by the limited story to be told and the paucity of historical records to tell it. Although the industry probably took second place only to agriculture as the principal source of wealth generation in China for more than two millennia, it was highly dispersed, undercapitalized, and dominated by small-scale production units that continued to maximize labor-intensive techniques. Few in the industry were motivated to innovate, and equipment generally remained little improved on, simple hand tools until the introduction of European technology from the nineteenth century. Thus, the technical sections have little to record in terms of the introduction of water and steam power and nothing to observe in terms of the long list of mechanical devices that were devised in Europe's medieval and early modern periods to exploit these mechanical power sources. Even where there might have been change,

few printed and manuscript sources recorded it. Contemporary observers generally appear to have regarded mining as having little of interest to note, and physiocratic governments regarded the industry with suspicion and contempt. The most problematical consequence of the latter is the complete absence of output data for any period before the early twentieth century. Golas concludes that coal, iron, copper, and gold were the most valuable minerals in production, but he has little evidence to substantiate that or to evaluate the relative importance of those minerals.

With limited historical records, Golas instead relies heavily on the products of recent archaeological investigation for most of his source material. This is the book's greatest strength—and also one of its main weaknesses. On the one hand, it reveals much that was not previously known about the industry and brings together a rapidly expanding body of research material. On the other hand, it traps much of the discussion in the origins of the industry, with relatively little on the more recent period. Engagement with archaeology also appears to have been at the expense of reference to the very considerable literature on the development of mining in Europe and the Americas since the Bronze Age. This is probably the book's only major deficiency. It would have facilitated a more sustained analysis of the comparative rate of progress in mining and metallurgy in China and the West. Evidence randomly introduced by Golas shows that in many areas—particularly iron metallurgy and copper precipitation—China was long in advance of Europe. Why did it lose that lead? A closer analysis of the factors promoting technical change in the West from the medieval period onward might have given a better insight into the perennial problem of what went wrong in China. The rather simplistic “cheap labour/limited capital” model provided here could have been explored in greater depth. Moreover, comparative analysis would have provided an opportunity to explore in greater detail the nature of technical change in the mining sector. The evidence provided here suggests that there was a particularly high level of parallel development in this sector, with miners confronted by similar physical problems arriving at similar technical solutions without any direct contact between them. How might this be projected in the broader study of different technological traditions? Finally, a stronger comparative approach would have encouraged a much-needed closer look at issues of technology transfer and the Chinese response to increasing external technological influences. Currently there is very little on the modern period.

It is, of course, a vice of reviewers to suggest that a book might have been written differently, and none of these objections should in any way detract from Golas's very real achievement and contribution on producing this invaluable volume. It will be widely welcomed and used, particularly by those interested in mining history. However, at the risk of ending on a sour note, one final and serious criticism must be

leveled at the publishers of this volume. Like others in the series, it contains many illustrations. Most are helpful and informative, some are not entirely well chosen (e.g. pp. 223, 407), but all are very poorly produced. In a number of cases, the quality is so poor as to render them entirely useless (e.g. p. 167). This is unacceptable in such a prestigious volume—and one that costs \$150.

ROGER BURT  
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MARK C. ELLIOTT. *The Manchu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiii, 580. \$65.00.

China always has had an important place in discussions of the history of the early modern world, because of the sophistication, which some would call “early modern,” of its economic and political organization. In the last five years, a number of important books have focused on the important ways in which early modern China was affected by having, from 1644 on, a ruling house and core military elite that was ethnically non-Chinese, of the Manchu people. This is the best of these books, and as such will be important reading not only for all historians of China but for all students of the history of the early modern world. Formidable in its learning, it is very lucidly written, makes its arguments clearly, and is full of vivid descriptions and quotations, many of them drawn from Manchu-language archive materials previously used by few Chinese scholars and no one outside China.

The Manchus gave early modern China an elite of multicultural competence and orientation, result oriented in its statecraft, sustained by a most impressive military organization and ethos. They provided a high-level cadre of trustworthy and competent rulers for a Chinese population growing in numbers and in area settled. Their orientation to Inner Asia and their military skills led to a great series of conquests, including Tibet and what is now Xinjiang, rounding out and even going beyond the present frontiers of the People's Republic of China. The Manchus maintained their own customs, institutions, and language for many decades. Written communication in the Manchu language, which few Chinese read, helped them maintain secure lines of communication between center and provinces.

Mark C. Elliott's great achievement as a research scholar is his use of the large amounts of archival material in Manchu preserved in the First Historical Archive in Beijing. His subject is the Eight Banners system, the organization of the entire Manchu people, of large numbers of Mongols who joined them, and of Chinese who joined them before 1644 or in the course of the conquest of China into a system of registration as military households and the employment of all adult males as trained and disciplined soldiers. Early modern comparativists may find analogies to the janissaries of Istanbul and the *streltsy* of Moscow intriguing. Such

comparison highlights the achievement of the Qing rulers in keeping their military elite thoroughly under control, neither branching out into sideline occupations nor contributing to political disorder in the capital. The key to this control, Elliott shows, was a remarkably dense and thorough bureaucratic system with a great deal of "micromanagement" (p. 135), far more dense than that by which the general Chinese population was controlled. Banner households had a remarkable degree of economic security until 1800 or later and had highly privileged access to many official positions. In a fascinating chapter (pp. 89–132), Elliott shows how the spatial segregation of the banner garrisons was achieved by giving them most of Beijing and large pieces of Xi'an, Nanjing, and other major cities. Management of the career advancement of banner officers had little to do with the vaunted examination system and was very thorough and personal. Much attention was devoted to maintaining the military skills and readiness of banner units.

There is a great deal of testimony by Chinese and foreign writers about the eventual "Sinicization" of the Bannermen, who are seen as becoming by 1850 lazy, poor, proud city dwellers who could not pull a bow or speak Manchu and spent most of their time raising caged birds or crickets and going to the Beijing opera. The Qing rulers were keenly aware of this trend and devoted a great deal of effort to struggling against it. Elliott's intelligent revision of the "Sinicization" perspective shows how the formidable organizational control and net of segregation and privilege of the Banner system became the means by which Bannermen maintained a strong sense of identity and cohesion as they lost such obvious markers as military skills and fluency in the Manchu language.

Elliott makes it clear that his work focuses on the Banner system, not on the participation of its members in the provincial bureaucracy, where some of them made crucial contributions, or the Qing conquest and administration of Central Asia, which was entirely the work of Banner troops and Banner officials. These topics promise to look quite different in the light of his work as others learn from his insights and follow the path he has blazed into the Manchu-language archival sources. I wonder if it makes any difference to my understanding of some of the dodgy political entrepreneurs I follow up and down the south China coast in the early Qing that they were enrolled in the Chinese Banners.

The academic reviewer is duty bound to find errors or gaps in the work reviewed. Elliott's intelligence and scholarship make this very hard. One brief lapse of interpretation occurs when he notes (p. 138) the diffusion of control over the Banners, with nothing like the creation of a single Banner "board"; surely no emperor would have wanted to cede the kind of power that the head of such a board would have had.

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LAURA HOSTETLER, *Qing Colonial Enterprise: Ethnography and Cartography in Early Modern China*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. Pp. xx, 257. \$35.00.

For over a decade, scholars of late imperial China have been arguing over the use of the term "early modern" to describe the Qing empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the heart of this debate lies the question of whether the term can be abstracted from its usual European context to describe similar patterns of change in China without assuming a Eurocentric, or Western-driven, trajectory of historical development. In her examination of the colonizing aspirations of the Qing dynasty, Laura Hostetler moves this debate to center stage. Her central argument is that the independent yet parallel political application of emerging cartographic and ethnographic technologies in both China and Europe reveals sufficient continuity in historical development to validate the identification of an early modern world reaching across various societies and civilizations.

As Hostetler describes it, the use of scientific cartography under Qing emperors in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was driven above all by the state's need for more precise delineation of territory in relation to neighboring states. As an expansive colonial empire, moreover, the Qing shared this interest with the emerging nation-states of Europe, where similar concerns with colonial political boundaries had already contributed to a separation of cartography and ethnography into distinct disciplines. Hence, while premodern maps in both Europe and China combined ethnographic descriptions with impressionistic representations of land, those of the early modern period show a greater use of scaled projections, with ethnographic information increasingly left out.

Hostetler does not deny that this technology originated in Europe. She does maintain, however, that at the time of its adoption by Qing mapmakers, the use of such technology had yet to pervade Europe and thus cannot be seen as specifically European. As she puts it, reliance on the graticule internationalized the pursuit of geographic knowledge in such a way as to transcend political and cultural boundaries. The fact that this technology and its divorce from ethnography occurred earlier and more completely in Europe than in China does not imply that this development belonged to any specific region, culture, or nation but must be seen as part of a global process of early modern state formation. The relevant divide is thus not between Eastern and Western cultures but between pre- and early modern modes of apprehending the world.

Hostetler devotes the second half of her book to the development of ethnography and its relationship to the colonial aspirations of the Qing state. As with cartography, she finds here an epistemological shift suggesting the ways in which scientific knowledge was being harnessed to the goals of the state. Although she draws from both Ming and Qing dynasty gazetteers, the core of this section is in her examination of eighteenth-



century Miao albums, illustrated manuscripts describing various non-Han peoples in southern and southwest China. By tracing the evolution of these albums, Hostetler identifies an increasing rationalization to the presentation of material. According to Hostetler, by supplying officials with accurate information as to their location, customs, livelihood, and even character, Miao albums provided a basis upon which to administer these indigenous peoples as well as to better serve the colonial project of civilizing them.

Hostetler's work is part of a growing body of literature on the relations between the Qing state and the various non-Han peoples of the empire's inner frontier. In this regard, her findings are both fascinating and insightful. Her efforts to reveal parallels between Chinese and European cartography also demonstrate an interconnectedness in technological development that is too often overlooked. Yet her attempt to use the political application of this technology to identify a universalized early modern period of world history remains open to question. The evidentiary basis from which she draws in support of her argument is often quite thin, and her assertion as to an epistemological shift toward a more scientifically based worldview in China frequently relies on a rather vague equating of "scientific" with "precise" or "objective." In addition, she does not adequately explain why the use of scaled maps and the administrative use of Miao albums fell off so drastically in the nineteenth century, precisely when foreign intrusion and internal rebellion might have motivated greater reliance upon them. Finally, insofar as Hostetler rejects the Eurocentric notion of a one-way flow of scientific knowledge from West to East, one must wonder as to the conceptual utility of a periodization that is so closely bound to the European trajectory of historical development.

BRADLY W. REED  
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EDWARD J. M. RHOADS. *Manchus and Han: Ethnic Relations and Political Power in Late Qing and Early Republican China, 1861–1928*. (Studies on Ethnic Groups in China.) Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2000. Pp. x, 394. \$55.00.

This book by Edward J. M. Rhoads is one of the series entitled *Studies on Ethnic Groups in China*, which Stevan Harrell edits for the University of Washington Press. The series has already achieved an enviable reputation for fine and innovative scholarship, and this book certainly continues that tradition. It is an excellent study of one aspect of ethnicity in modern Chinese history.

Specifically, the book covers policies and attitudes of governments and others toward the Manchus, who dominated the Chinese state and formed the ruling family of China's last dynasty, called the Qing (1644–1911), and relations between the Manchus and the Han majority of China. It makes an important contribution by placing the issue of the Manchus into a wide

historical context. Most scholars now consider the Manchus more or less assimilated with the Han in China, and very few Manchus still speak their own language, having adopted Chinese. Rhoads analyzes the modern transformation of the Manchu role in the Chinese state and nation and their relations with the Han Chinese.

The book draws on a wide range of sources in Chinese and English. The latter include archival material and observations by Westerners contemporary with the times considered. There are no Manchu-language sources, but there are plenty written by Manchus in Chinese. Rhoads is a model of scholarship in the way he handles his sources carefully and critically.

The conventional wisdom established by authorities such as the late and distinguished Mary Clabaugh Wright is that the boundaries between Manchu and Han loosened from the mid-1860s, and that the two groups became less unequal. In his extremely detailed discussion of policies and realities, Rhoads challenges these conventions. He argues forcefully that ethnic boundaries remained very tight down to the end of the Qing period and that the charges the revolutionaries made against the Manchus as oppressive overlords were valid and well substantiated, although he also acknowledges some atrocious behavior by the revolutionaries against the Manchus. Rhoads certainly does not question the importance of imperialism as a target of the revolution, but his account does shift the balance of historical forces toward ethnicity.

Rhoads certainly has a masterly grasp of his material. The scholarly appurtenances of this book—the bibliography, the glossary of Chinese characters, the annotation—are all superb. The writing style is interesting and effective, and generally free of that denseness that characterizes some academic work. There are some very well produced pictures.

I have one misgiving about the author's major conclusions. Rhoads characterizes the Manchus of the Qing period down to the end of the nineteenth century as a hereditary military caste. This is because of the role they played in the army of the Qing dynasty, which was vital and powerful. However, most of the book affirms very clearly and effectively just how strong was the *ethnicity* of the Manchus. In addition to economic aspects, Rhoads is at pains to point out how strongly Manchu language and culture survived beyond 1928. He also includes some material about women's issues, including those relating to culture and ethnicity.

A traditional military caste is hardly an ethnicity. It is characterized mainly by occupation, not by such matters as language or culture. Yet there is much about such matters in this book, and Rhoads deserves credit for that. The banner people may have been an occupational caste during the early Qing dynasty. But the Manchus were surely always more than the bannermen. Rhoads's own material suggests to me that, while it might be proper to refer to the transformation of the banner people from an occupational caste to an



ethnicity, one cannot make a similar jump for the Manchus themselves. Rhoads himself does this on occasion, for instance in his conclusion (pp. 290–91).

The problem of whether the Manchus were an occupational caste or an ethnicity could have been solved with a more careful discussion of precisely what constitutes an ethnic group. Yet despite his weakness, Rhoads has, overall, made a first-rate addition to the literature. He has made an excellent case for his affirmation of the importance of the Manchu-Han ethnic divide in the second half of the nineteenth century. He does a great service by challenging some traditional views about modern Chinese history and putting a greater emphasis on ethnicity. He makes a major contribution with his detailed treatment of the attitudes of revolutionaries and others toward ethnic matters. His book is superbly produced and the best kind of academic writing. I recommend it strongly.

COLIN MACKERRAS  
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MAN BUN KWAN. *The Salt Merchants of Tianjin: State-Making and Civil Society in Late Imperial China*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 239. \$42.00.

The role of merchants in later imperial China has long attracted the attention of historians of China. Previous generations of scholars, writing in the shadow of an Eurocentric historiography, were often prone to view, either explicitly or implicitly, the historical trajectory of the Chinese merchants through the prism of the emergence of the European bourgeoisie, and to ask why the former did not develop along the same path as the latter. More recent scholarship has generally steered away from such overt Eurocentric biases. In this thoroughly researched volume, Man Bun Kwan continues this trend by locating the story of the Tianjin salt merchants of the late Qing within the specific political, economic, social, and cultural context of the city.

Kwan's survey traverses different spheres of the merchants' activities. In an illuminating chapter entitled "The Household and the Law," Kwan explores, for instance, the ambiguous lines between informal mediation and formal legal proceedings when it came to commercial and property disputes, joining and contributing to the recent outpouring of literature on Qing legal practices. His depiction of the merchants' other spheres of activity, such as their provision of extensive social services and their expanding political role in the waning years of the dynasty, will no doubt remind readers familiar with other late Qing Chinese cities of similar developments elsewhere. Kwan's objective is in part to demonstrate that the dynamics of change in Tianjin were quite distinctive and are not easily reducible to any sweeping theory on the nature of political and social transformation. Even if Kwan at times seems overeager to distinguish Tianjin from, say,

Shanghai or Canton, his rich and detailed data make a persuasive case.

Yet, if Kwan consciously stays clear of a teleological vision of change, he also struggles to transcend the limitations posed by the analytical paradigm that he has chosen to frame his findings. The book, Kwan tells us in his introduction, is about the challenges of state making and the relationships between "state" and "society." He is also at pains, however, to emphasize throughout the volume that the notion of "state" versus "society" as a zero-sum game actually fails to address the complex dynamics at work in late Qing Tianjin. As Kwan himself rightly points out, "[t]he voluminous theoretical literature on the subject [of state-making] has largely used Europe as a benchmark against which other societies are measured" (p. 2). He then traces the development of the idea of "civil society" that emerges out of a particular European trajectory, and concludes, correctly in my view, that "the concept raises as many questions as it answers" (p. 3). Indeed, he goes on to raise further questions about the efficacy of using such "ideal types" in comparative study. "[I]mposing concepts such as civil society or public sphere on Chinese history," Kwan suggests, "risks charges of orientalism" (p. 5).

It is thus somewhat perplexing that not only does "civil society" appear prominently in the subtitle of the book but, more importantly, the concept continues to occupy a central role in Kwan's analysis, if only to serve as fodder for illustrating how Tianjin's development was different from that of European cities. Kwan tries to get around this issue by maintaining that in "[e]mploying such terms as 'public sphere' or 'civil society' as points of reference rather than a universal model, late imperial China is seen as a field of action where state and society negotiate, cooperate, and contest in various interlocked public spheres" (p. 6). While Kwan certainly demonstrates successfully that the multilayered relationship between the Qing government and the Tianjin salt merchants cannot be captured by a simple model of opposition or collusion, one has to wonder why the author persists in framing his analysis within a paradigm that he himself acknowledges as problematic, if not inherently flawed.

To raise this question is not to diminish Kwan's accomplishment in producing this fine volume but to draw attention to a broader issue relating to the historiography on modern Chinese history. Historians of China have come a long way in rejecting the Eurocentrism of the past. Yet, a paradigm such as "state" versus "society," which itself derives from an idealized version of European development, continues to loom as a dominating presence in the historiography of the field. It is perhaps time for historians of late Qing and Republican China to insist that not only is the trajectory of Chinese history different from that of Europe, but that we must free ourselves from the clutches of Eurocentric questions that obstruct rather

than facilitate the important process of rethinking modern Chinese history.

MICHAEL TSIN  
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YOUNG-TSU WONG. *A Paradise Lost: The Imperial Garden Yuanming Yuan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. x, 226. \$29.95.

Young-tsu Wong's book is an in-depth study of the gardens and architectural features of one of the major Qing imperial residences and a multifaceted account of its history. Beyond having to be conversant in two disciplines, the author's task was made more challenging by the fact that his previous work focused on the history of Republican China, not the Qing period. By making use of a large number of Chinese sources, both archival and secondary, and excellent maps, sketches, plans, and photographs, he overcomes these potential difficulties admirably. I was initially wary of an approach and language that sometimes seemed to indicate a lack of connectedness to the more recent scholarship in the field of Qing history—which increasingly understands the Qing as a multiethnic empire of which China was only one part—but Wong's detailed recreation eventually drew me in to the world of the Yuanming Yuan.

Divided into two parts, "Architecture" and "History," the book supplies a wealth of information on the origins and growth of the Yuanming Yuan, the layout of its grounds and buildings, daily life during the height of the Qing, its destruction in 1860 at the hands of the British, and the ongoing efforts to preserve its remnants as a park open to the public (for a fee). For the specialist, the greatest contribution may be found in part one. The first chapter, "Provenance," situates the Yuanming Yuan in a 3,000-year history of Chinese imperial gardens; introduces the Lei family, which was largely responsible for its design; explicates in detail twelve different specific architectural terms referring to different types of garden structures; and addresses the geomantic significance of the location. "Disposition" and "Expansion" include detailed plans of the gardens and their growth, specific architectural layouts and sketches of numerous man-made structures, and descriptions of their functions. The thirty-four illustrations included in part one reconstruct the lost structures of the Yuanming Yuan in astonishing detail. The glossary makes an excellent supplement to the architectural section.

While the story has been told before, nonspecialists may especially enjoy part two. Here Wong brings the gardens and their inhabitants to life. "Rise" is devoted to the history of the gardens themselves. Inevitably it repeats some information covered in the earlier chapters, but Wong gives a succinct account of the growth and use of the gardens. "Structure and Function" deals with day-to-day administration including finances, maintenance, and crime and punishment. Crime was not supposed to exist in the gardens, which were

intended as an idyllic retreat. Yet Wong uses archival records to document a sequence of infractions committed and punishments meted out over the course of a century. He notes that "a large percentage of the thieves seemed to be Manchus, the royal family's own people who had been victimized by poverty" (p. 117), an observation that dovetails with Pamela Kyle Crossley's findings on the difficult economic plight of the banner garrisons. Wong is at his most engaging when he discusses "Royal Daily Life." This chapter includes not only an account of a day in the life of the Qianlong emperor but also a description of what the kitchens and menus in the Yuanming Yuan must have been like. While much of the information is based on records that exist for the Forbidden City, the book is the richer for its descriptions of delicacies and the culture of abundance that serve also to make the contrast with the events recounted in "The Sacking" even starker.

The story of the demise of the Yuanming Yuan is absorbing. British and French troops entered and sacked the gardens in 1860 while pressuring the Qing government to agree to drastic treaty revisions. The author powerfully communicates the waste and irony of war. With foreign troops in Peking, Prince Gong and others involved in the negotiations were prepared to acquiesce. Once they learned that Britain's Lord Elgin had burned the imperial gardens to the ground, however, they seriously contemplated whether they should "give up the peace effort altogether" (p. 151). The final chapter explores the present-day patriotic value of the preservation of the Yuanming Yuan ruins.

Wong's fine work is not without a number of errors, mostly typographical in nature. The most serious of these convey dates that are a full two centuries off in either direction (pp. 86, 109). Yet overall he succeeds at presenting a multifaceted and nuanced study of the imperial gardens, thereby making an important contribution to the growing literature on the various imperial residences of the Qing emperors.

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SHERMAN COCHRAN. *Encountering Chinese Networks: Western, Japanese, and Chinese Corporations in China, 1880–1937*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 257. \$40.00.

Sherman Cochran presents a fascinating in-depth analysis of business practice in six large and successful corporations in China in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Two of them are Western (Standard Oil; British American Tobacco Company), two are Japanese (Mitsui Trading Company; Naigai Cotton Company), and two are Chinese (Shenxin Cotton Mills; China Match Company). His purpose is to reconsider the conventional scholarly wisdom about the organizational features and managerial structures of enterprises in China in order to answer two hotly

debated issues in Chinese business history. Did Western, Japanese, and Chinese businesses use Western-style, top-down corporate hierarchies, or did they rely on Chinese-style, laterally configured social networks based on region and kinship?

The scholarly literature, Cochran argues in an incisive introductory essay, suggests an either/or scenario. Scholars of Western and Japanese management emphasize the use and efficacy of top-down managerial control, with Japanese companies achieving greater vertical depth and control at the lower levels of their organizations. In contrast, scholars of overseas Chinese enterprises (mainly sociologists) stress the preponderance of lateral social networks based on native place and family. This scholarly picture is further complicated by the tendency of scholars to highlight synchronic models at the expense of diachronic historical process. This results in a somewhat skewed picture that minimizes the evolution and change of organizational patterns over time and often neglects cases of successful resistance to corporate control by marketing and labor networks.

Similar interpretive divides, according to Cochran, characterize the study of specific business operations in the China setting, especially those related to marketing, labor, and the organizational character of Chinese trade and business associations (*huiguan*; *gongsuo*). Some scholars argue that multinational corporate hierarchies, aided by compliant middlemen (*compradores*), successfully introduced and controlled the marketing of new products, while others assert that marketing was controlled by powerful merchant-middlemen and their networks. Studies of Japanese corporations suggest that they succeeded in direct management and discipline of Chinese labor, while critics assert that they failed to eliminate Chinese labor contractors (Number Ones) and their control of Chinese factory workers. Finally, scholars disagree over the extent to which Chinese trade and business associations functioned as protocapitalist corporate hierarchies or remained as social networks.

To address these contentious issues, Cochran develops his case studies to highlight corporate organizational structure and the management of marketing and labor. And his findings confound us: nothing fits the mold! Standard Oil, after two decades of reliance on Chinese commission agents and merchant-middlemen to market kerosene, responded to intense Dutch and British competition by creating an elaborate and successful marketing structure from 1903 to 1914 that extended from its corporate headquarters in Shanghai all the way down to county-level distribution centers. The company invested heavily in the transition to a corporate system, not only constructing a vast distribution infrastructure of storage facilities, canneries, and transport tankers but also recruiting and rewarding a large staff of Western sales representatives and Western-trained Chinese supervisors who successfully enforced the company's marketing policies and procedures over local commission agents.

The British American Tobacco Company (BAT), in contrast, used its corporate managers to develop working relationships with Chinese social networks in its marketing and manufacture of cigarettes as well in the purchase of raw tobacco. During its first two decades in China (1902–1919), BAT experimented simultaneously with both direct and indirect marketing strategies, pitting the Western-educated Wu Tingshen and his BAT subsidiary (Union Commercial Tobacco Company) against the tightfisted Cantonese merchant-middleman Zheng Bozhang and his merchant networks. The competition between the two contributed to the dramatic expansion of the BAT marketing system in the early years, and because of Zheng's greater success in expanding sales, BAT appointed him in 1920 to establish a system of "independent sellers," based on layers of merchant networks that extended down to standard market towns. Similarly, BAT experimented briefly with direct purchasing of raw tobacco and direct management of labor, but in the end, it again turned to Chinese agents and labor contractors.

Only the Mitsui Trading Company succeeded in creating a disciplined corporate hierarchy, staffed down to the lowest levels by Japanese nationals. After twenty-one years of relying on Chinese commission agents, this company abruptly changed direction in 1898 in order to spearhead its drive to dominate the market in imported cotton textiles. They replaced their Chinese agents with Japanese "China" specialists, trained in the Chinese language and steeped in Chinese business practice, who served as long-distance distributors in regional core cities throughout China. Their success was due to their intimate knowledge of the Chinese markets in which they served and also to Mitsui's flexible trading practices that offered consumers financial advantages. This marketing system, supported by careful coordination of supply and some government assistance from 1905 to 1907, enabled Mitsui to dominate the market in imported cotton textiles by 1912.

Cochran asserts that the picture of diversity in corporate marketing is mirrored in corporate management of labor recruitment, training, and supervision. Following the pattern of innovation in Japanese manufacturing at home, Naigai Cotton Company adopted a hierarchical corporate structure to manage fourteen cotton mills established in China from 1911 to 1924. This enterprise invested heavily in the training of its managerial and supervisory staff, creating, as did Mitsui, a loyal disciplined corps of Japanese China specialists, who sought to extend company control down to the shop floor, including the direct recruitment, training, and supervision of Chinese workers. Using material rewards and various forms of social support, such as housing, medical benefits, and schools, Naigai succeeded in undermining the role of Chinese labor contractors in the period from 1911 to 1924. However, it failed to sustain these inroads in the control of labor due to volatile political and labor conditions in Shanghai from 1925 to 1927, when

Chinese Number Ones reemerged to dominate the recruitment of workers and protect the job security of regular workers. Nonetheless, Naigai continued to reap high profits and expand, extending its purchasing and marketing organizations into all nine economic macroregions.

The final two case studies explore the corporate strategies of the two most successful Chinese enterprises in the pre-1949 period: Shenxin Cotton Mills and the China Match Company, both centered in Shanghai, both led by savvy and flexible entrepreneurs, and both characterized by a changing mix of hierarchical and social organizational features. Rong Zongjing of Shenxin stands out as a dynamic and dominating corporate manager who maintained personal control of the company's capital assets and its managerial hierarchy from his corporate headquarters in Shanghai. While rejecting family and native place (Wuxi) interference in company management, he invested heavily in the modern education of family members and native place associates and recruited them to staff key managerial and administrative positions in the corporate hierarchy. Liu Hongsheng, the founder and manager of China Match, manipulated a remarkable variety of social networks and business connections from 1900 to 1920 to build a hierarchical corporate empire, staffed by managers who were neither kin nor native place associates. He created tightly controlled corporate structures in various regional settings, some of which met with considerable success in the control of labor, and he was also able to organize Western, Japanese, and Chinese match companies first into a cartel, then a monopoly, to counter the effects of intense competition during the Nationalist period. Ironically, his sons reversed this approach, returning to family-based management in the mid-1930s.

Cochran's book shows that all six companies examined in this study experimented with a range of organizational structures and strategies to create strong, profitable enterprises. Their approaches combined corporate hierarchy and social networks in a variety of ways, and these combinations changed and evolved over time in response to changing conditions. His conclusions caution against overgeneralization of discrete findings and plead for greater scholarly focus on the local, the unique, and the evolution of business practices over time. One might say that Cochran has shown that, like politics, all business is "local" and constantly changing.

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JUDITH SHAPIRO. *Mao's War against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China*. (Studies in Environment and History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 287. Cloth \$59.95, paper \$18.95.

In this readable volume, Judith Shapiro revisits the well-trodden terrain of Mao-era China to highlight the

political causes of environmental damages of that era. Whereas others such as Vaclav Smil have provided excellent overviews of Mao-era environmental issues, Shapiro pays special attention to the environmental costs, both intended and unintended, of various political campaigns that characterized the period. As the book's title suggests, Shapiro reminds us that the political violence raged side by side with violence against nature.

Shapiro uses four themes to organize her arguments and highlights one theme each in successive chapters to put into relief the impact of each theme on environmental degradation during the Mao era. Chapter one focuses on the silencing of original thinkers during the 1957 Anti-Rightist Campaign. Shapiro first offers us the familiar story of Ma Yinchu, a Columbia University-trained economist who warned of the dangers of rapid population growth. She then discusses the case of Huang Wanli, a hydraulic engineer who argued against the construction of the Sanmenxia Dam on the Yellow River on Soviet models. Because they had spoken truth to despotic power, Ma and Huang, along with tens of thousands of others, were silenced and subjected to years of persecution. The Chinese leadership's failure to heed these honest views led to the adoption of policies with grave consequences: overpopulation in one case and ill-fated dams in the other.

Chapter two retells the story of the Great Leap Forward, in which Mao Zedong and his colleagues mobilized the people in a utopian frenzy to catch up with the developed West, only to plunge the country into the worst famine in human history. In this millennial drive to modernize, enthusiastic campaigns displaced rational development and nature became the target. While farmers were rushed into ever larger collective organizations, they were unleashed to undertake massive water conservancy projects and to pursue deep and close planting and other ill-conceived schemes that, contrary to expectations, served to degrade land quality and reduce yields. Meanwhile, the nationwide pursuit of iron and steel smelting in primitive backyard furnaces had the unintended consequence of denuding the countryside of trees and shrubs.

The severity of the Great Leap Famine produced a lasting preoccupation with grain security among both elite and masses. Even today, this preoccupation is evident in the mammoth amount of grain the Chinese government keeps in storage. In the post-famine search for grain self-sufficiency, Dazhai, a village that turned hills into grain fields, was discovered and by 1964 became a national model for emulation, especially during the Cultural Revolution decade. Unfortunately, as Shapiro relates in chapter three, the campaign to learn from Dazhai led to much land reclamation from lakes, wetlands, and forests. Similarly, the relocation of large numbers of factories to the interior under the Third Front program, an initiative prompted by China's worsening strategic environment, and the dispatch of millions of so-called edu-



cated youths “up to the mountains and down to the countryside,” two topics covered in chapter four, also wreaked havoc on China’s ecological balance.

Shapiro explains “Mao’s war against nature” by invoking practically every factor from Confucian values to Soviet influence. In comparison with international developments, she also concludes that the Mao era was both unique and “an extreme and revealing example of a general pattern” (p. 201). Such analytical catholicity makes it difficult for the reader to pin down the author’s argument. Sometimes one is confused by the text. For example, the author writes that “The Mao-era effort to conquer nature can . . . be understood as an extreme form of a philosophical and behavioral tendency that has roots in traditional Confucian culture” (p. 9). On the same page, however, she states that “the relationship between humans and nature during the Mao era was distinctive in Chinese history. Maoism rejected both Chinese tradition and modern Western science.” There is also a lapse in the bibliography (p. 256), where T. B. Malthus appears as the author of various Mao collections.

All in all, Shapiro has woven together aspects of Mao-era developments to provide us a vivid narrative, spiced with interviews and excerpts from various Chinese reportage literature, from the perspective of environmental costs. This important volume offers food for thought for those concerned about China’s environmental past and future and the broader connections between humans and nature.

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WESLEY SASAKI-UEMURA. *Organizing the Spontaneous: Citizen Protest in Postwar Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 293. \$27.95.

In this work, Wesley Sasaki-Uemura interprets the political and social significance of the AMPO demonstrations of 1960, a series of massive protests against the Japanese government’s renewal of the U.S.-Japan Security Treaty (AMPO). His aim is to explore AMPO’s origins and trace the lasting changes domestic protest engendered. Taking a bottom-up perspective, he eschews any discussion of state-to-state international politics, party rivalries within Japan, or the organized student movement. He instead concentrates on loosely organized “citizens’ movements” and what their involvement in AMPO can tell us about Japan’s modern political culture.

Sasaki-Uemura succeeds admirably in providing informative case studies of four small antirenewal groups and in conveying the typically amorphous and fractured character of their activities. He also accurately describes a popular postwar concern for preserving new democratic institutions and practices. He makes a case for understanding the AMPO protests as a rejection of strongman politics, remilitarization, and a return to “fascism.” This is a perfectly reasonable assessment, but in places one so narrowly focused on

postwar developments that it ignores prewar antecedents for the “democratic” movements and popular organizations that emerged after 1945.

What Sasaki-Uemura does well is to depict how and why members of the Mountain Range, the Poets of Ōi, the Grass Seeds, and the Voiceless Voices became engaged in the anti-security treaty movement. As the names suggest, the four did not make up a homogeneous collection of permanently organized protest groups. In fact, they worked more apart than together and involved different constituents. They were also “spontaneous” in being voluntarily self-organized and not orbiting around a specific preexisting ideology (for example, Marxism).

What these poetry-writing laborers, women activists, and tipling amateur journalists specifically shared was their opposition to the treaty’s renewal. Beyond this common enemy, they were loosely united in their general suspicions about established politics and parties, casting a pox on both the doctrinaire Left as well as the repressive Right. They also endorsed a diffuse antiwar stand and embraced “democracy,” albeit democracy as praxis or poetry instead of abstruse theory.

The description of these groups is a valuable contribution. By demonstrating popular grass-roots political participation, whether evanescent or enduring, Sasaki-Uemura provides portraits that belie the stereotypes of uniformity, passivity, and extreme materialism used so often in depicting postwar Japanese people. The only weakness in his case studies is that each chapter seems more free standing than integrated with its companions. This may in fact accurately reflect the loosely jointed character of the AMPO movement. If so, I wonder if these disparate groups really merit discussion as a collective phenomenon.

In focusing so exclusively on these small—organized (or intentionally underorganized) associations, Sasaki-Uemura also risks substituting new stereotypes for old. How representative are these groups? Do they stand for an “AMPO generation,” not just demographically but in terms of political and cultural values? How can group motives be determined? Was their collective role really more significant than that of organized parties or student groups during the protests? These were just a few of the questions that go begging in this study. One issue that relates to all of them is the author’s argument that postwar popular protest is somehow novel.

Early in this work, Sasaki-Uemura talks about the “new citizen ethos” and the “AMPO generation.” Yet examples of the attributes of this new generation can be found in the prewar period: for example in the 1918 “rice riots,” as well as popular protests before the Meiji era (pre-1868). The author acknowledges this by briefly mentioning prewar “citizens rallies” late in his narrative. But the point deserves greater attention because it rattles this study’s generational framework. It suggests that the author’s case studies, his groups’ tenets, and their methods of protest are not distinctive



products of postwar Japan but are rooted in a much longer and more complex tradition.

Conversely, one would expect the AMPO generation's trajectory to be evident in enduring social or culture changes since 1960. But I was left wondering what the citizens groups achieved. The Mutual Security Treaty was renewed; Prime Minister Kishi resigned, but he was probably going to do that anyway; the AMPO years gave way to a return to boss politics à la Tanaka Kakuei and the Lockheed Scandals; and the Japanese government continued to follow the U.S. lead in foreign policy. Japan's government adhered to the containment strategy for another decade and changed only when it became clear that the United States would make overtures to renew relations with China. There may have been and still may be a sense of shared experience and emotional belonging among those who participated in the AMPO protests, although I suspect a bit of mass mind reading where Sasaki-Uemura once more tells how whole groups of people "felt." Yet, even if the shared feelings live on, looking around Japan today one is hard pressed to find obvious signs of an enduring AMPO-generated "democracy" or political engagement.

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TIANA NORGREN. *Abortion before Birth Control: The Politics of Reproduction in Postwar Japan*. (Studies of the East Asian Institute.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 242. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$17.95.

In 1999, the Japanese Ministry for Health and Welfare finally approved the pill for contraceptive purposes. In his 1983 study, *Family Planning in Japanese Society: Traditional Birth Control in a Modern Urban Culture*, Samuel J. Coleman tried to explain the apparent anomaly of continued use of contraceptive technology from the 1930s in ultramodern Japan. Nearly twenty years later, Tiana Norgren is also concerned to make sense of this contradiction and, in particular, to explain why the Japanese government has put "abortion before birth control."

Coleman, an anthropologist, pointed to political and economic factors but explored social and cultural factors more deeply to explain Japanese birth control practices. Norgren, although having a "taste for straightforward, empirically grounded political research" (p. xii), criticizes Coleman's research for lacking systematic examination of the politics surrounding abortion and contraceptive policy making. Also rejecting religious explanations of abortion policy and practices by William R. LaFleur and Irene B. Taeuber, Norgren squarely focuses her study on explicating the roles of bureaucrats and politicians and, in contrast to most of the literature on Japanese politics, argues for the importance of interest groups in policy making.

The result is a thorough history of the shifting historical circumstances and interest-group configura-

tions that have affected birth control policies since World War II. During the late 1940s, the circumstances of total defeat and widespread concern about overpopulation and poverty brought doctors' professional and financial interests into alignment with political leaders' national interest. The Japan Medical Association exercised its powerful lobbying influence to push through the Eugenic Protection Law (Yūsei Hō) and subsequent amendments that gave designated doctors a monopoly over performing lucrative abortions, but also gave Japanese women access to abortion more or less on demand.

During the next four decades, attempts to revise the law galvanized both old and new interest groups, including doctors, family planners, religious organizations (notably the anti-abortion Seichō no Ie), feminist and nonfeminist women, and the handicapped. In the late 1960s and 1970s and again in the 1980s, Seichō no Ie battled the doctors group, but its revision attempts unintentionally gave rise to previously quiescent women's groups as well as a previously nonexistent handicapped people's movement who introduced new vocabulary and new issues of women's reproductive rights and handicapped people's right to life into the debates. Left-wing feminist groups and the handicapped movement initiated a third revision campaign that eventually eliminated the eugenic component of the law in 1996, but that, in different ways, disappointed all interested groups.

Norgren traces the interaction between these debates and confrontations over abortion and policy making on the pill. Her focus on interest groups supports Coleman's view that the doctors' lobby was initially the most significant factor influencing the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) to withhold approval of the pill. The medical association publicly questioned the pill's safety, but its "real concern" was that the pill might reduce demand for abortions. Similarly, family planning organizations opposed the pill because most of their income derived from condom and diaphragm sales. During the 1970s, women's groups began to demand reproductive rights but mobilized to block revision of the Eugenic Protection Law rather than to promote approval of the pill, fearing it might lead to restrictions on abortion.

When Norgren analyzes policy making on the pill in the 1980s and 1990s, however, the importance of interest groups declines. The medical association, family planners, and women's groups reversed their positions to favor approval of the pill, but MHW officials proved immune to their influence. The institutional structure and procedures related to drug approval insulated the bureaucracy from interest group pressure. Only in 1999 was the MHW finally shamed into approval by public outcry at its excessively hasty approval of Viagra, which had exposed bureaucrats as "elderly men willing to license a pill for their own benefit, but who seem scared of giving young women control over their fertility and sexuality" (Norgren quoting a journalist, p. 130).

Consequently, while Norgren's emphasis on interest groups in abortion policy making undermines the pervasive but overly simplistic image of powerful bureaucrats and weak citizens' groups in Japanese politics, it cannot completely explain contraceptive policy during the 1980s and 1990s. But historical developments do not have single explanatory factors, as Norgren also understands. The politics of the pill reveals the complexity of relationships between state and society. Examination of institutional structures remains significant, and we also need analysis of social or cultural factors, such as views of gender roles and sexuality and the media's role in their perpetuation or change, to understand the politics of reproduction in contemporary Japan.

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SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM. *Penumbral Visions: Making Politics in Early Modern South India*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 295. \$49.50.

Sanjay Subrahmanyam begins this collection of inter-linked articles centering on early modern South India by contrasting the ease of Hernán Cortez's conquest of the whole of Mexico in 1519–1521 with the limited, largely coastal presence of the Portuguese in India throughout the sixteenth century. After the founding of the English East India Company in 1600, it, too, was largely limited to small coastal enclaves. The rupture of this pattern did not occur until the second half of the eighteenth century, nearly 300 years after the Portuguese naval arrival. Observes Subrahmanyam, Wallersteinians may see this as "a mere matter of detail" in the inevitable march toward the "integration of South Asia into the 'European World Economy,'" but the fact remains that the roles Europeans played determining the course of events during these centuries are open to question (p. 3). He writes, "It is for this reason that it is necessary to examine with some attention the nature of the politics that were formed in this period, and to study their morphology and the logic of change therein, casting one's regard not merely at the 'indigenous' sources of the epoch, but also at the materials produced by the Europeans, and preserved today in scattered collections" (p. 4).

Subrahmanyam's particular concerns are the relatively unexamined early modern Hindu and Muslim polities south of the Vindhya Mountains: the Vijayanagar Empire, Wodeyar Mysore, the Marathas and Nayakar of Senji and Tanjavur, the Nawabi of Arcot, to a lesser degree Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan, and the great, sometimes determining Mughal suzerainty at their northern edge. Unlike the much-studied Mughals, these polities left few bureaucratic records from which to deduce their structures, processes, and transformations. His sources are multilingual: Sanskrit, Telugu, Tamil, Marathi, Persian, Portuguese, Dutch,

English, German, and French. They consist of chroniclers, a king-playwright, missionaries, diarists, merchants, the literate spectators of the day. These, then, are penumbral visions—not focused directly on the technical business of governing.

Although the central chapters of the book are slightly revised republications, they integrate well together, progressing from focused examinations of aspects of particular states to broader, comparative explorations that suggest how Indian leaders and the European companies interacted, producing and transforming the region's political economy and social cultural order. The book begins with Tirupati, the wealthiest of south Indian pilgrimage sites, to explore not only the tensions that existed between states and this religious center, but also the development of European knowledge about India. Chapter three focuses on Wodeyar Mysore warfare and finance and is perhaps the most oblique of this set of visions, based largely on the writing of long-resident Portuguese Jesuits. Chapter four is a superb exploration of the politics and commerce of Sa'adatullah Khan's early Arcot state. Maratha Thanjavur's financial struggles are the subject of chapter five, demonstrating that the financial woes of the state were not due to decadence and mismanagement but to revenue structure and level of expenditures. The British later failed to increase revenues. Vijayanagara and Arcot are the focus of chapter six. Seven discusses the society of these early modern states, again exploring urban Thanjavur and the craft of social history. The book concludes with the state of history making and a reorienting comparison with Southeast Asia, another, affiliated region neglected by historians of the state.

An argument extending through this collection is how the European trading companies may well have starved these southern polities of important trade and tax revenues, weakening them and reducing regional prosperity, which in turn undermined the profitability of the companies. Thus, Sa'adatullah Khan, the Arcot ruler, attempted to establish a coastal trading center, but by 1710 it could not compete with the entrenched European trading enclaves that saturated the Coromandel Coast. The attempts of Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan to drive out the English and gain access to the coast conclude the era. The European companies and, in the final stages, the English East India Company had garroted the goose.

The book is engaging reading. Subrahmanyam is dismissive of grand theorists who avoid archives lest historical data hinder their imaginations. Similarly, he is critical of those who see authenticity only in Indian texts, a self-inflicted blindness to the data European-language texts contain. Through his close readings, Subrahmanyam reveals a dynamic, changing world of individuals and of agency. The book, then, is a final reproof to anyone who might still see precolonial India as an unchanging society needing colonialism to intro-

duce it to modernity. Early modern south India had its own dynamics.

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TIRTHANKAR ROY. *Traditional Industry in the Economy of Colonial India*. (Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society, number 5.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 252. \$64.95.

This impressively researched book by Tirthankar Roy perhaps drives the last nail into the coffin of the old nationalist, and sometimes Marxist, assumption that artisanal industries of precolonial India were dealt a death blow in the colonial period when British rule created a market for industrial goods that were either imported or manufactured locally. Roy does not dispute the view that "economic contact between India and industrializing Europe had both a destructive and a creative impact on Indian industry." A long line of economic historians, from Daniel Thorner to A. K. Bagchi, and scores of nationalist writers before them have, however, "tended to overemphasize" the destructive aspect. Roy, in contrast, considers "the creative impact the more important" (p. 3), for colonial rule also resulted in the creation of long-distance markets for artisanal products both inside and outside the country. He seeks to demonstrate with detailed case studies how artisanal industries often survived and adapted to the challenges of long-distance trade and increased competition by making changes internal to their organization and management practices and by utilizing economic, technological, and informational advantages available to them. Unlike the theorists of underdevelopment, then, Roy does not propose any fundamental dissimilarities between the roles played by "traditional industries" in the histories of industrialization in the metropole and the colony. The South Asian story, according to him, belongs to a "larger narrative" of industrialization: "That long-distance trade could transform artisanal enterprise in ways that might enable the latter to raise productivity is a theme common to early industrialization in Europe, and late industrialization in Japan" (p. 8). His approach is a welcome corrective to some of the received views on the history of Indian economy under British rule, but, as we shall see, it is not without its own blind spots.

The core of the book is made up of five chapters (chapters three through seven) that focus on individual artisanal industries. The proponents of the "de-industrialization" thesis have often in the past concentrated on the "distress of the Indian textile artisan facing competition from British cloth and yarn in the nineteenth century" (p. 5; also p. 13). Roy, therefore, rightly begins with the case of "handloom weaving" and goes on to look in detail at the fortunes of four other "traditional" industries under colonial rule: gold thread (*jari*), brassware, leather, and carpets. Each chapter emphasizes the themes of "market extension"

and the organizational changes that followed from it. It is difficult to summarize in the space of this short review the specific conclusions Roy reaches at the end of each of his historical surveys. In clear prose supported by painstaking research, he unravels the complex history of each industry. None of them is a story of wholesale disaster. Most of these industries come across as segmented, and while particular segments suffered in the context of the competition and changes brought about by British rule, there were also segments that reorganized and joined the process of capitalist industrialization. Thus weavers of coarse cloths faced limited opportunities, but those weaving fine cotton and silk benefited from long-distance trade and produced capitalists from within their ranks. "European thread destroyed *jari* manufacture in a large number of . . . towns" between the 1880s and the 1920s (p. 126), yet Surat and Benares survived, the former even managing to compete in nonlocal markets. In brassware, too, the picture was differentiated. There was a decline in the artistic quality of the wares that came from Benares and Moradabad (p. 140). Groups manufacturing "the simpler products of Bengal" relocated in towns (p. 136), but Moradabad eventually produced a new generation of market-responsive entrepreneurs (pp. 142–54). The production of leather goods and carpets similarly underwent major organizational changes as they developed export markets. Social historians of caste mobility and politics in the twentieth century will be particularly interested in the chapter on leather, the production of which involved the lowest of the low in Indian society. Roy documents how, for these groups, a growing export market opened up "avenues of mobility which society previously denied them" (p. 157).

Roy's methods, however, have their limitations. I have space to mention only a major one. Having said that artisanal industries responded to expanding markets in pretty much the same way as they did in the case of Europe and Japan, Roy is left with the question of why, then, India did not undergo an industrial revolution similar to the ones in these other areas. One of his answers—that an "activist state" would have helped (pp. 58–59)—actually indicates a major area of unacknowledged agreement with the nationalist-Marxist historians to whom he seems otherwise opposed. His second answer—that "cultural backwardness" contributed to "economic backwardness" in India (p. 60 n. 111)—will leave many cultural historians and anthropologists profoundly unhappy.

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PETER L. SCHMITTHENNER. *Telugu Resurgence: C. P. Brown and Cultural Consolidation in Nineteenth-Century South India*. New Delhi: Manohar; distributed by South Asia Books, Columbia, Mo. 2001. Pp. 324. \$27.50.

This study of Charles Philip Brown (1798–1884) constitutes a welcome addition to the growing literature on South Indian colonial history and cultural identity formation. Little known in Euro-American academic circles but celebrated among the Telugu speakers whose language and literatures he studied, Brown played a pivotal role in the creation of a uniquely Telugu identity that culminated in the formation of the state of Andhra Pradesh in 1956. Peter L. Schmitthenner argues that Brown's focus on non-elite forms of Telugu expression in particular contributed to a new sense of Telugu identity, demonstrating the many ways in which "Orientalism" was "a collaborative effort between Europeans and Indians" (p. 33).

Using a wide range of sources in English and Telugu, Schmitthenner traces Brown's life from early childhood through long government service in southern India and eventual retirement to England. Schmitthenner focuses throughout on Brown's work in Telugu, from his pioneering efforts to preserve historical and literary manuscripts and support the composition of indigenous Christian works to the compilation of his many dictionaries and grammars. What emerges is a portrait of a complex and difficult man whose lackluster official performance and maverick intellectual pursuits often set Brown at odds with his administrative superiors, fellow Indologists, and Telugu-speaking assistants. Indeed, Brown's role in the formation of modern Telugu cultural identity would become clear only after his death. In the early twentieth century, advocates of the "Modern Telugu Movement" turned to Brown's publications for examples of colloquial composition accessible to a wider Telugu-speaking audience (pp. 221–22). Telugu modernists and traditionalists alike looked to Brown's formidable collection of historical manuscripts housed in Madras, in the decades after his death, to construct and preserve their cultural heritage (p. 173). Schmitthenner concludes that Brown "became a symbol of both the traditional and modern elements which made up" modern Telugu identity (p. 282).

There is much to recommend this careful and detailed study of Brown's contribution to the emergence of a regional Indian cultural identity. Schmitthenner's research is painstaking, and both his careful examination of Brown's unpublished writings and thoughtful response to Brown's Telugu biographers bring to light material never before examined in English. Brown's work is carefully, if briefly, placed in the wider context of nineteenth-century constructions of regional identities in Tamil and Bengali-speaking regions.

Yet Schmitthenner's work also raises a number of important issues that remain unexplored. Chief among these is the nature of Telugu participation in the "collaborative effort" (p. 33) of cultural identity construction. In what purports to be a study of the "interplay between Western and indigenous voices" (p. 12), those "indigenous voices" are rarely heard. The Telugu collaborators with whom Brown worked and often disagreed remain largely mute, their particulars

relegated to footnotes or subsumed under collectives such as "the Brahmins." Only one Telugu contemporary of Brown's—Paravastu Cinnaya Sūri (1803?–1862)—merits more than a sentence or two for his classicist literary compositions and their inherent opposition to Brown's program of modernizing Telugu literary forms (pp. 190–91). Even if little historical information exists concerning the Telugus with whom Brown interacted, their very presence warrants a more detailed examination in order to render them full participants in the "interplay" of European and Telugu intellectual discourses. Did all Telugu-speaking Brahmins, for example, share the attitudes expressed second-hand in Brown's writings?

A related series of questions concerns the notion of "cultural consolidation" alluded to throughout the work. While the notion of "consolidation" implies a Telugu-language culture scattered among communities, waiting for someone like Brown to make the "esoteric" more "exoteric" (p. 32), Schmitthenner also makes reference to the "constructing" (p. 173) of Telugu identity. Is "culture" not actively created and recreated by self-conscious agents of varying motivations and agendas? If so, then what precisely was Brown's role in such an actively participatory process?

Finally, given Schmitthenner's contention that Brown's work renders Edward Said's "uni-directional" (p. 285) presentation of Orientalism more complex, one would have expected more discussion of the nearly twenty-five years of scholarly response to Said's initial formulation. The range of studies that have critiqued Said's "uni-directionalism," from within the academics of both colonizer and colonized, is broad and deep, and closer attention to such work would have placed this project in the context of wider scholarly discussions of culture, identity formation, and linguistic nationalism.

Despite these shortcomings, Schmitthenner's study sheds interesting light on a corner of South Indian history thus far little explored, and as such it marks a significant contribution to studies of regional cultures in South Asia.

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SUBRATA DASGUPTA. *Jagadis Chandra Bose and the Indian Response to Western Science*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 309. \$29.95.

Jagadis Chandra Bose has been a mythical figure for the people of India in general and the Bengalis in particular. A whole generation has been fed on the heroic efforts of this first modern Indian scientist who struggled to retrieve and revive the lost glory of Indian scientific tradition. While at the popular level he has been a cult figure (for his "discovery" of radio telegraphy), for social analysts Bose was "a lapsed scientist and half-forgotten mystic."

Subrata Dasgupta's book is perhaps the first critical account of successes and failures of this pioneering



scientist of modern India. It is critical to the extent that it places Bose's achievements and failures as a scientist and human being under larger public scrutiny. The public scrutiny of the making of a scientist and scientific institution further submerges into the broader discipline of the social history of science. Although a large part of the book is focused on the internal history of the making of Bose's ideas as a physicist and plant biologist, the narrative is simple and replete with anecdotes that make it engaging reading.

Bose is situated at a critical juncture in the history of institutional science and scientific ethos. The late nineteenth century is known for the emergence of science as a professional activity. It was an age when the terms for the state's support for science were being settled, when science entered into the public domain and scientists competed with each other to earn recognition. Collectively, they acted as a strong pressure group to mobilize the resources of the state for public welfare, especially in the domains of health, education, and infrastructure. But professionalism also corrupted the working environment. Humility, modesty, decency, and mutual respect were overshadowed by plagiarism, secretiveness, and falsification of results and reports. Dasgupta reproduces some of the interesting as well as saddening episodes from Bose's correspondence, episodes that mirror the tension and disputes associated with the job, moments of happiness and frustration, triumph and defeat.

A large part of the book (five out of eight chapters) is devoted to Bose's creativity and his migration from pure physics to plant sciences. However, a student of the social history of science also will be enlightened on general issues like the making of a scientific genius under the compelling demands of colonialism, Bose's links with the scientific community in general and his European peers in particular, and the constraints imposed and opportunities offered by the colonial status of his country.

The highlight of the book is the struggle of a native genius to claim a place in the hierarchy of professional science and to restore the lost glory of a nation that was believed to have lost its contact with creative thinking. For Bose and many of his contemporaries, knowledge and glory were inextricably entwined with the Indian past. Bose's experiments with metals and plants were a vindication of his interpretation of ancient Indian wisdom. Rabindranath Tagore's interest in Bose's scientific pursuits derived chiefly from the fact that India's prestige as a source of human knowledge was at stake. Vivekananda remembered him as a "renowned," "heroic" Bengali and Indian who had "charmed" a Western audience by the force of his genius and had "infused new life into the half-dead body of the Motherland" (p. 110). But Bose was far more than a revivalist. His approach to science and scientific research was pragmatic. He believed that the prosperity of Britain was largely an outcome of the activities of men of science and the practical application of scientific knowledge. Echoing the Baconian

principles of utilitarian science, Bose declared that the country had to enter into and excel in the world of practical, competitive affairs by way of education and in industry, commerce, and civic life. He knew that what India needed was not a few individual scientists but the revival of a lost tradition, a whole institutional framework of scientific research.

Creation of a research institute, as Bose might have realized, was more strident than the discovery of radio telegraphy. It required a master strategist to negotiate with the reluctant bureaucracy, over-cautious political masters, and less than sympathetic scientists of the day. Bose's negotiations, his use of scientific opinion in his favor, and his emotional appeals to Indian promoters like Tagore all make this book an interesting yet a cautionary reminder of the fact that success in science does not come by chance alone.

The book would have benefited from a more rigorous sociopsychological analysis of the hierarchical and cross-cultural relations in science that also run through the text. Still, it is a valuable contribution to the social history of science and scientific institutions at one level and a revealing commentary on the colonial constraints on creative thinking on the other.

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SAYED WIQAR ALI SHAH. *Ethnicity, Islam and Nationalism: Muslim Politics in the North-West Frontier Province 1937-1947*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. liv, 311. \$32.00.

More than a half century after their creation, the enmity between a Hindu India and a Muslim Pakistan seems inevitable. History is, of course, the product of a far more complex mixing of intention and chance. Syed Wiqar Ali Shah's book serves as a reminder of that complexity to those who are convinced of the simple verity of the proposition stated in the first sentence of this review. The work addresses the dominance in the Muslim-majority Northwest Frontier Province (the "Afghanistan" that provided the "A" in Rehmat Ali Chaudhry's neologism: Pakistan) of a party allied to the mainly Hindu Congress Party almost to the moment of partition. In its attempt to illuminate local political developments, this book should be read along with David Gilmartin's *Empire and Islam: Punjab and the Making of Pakistan* (1988) as well as Sarah Ansari's *Sufi Saints and State Power: The Pirs of Sind, 1843-1947* (1992). The three, taken together, provide a highly textured view of the interplay of ideology and local politics in the creation of what was in 1947 the world's biggest Muslim state.

The Northwest Frontier Province was one of Lord Curzon's viceregal measures that had some enduring consequences. In 1902, he ordered that five districts of the Punjab that had significant peasant populations be joined to five Tribal Agencies that lay on the frontier



with Afghanistan. The new province had one major urban center: Peshawar, as well as other smaller cities. The population was ninety-three percent Muslim and dominated by an ethnic group the British called "Pathans," a deformation of the indigenous terms *Pashtun* or *Pakhtun*. Under the Government of India Act of 1935, the Northwest Frontier Province (NWFP) acquired limited popular participation in local government. Elections on a comparatively tiny franchise returned a provincial government ruled by the Khudai Khidmatgar (Servants of God) party. Two brothers, Abd al-Ghaffar Khan and his sibling, Dr. Khan Sahib, were the most visible leaders of the organization. They had particularly close personal ties with Mohandas K. Gandhi and Jawarhalal Nehru.

Khudai Khidmatgar began as a social uplift movement. Members preached against the Pathans' affection for blood feuds and intrafamily rivalry. They encouraged the flowering of *Pakhturi* literature and called for the education of women. In such things, the group closely resembled organizations all over British India. Shah argues, however, that the Pathans possessed a unique sense of identity, and that gave the Khudai Khidmatgar a distinctive political stance. They were, for instance, unflinchingly anti-British. Almost every other nationalist leader had collaborated with the imperialists, but, as with all good Pathans, not the brothers Khan. Because of their ethnic heritage, the Khan brothers could stay attached to Congress while resisting the blandishments of Muhammed Ali Jinnah and the Muslim League. Likewise, because Pathans had a firmer sense of belonging to Dar al Islam, that made them eschew any alarmism about "Islam in Danger." According to this study, Jinnah and the League dragged a reluctant NWFP into Pakistan and thereby laid the foundations for the *Pakhtun* separatism that for decades challenged state unity of the Land of the Pure.

While Shah has access to materials in the Pashtu and Urdu languages, his work relies—perhaps too much—on the usual range of British government documents. The files of NWFP's Confidential Investigation Department (CID) provide him with a lot of detail. If nothing else, the work demonstrates how hard British officials worked against the Khudai Khidmatgars. The police, for instance, called them "Red Shirts" in an effort to vilify them as communists. In truth, the organization had instructed its members to dye their shirts and trousers with the cheapest stuff available in the market. That turned out to be a brown with a tendency to fade rapidly. This book might have devoted more attention to issues like the economic base of the Khudai Khidmatgar movement. While many pages are devoted to a comparatively stale consideration of how the Khan brothers and their opponents behaved in the Provincial Assembly, peasant rent strikes as well as women's participation in them are treated in passing.

Historians of South Asia in the final years of the Raj will want to read Shah's book for what it contains

about the government of the NWFP in the 1937–1947 period. Consulting the works of Gilmartin and Ansari will provide them with a sense of what Shah might have done differently. A synoptic reading of all three will let students discover ways of providing a social history of the NWFP that expands on the solid political history presented in this book.

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VIJAY PRASHAD. *Untouchable Freedom: A Social History of a Dalit Community*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xx, 176. \$23.95.

Given issues of social justice in India, a book on the social history of an Indian Untouchable or Dalit community is welcome. Although Dalit social reforms, party politics, and politics surrounding Dalit voices are now receiving increasing attention, we still lack reliable historical and social profiles of major local Dalit communities' arduous struggles. Today, politically contentious news stories as well as polemical social commentaries and ideological criticisms often fire up protagonists of "Dalit emancipation," relegating grassroots studies of Dalit experience to the margins. This book by Vijay Prashad specifically promises to address these neglected aspects but, alas, does not fully deliver.

The volume concerns the Balmikis, mainly of Delhi, and of Patiala and Jalandhar (in Punjab), and of Dehradun and Meerut (in predivided Uttar Pradesh). As a multisited historical and cultural study, the account relies on both historical and anthropological data, with emphasis on the historical. Prashad conducted fieldwork on Balmikis for over two years between 1992 and 1996, collecting "stories" and "a trove of documents held by elders." The author's distinct presentational concerns were "the necessity to be sincere as I put my findings down on paper," with influence of "a phalanx of Marxists who helped keep me honest" (p. v).

The book, first, tracing social history of Balmikis from the 1860s to the present, is mostly about "the patron-client relationship between the class of municipal administrators (including the Jamadars) and the Balmikis as manual sweepers" in Delhi (p. xvii). By interrelating this community's social and occupational changes, from British rule to the present (and vice versa), Prashad constructs aspects of "Balmiki consciousness." Second, the study presents social pressures exerted on—and by—the Balmikis, "particularly in terms of the institutional and ideological incorporation of these dalits into the maelstrom of militant Hinduism" (p. xv). This social struggle is related in six chapters, called sequentially "Mehtars," "Chuhars," "Sweepers," "Balmikis," "Harijans," and "Citizens." The rationale for this particular organization of contents is hardly explained, however, nor is the structure of the overall argument of the book. The book sorely needed a much better introduction and better editing.

The Balmikis, still living in "sweepers colonies," face

their rural (caste-based) past while co-opting or countering upper-caste dominance and militant Hinduism and selectively aligning with Muslims. This they do to maximize their position within Indian democracy. These interwoven historical, social, and political interests are central to the book's six chapters. Thus, if Balmikis historically remained "sweepers in perpetuum," they also acquired diverse occupations in both agrarian and nonagrarian sectors, and they frequently protested and entered power coalitions and conflicts (e.g. see Chudras). Once in the city, however, sweeping not only became Balmikis' predominant occupation, but the technology of urban sanitation, particularly in Delhi during the British period and beyond, was so structured that they were held back to manual sweeping rather than being emancipated (chapter three). The longest discussion in chapter four focuses on the Balmikis' complicated reliance on major religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Sikhism, and Islam) to better their social lot. But the results have been uneven. In a Marxian vein, we are told, "The Balmikis, whatever their tactical sacrifices (in the light of the militant Hindu intervention), continue to be sustained by the vitality of the social contradictions which oppress them" (p. 111). The next two chapters address Mohandas K. Gandhi, "Harijans," Indian independence, B. R. Ambedkar, and numerous government reform commissions and committees, and, again, Balmikis are found to face only a vicious occupational and religious labyrinth. Thus, "paradoxically, in their desire to be treated as humans, the sweepers found solace in the institutions which sought to retain their monopoly over sanitation work" (p. 134).

Many interesting initiatives emerged for the emancipation of Dalits between the 1950s and the 1990s, as Prashad's discussion shows. But, again, their progress has been limited because Dalits lacked selfless leadership and social unity (epilogue). In the author's words, "[dalithood] has to be struggled for as part of the class struggle which continues to define our modern world" (p. 169). Unfortunately, such Marxian conclusions, sprinkled hither thither without a sustained overall argument, often distract the reader more than they help.

Although Prashad's book scatters opportunities to provide a full and conceptually cohesive picture of the Balmikis, it nevertheless contains some original historical and social data, accompanied by acute social and political observations on an important north Indian Dalit community.

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#### CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

CLAUDE GÉLINAS. *La Gestion de l'étranger: Les Atikamekw et la présence eurocanadienne en Haute-Mauricie 1760-1870*. Sillery: Septentrion. 2000. Pp. 378. \$29.95.

Contacts between French and indigenous peoples occupy a deservedly prominent place in the historiography of seventeenth-century New France. However, relatively little work has been published on the relations between indigenous peoples and Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries for the region of the St. Lawrence Valley. Claude Gélina's work thus makes a very useful contribution, even if the findings of this study of the Atikamekw of the Upper St. Maurice Valley cannot be extrapolated to other larger aboriginal groups that lived in closer proximity to Eurocanadians. Through a detailed ethnography of the small population of Cree-speaking Atikamekw, Gélina examines the impact of Eurocanadian trade and missionary activity on a dispersed and isolated group in the period after the end of French rule.

The Atikamekw ("*Têtes de Boule*," as they were sometimes described in sources of the period) never comprised more than 250 people, and they occupied a territory of some 31,500 square kilometers of boreal forest. Nomadic and patrilocal, the Atikamekw normally comprised hunting groups of ten to fifteen individuals, primarily hunting large game animals like moose and bear. The Atikamekw's early contacts with Europeans likely date back to the early sixteenth century. Nonetheless, the distance from the St. Lawrence meant that these contacts remained limited. In the period covered by this book, the main types of interaction between Europeans and Atikamekw lay in the fur trade and in religious encounters. Gélina refers to this interaction as "the management of the stranger," though of course the archival sources reflect Eurocanadian approaches to the Atikamekw more readily than they do the reverse. Nonetheless, the small scale of the population permits the author to make some intriguing points. For instance, by following individual traders in their dealings with two rival fur-trading companies (the Hudson's Bay Company and the lessees of the King's Posts), Gélina is able to show how individuals could play one post against another. The companies' attempts to control the indigenous traders through credit were not entirely successful.

The author identifies two subperiods. The first, from 1760 to 1831, was typified by the establishment of the first trading posts and the consequent trade competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. The fur trade posts encouraged the division of the Atikamekw into two main bands, based around Weymontachie and Obedjiwan. The two fur trading companies merged in 1821, although the King's Posts Company later occupied some of the economic space vacated by the North West Company. By 1831, the Hudson's Bay Company had acquired the lease of the King's Posts, and a period of quasimonopoly began. From 1831 to 1870, the Atikamekw dealt with one main trading company at the same time that Catholic missionaries began to arrive in larger numbers. The presence of trading posts in the region had earlier obviated the need for the Atikamekw to

have more sustained contact with larger groups of Christians, as the indigenous traders did not need to travel far to sell furs. But each summer from 1837, secular Catholic priests visited, and from 1847 the Oblates assumed a more permanent presence. Many Atikamekw adopted some aspects of Catholic Christianity, though to varying degrees of intensity, by the 1840s. Polygamy essentially disappeared, although it was in decline even before the Oblates established their missions.

By the mid-nineteenth century, a decline in the moose population led the Atikamekw to become increasingly dependent on the fur trade. Up to that time, with their distance from larger Eurocanadian settlements acting as a buffer, much of the contact with the foreigners had not imperilled their way of living. Ultimately, as elsewhere in North America, the ability of the Atikamekw to manage the foreign presence was limited. Like many indigenous people elsewhere in North America, the experience was typified by "small victories, heavy losses" (p. 19). G  linas has provided a patient and thorough analysis of the fur trade and missionary sources, and thus his book is a valuable study that recreates many key aspects of Atikamekw life in a period of sporadic and limited contact with foreigners.

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PAUL ROMNEY. *Getting it Wrong: How Canadians Forgot Their Past and Imperilled Confederation*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1999. Pp. x, 332. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.95.

This important book delivers a new, challenging view of Canada's constitutional and political history. Its main purpose is to recuperate what its author sees as a critical—but long forgotten—dimension of English-speaking Canada's political and constitutional past: its once strong concern with provincial autonomy and the compact theory of Confederation.

For much of the nineteenth century, Paul Romney argues, an orientation toward provincial rights and entitlements was foundational both to the English-speaking Canadian approach to nation-building and to the success of the nation-building enterprise itself. Rooted in the Upper Canadian reform movement's preoccupation with colonial self-government, that orientation put the most substantial part of English-speaking Canada on the same constitutional ground as the critically significant French-speaking community next door. United in support of the idea that the provinces of which British North America consisted should control their own affairs, Upper and Lower Canadian reformers—and their successors in Canada East and West and Quebec and Ontario—cooperated in a series of moves, the effect of which was to build British North America into a national community of self-governing provinces fully autonomous and sover-

eign (as they saw it) within their fields of legislative competence.

In making the English-speaking part of this powerful partnership his focus of discussion, Romney casts a new and revealing light on old and familiar subjects. English-speaking Canadian support for provincial rights receives an importance it hasn't had before; an original view of what the construction and maintenance of the Canadian state depended on is developed; the idea that Confederation was the creation of the provinces is enforced; the twentieth-century triumph of the federal power—most egregiously manifest in the 1982 decision to implement basic constitutional change without Quebec's consent—is seen in fresh ways; and the history of Canadian political culture is given a new reading. Not only do standard themes—responsible government, the shaping of Confederation, the distribution of powers, the coming of Dominion status—receive revisionist investigation; an important new subject—the triumph of "the centralist master narrative" (p. 281)—is introduced. Attributing that triumph to the combination of circumstance created by a growing concern to achieve national autonomy within the empire, to resist North American continentalism through the agency of a strong central government, and to provide services in ways appropriate to a modern, industrial state, Romney also pays attention to the role played in its realization by the thought and activity of such leading supporters of the federal power as J. S. Ewart, J. W. Dafoe, Norman Rogers, Donald Creighton, and Pierre Trudeau. The radical nature of centralism's victory—it eradicated even the memory of what it displaced—is, Romney thinks, due in no small part to the Canadian scholarship of the 1960s and 1970s. Law and political science were presentist; historians generally turned away from politics and the state; and there was not a little bad faith (and simple incompetence) as observers who did maintain an interest in matters political either failed to see, or ignored, what the record put in front of them.

Some readers may find Romney's approach to the status of historical knowledge unclear. His conviction, expressed most plainly in his title, that "right" and "wrong" versions of the past can be distinguished from one another in a sharp, objective way jostles for attention with his tendency to write history as though he were confronting his readers not with a settled, stable, certain picture of that past but with an argument about it. He writes in the first person, urges and cajoles his audience, structures his narrative in novel ways (regular departures from the chronological principle are the clearest indicators of this), and generally gives the impression that what he has produced is to be seen as positioned and rhetorical rather than final and definitive.

That difficulty aside, this book stands as a very powerful essay in political culture, constitutional history, and the dynamics of federalism. On a level with H. V. Nelles's *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (1999) and

Gerald Friesen's *Citizens and Nation: An Essay on History, Communication, and Canada* (2000), it marks a major contribution to the revival of national history writing in Canada.

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DANIEL K. RICHTER. *Facing East From Indian Country: A Native History of Early America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 317. \$26.00.

The ethnohistory of colonial America has reached such maturity that the field has taken a fashionable verbal turn. In addition to research on new groups and topics, we are getting syntheses, overviews, and "re-visionings" of familiar material, many of which capitalize on catchy titles to capture audiences. Fittingly, the best of these works are by ethnohistorians.

Daniel K. Richter is one of the best third-generation ethnohistorians at work in this busy field. His prize-winning *Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization* (1992) is an exemplary monograph on that important confederacy. Now comes a second book, this one a meditation that begins in a St. Louis hotel room, not far from the impressive mound remains of Cahokia. The phrase "facing east" cropped up at a conference in Worcester, Massachusetts, to honor Richter's graduate mentor, Alden Vaughan, in 1994. These two inspirations led to the writing of what is admittedly not a true history from the native perspective and voice (because the sources are too scant) but a sympathetic "look over [the native] shoulder" at the incursions from the symbolic "east" and a partial attempt to "hear Native voices" (p. 9).

Almost nothing about this book is new, as Richter admits. Even the authorial suggestion to face east has been standard operating procedure for ethnohistorically minded professors for the last thirty years. But it does repackage the well-known work of ethnohistorians (whom Richter generously acknowledges with each use) somewhat differently. Essentially a pastiche of "different ways of facing east," the book makes no effort to maintain "a single point of view, a uniform mode of narration, or a consistent kind of evidence" (p. 9) as the chronology proceeds roughly from the mutual discoveries of the sixteenth century to the end of the War of 1812, when coexistence was no longer a viable option in the east. This might make it a useful text for beginners, but it lacks the coherence and readability of Colin Calloway's *New Worlds for All: Indians, Europeans, and the Remaking of Early America* (1997) and the coverage and methodological resonance of my *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America* (2001).

The first chapter, "Imagining a Distant New World," is the least satisfactory. It invites us to "read against the authors' grain" (p. 18), but it gives us mainly long, imagined block summaries (not quotes) of "de Soto" and Cartier, indigenous developments in Iroquoia

c.1570 unrelated to Europeans, and, oddly, no Indian visitors to Europe (whose story Vaughan tells in a forthcoming book). Chapter two, "Confronting a Material New World," treats trade, disease, ecological changes, and wars in the seventeenth century. The third chapter, "Living with Europeans," laments that the promising efforts of Pocahontas, Kateri Tekakwitha, King Philip, and hundreds of Native Christian converts to coexist with the invaders "on shared regional patches of ground" (p. 108) came to naught, through no fault of the Indians.

Chapter four, "Native Voices in a Colonial World," offers astute and nuanced, though drawn out, analyses of fifteen conversion narratives by natives seeking membership in the Puritan churches of New England "praying towns" and of Iroquois treaty protocol, which became the norm among eastern Indians in the eighteenth century. As in most chapters, Richter's focus on only a few people or sources simplifies the readers' task, perhaps, but makes it difficult for them to consider other, equally rich sources and a richer storyline that does justice to *all* Native groups, particularly those outside New England and Iroquoia.

The most original chapter, "Native Peoples in an Imperial World," reprises Richter's argument in the eighteenth-century volume of *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (1998). He makes a good case that the Natives and colonists were able to pursue parallel but separate trajectories in diplomacy, religion, and economics during the "long peace" from c.1720 to c.1750, and that only the increasingly racialized hatred unleashed by the Seven Years' War created the stereotypical scenario of Indians defending a western frontier against the inexorable encroachment of eastern colonists. The final chapter on "Separate Creations" describes the painful legacy of "ethnic cleansing" through the fifty-year wars of independence for both sides. Richter concludes justly, if somewhat facetiously, that "the racialized world the revolutionaries created was not the only one that might have been" and constituted "the real American tragedy" (p. 253).

Like "middle ground," "the Indians' new"—and "old"—"world," and "new worlds for all," "facing east from Indian country" is destined for scholarly fashion. One wishes for more.

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JOHN OLIPHANT. *Peace and War on the Anglo-Cherokee Frontier 1756–63*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 269. \$39.95.

John Oliphant's careful study of Anglo-Cherokee relations during the "Great War for the Empire" deserves attention from every serious student of that phase of American colonial history. It is a "Who's Who" of Cherokee leaders; perhaps never before have so many chiefs and warriors been identified and characterized. Here also is the usual cast of British officials. Oliphant demands much of his readers; he



assumes a general background knowledge, and he requires attention to detail. He introduces his personae without attempting to give their prior history.

His research is impressive, and references to other histories of the Cherokees are frequent. He seldom accepts the conclusion of another historian without careful scrutiny. With reference to an opinion of the Indian trader James Adair, he writes, "but the historian in search of proof might not be convinced" (p. 84). Oliphant is certainly the skeptical searcher for historical truth, and as such, his opinions bear the weight of authority. Occasionally, his caveats are of degree rather than of kind. For example, he rejects the notion that South Carolina Governor William Henry Lyttelton brought on the Cherokee War out of a desire for military glory; rather "he needed a Cherokee policy sufficiently tough to win general approval" (p. 71). Lyttelton might have thought that one would lead to the other.

Historians tend to remain comfortably within colonial and state boundaries; South Carolinians deal with South Carolina, Virginians with Virginia, and Georgians with Georgia. To his credit, Oliphant ventures into the dark and bloody ground behind the colonies, the country of the Cherokee Nation, and treats the conflicting roles of generals, Indian superintendents, colonial governors, and the Cherokee leaders. The author views events from the perspective of his documents; this is a military and political history rather than a social or cultural account.

Oliphant's argument is that, between 1756 and 1763, British policy moved slowly toward a recognition of the just territorial claims of the Indians. His hero is Colonel James Grant, who, despite ravaging the Middle Cherokee villages in the campaign of 1761, favored a humane policy, and who was largely responsible for the conciliatory treaty following that campaign. His villain is Lyttelton, who ignored Indian rights and demanded their submission. Nor does he care much for Lieutenant-Governor William Bull, who has enjoyed favorable treatment from historians. Oliphant finds Bull too swayed by popular opinion at best and too lazy at worst. He goes easy on the officious Indian Superintendent Edmund Atkin, who should have devoted more attention to serious problems in the Cherokee country rather than go on a prolonged tour of the peaceful Creek Nation.

As thorough as this treatment is, there are some omissions. One page (p. 110) is devoted to the Cherokee raids that struck terror among the settlers on both sides of the Savannah River in January 1760. What was the role of the Creeks in containing the Cherokee raiders? What about Georgia Governor Henry Ellis's rebellion against Lyttelton regarding jurisdiction over Georgia forts? What was the role of the Savannah River Chickasaws? To raise these points is not to criticize the scope of this study but to observe how difficult it is to deal with everything of importance, even in a detailed work such as this.

The final note on the last page that "Anglo-Indian

relations in the south had entered a new and more prosperous era" might be too optimistic as regards the Cherokee. The hostilities had prevented those warriors from attending to their usual hunts, and as a result the Cherokees incurred a huge indebtedness to their traders. They attempted to pay off their debts by a land cession at Augusta, Georgia, in 1773. Only three years later they were involved in another destructive war with the Anglos.

The author rightly credits Cherokee leaders, especially Attakullakulla, for reaching out for an honorable peace. He also proves that Grant had a positive influence in bringing about the Treaty of 1761. To give Grant credit for formulating British postwar policy is to burden him too heavily, however. As I have argued elsewhere, a better claimant to the title of architect of postwar British policy belongs to Lyttelton's rival, the protégé of Board of Trade President Halifax, the adviser to the American Secretary Egremont: former Georgia Governor Ellis.

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DOUGLAS K. MEYER. *Making the Heartland Quilt: A Geographical History of Settlement and Migration in Early-Nineteenth-Century Illinois*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 332. \$49.95.

This book represents the summation of nearly three decades of work by Douglas K. Meyer to understand the historical geographic contours of migration and settlement in nineteenth-century Illinois. At its core is a complex migration model that will sharpen the logic of specialists but, alas, confound many general readers. Essentially, Meyer argues that migration is a complex individual and group human activity that becomes more complex as more individuals and groups migrate by raising questions about how each of these individuals and groups effected or were affected before, during, and after migration by the society and culture around them. Meyer argues that we have lost our nuanced understanding of the "extent, persistence, and influence of America's immigrant diversity" (p. xiii). The linear core of the model is the familiar chain of migration in which "push factors" at home motivate one to leave and "pull factors" at various destination points draw one where to go. Among possible destination points, those places with the clearest and strongest "place images"—created by immigrant guides and advertising as well as word of mouth information—become most deeply planted in immigrants "cognitive" or "mental maps" and thus attract the most people. Determining those places helps explain the pattern of migration. Once clusters of immigrants are planted, they exert their own attractive force, and, as accessibility increases with improvement of transportation, and places are further differentiated between attractive and nonattractive, the chain between home and a destination point is strengthened and becomes "channeled" (p. 61) by ever more linkages into a fixed



"interconnected route." It is the intertwining of these routes, even as they continue to be altered by "spatial processes" (p. xiv) such as emerging transportation networks and economic and urban development, that forms the underlying dynamic of layering of various sequential migration patterns over time, that explains the creation of the diverse "quilt" that makes up nineteenth-century Illinois's population. The difficult task of geographically analyzing this complex spatial process over time is Meyer's goal. For the most part, he achieves it.

The early framework of "place maker images" (p. 8) established a "macro scale" image of Illinois that had a deep spatial impact on the early peopling of Illinois. Meyer argues that by focusing on the north bank of the Ohio, place image makers drew the upland southern cultural system west and north and laid the foundation of Illinois's population. He then analyzes a series of "spatial processes" that affected subsequent settlement patterns. Meyer shows convincingly how the timing and volume of the sale of public lands at specific land offices, the development of the road system, and, finally, urban development sequentially affected settlement patterns. Meyer provides a particularly detailed and useful account of the development of the road system in early Illinois, on top of which he superimposes an analysis of the impact of river routes on transport, trade and production, urbanization, and settlement patterns during the same period.

These two densely argued historic geographical analyses provide the framework within which Meyer then analyzes the general sequence of migration settlement patterns across Illinois between 1800 and 1850. He associates population density with a sequential model of settlement and development moving from the "colonization stage," involving occupance and settlement, to a "spread stage," involving incipient agriculture, and finally to a "competition stage," involving commercial agriculture and urbanization (p. 107). Once this general model is in place, Meyer then uses separate chapters to detail the emergence of the Upland South, New England, Midland-Midwest (i.e. New York, Mid-Atlantic states, Ohio, and Indiana), and foreign-born immigrant or cultural regions (p. 137), giving immigrants from different states and countries their analytic due. In each case he notes the core, the domain, the sphere, and the areas they tended to avoid (p. 143).

Readers familiar with early Illinois history will find data that both confirms and changes their general understanding. Out of this complexity emerged, by midcentury, a "three-tiered cultural imprint," with an "Upland South Impress" south of St. Louis, an "Upper Middle West Impress" north of Chicago, and a "Lower Midwest Impress" in between. By 1850, ten different immigrant groups managed to be the largest immigrant group in a county, indicating some blending and interpenetrating across the traditionally understood cultural region lines. Instead of completely occupied by one group, these cultural regions were diverse, even

as one group prevailed. Rather than separated by a vast Midland region, New England influence in the north bowed south deep into the Military Tract, where it almost touched the northward extending influence of the Upland South cultural region. In specific counties, particularly those in the former Sangamon country, the lower Military Tract, and the hinterland of Chicago, local factors intensified and accelerated interactions that resulted in new cultural configurations. These "cultural way stations"—areas of particularly vibrant cultural interaction, diffusion, integration, and development—were the places where a new regional culture was forged and then transferred west across the nation.

Although densely and exhaustively argued and theoretically demanding, Meyer's work provides impressive evidence of the demographic, economic, and settlement dynamics in the state of Illinois in the middle of the nineteenth century, out of which emerged a distinctive midwestern culture that would subsequently influence national culture.

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SUSAN SESSIONS RUGH. *Our Common Country: Family Farming, Culture, and Community in the Nineteenth-Century Midwest*. (Midwestern History and Culture.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. Pp. xxi, 285. \$45.00.

In *The Cultural Approach to History*, a compilation of papers presented at the meeting of the American Historical Association in 1939, James C. Malin described his studies of Kansas farm populations, in which he used manuscript census data, as history "written from the bottom up" (p. 300). Susan Sessions Rugh's book illustrates such history today. Malin would find unfamiliar language here: the agrarian myth, rural capitalism and ideology, producerism, communal values, ideologies of gender and patriarchy, family strategies, patrimonial commitment, bourgeois society, risk avoidance, and ironies. The book is, Rugh explains, "about the making of the family farm culture out of diverse groups," its relationship "to the expanding market, and the ways that the changing values of the broader national culture threatened rural society." "Family farm culture" she explains, helped "resolve the contradictions between the family and the market, community and individualism, tradition and transformation" (pp. xv-xvi). Defining rural history as "the study of social changes associated with the expansion of market agriculture," the author maintains that it "offers a framework for analyzing the formation of the family farm culture." The holders of differing communal and cultural values interacted, confronting changing market imperatives. Knowledge of these processes, Rugh suggests, enhances understanding of changes at regional, national, community, and family levels and also of the "many paradoxes of the agrarian myth" (pp. xvii, xix).

Here, Rugh studies Fountain Green township in Hancock County, Illinois, during the years 1830–1880. Situated on the Mississippi River in the Illinois Military Tract, the county was also the site of Nauvoo. In the first of three sections, Rugh sketches the system of land distribution and the southern, northern, and middle-state settlers involved. She then describes the efforts of Mormons to settle in the county where the other residents regarded their presence as “an affront to their fundamental beliefs in a freely competitive market, local self government, private property, and the patriarchal family” (p. 52). The next section finds the farmers—each part yeoman, part entrepreneur—confronting an expanding market in a “second stage of agrarian capitalism” in which “women’s labor was critical to the transformation” (pp. 58, 65). Then follow assessments of community institutions and commercial development, and losses in life and cohesion during the Civil War. At this juncture, Fountain Green residents crossed “an invisible threshold to enter a nationwide market . . . attuned to industrialism” (p. 125).

In the book’s last part, Rugh describes the increasing pressures of capitalist agriculture on farmers after the Civil War. Fountain Green residents now regarded farming as business enterprise rather than way of life. The Granger protest of the early 1870s reflected the situation. Women’s expectations rose and men saw patriarchal “hold on land and command of labor” weakened (p. 153). Divorce numbers and domestic violence increased. Other developments included out-migration, changes in mercantile and credit systems, and efforts to arrest village decline. Protestant influence remained strong but Roman Catholicism faded. Class and related political identities replaced region as differentia although German residents maintained ethnic solidarity. A “Yankee-dominated elite” set social tone and controlled local government. Descendants of “founding families” constituted a “middling group” and “perennial renters and farm laborers . . . a rural proletariat.” Community uplift activity produced a college, and efforts to control rough elements, eliminate gambling, and drinking. “Disparity between city and country” widened. “The archtypical midwestern culture” emerged, “middle class, Republican, Protestant, respectable.” Carried from such communities westward and cityward, its agrarian values were to “be reified into a national myth” (pp. 171, 178–79).

Rugh concludes with a summary of findings and suggestions for further research. “Agrarian capitalism,” she argues, “developed out of adaptations farm families made to maintain their values,” these occurring in “areas of farming as a way of life: family labor, independent ownership of land, social relations, and politics” (p. 183). Much needs to be done in studying nineteenth-century rural America, she suggests; in particular, she urges study of the relation of rural culture and gender to the market economy, as well as of rural political culture.

In researching the history of a community, local

records and government publications must be unearthed, processed, and correlated to provide community trends and illustrative examples. Correspondence, diaries, newspapers, and secondary sources must be sought and methods and insights derived from related disciplines. Rugh has met these challenges impressively. She writes well and enlivens her narrative with accounts of representative individuals and events. Her treatments of patriarchal relationships, gender implications, and the impact of the Civil War are particularly insightful.

Readers, however, may prefer a broader definition of rural history and also want one of “agrarian capitalism.” Some of Rugh’s generalizations are unduly sweeping. The tables supporting chapter text would reward further consideration. Nor does she provide key price or foreclosure series, weakening her assertions about market pressures. Such minor reservations aside, this book is an important step forward in midwestern rural history.

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BARTON H. BARBOUR. *Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 30r. \$34.95.

The book under review is the best researched, most comprehensive volume ever written on Fort Union. At first blush that statement may seem dubious to historians who have predetermined that fur trade history is little more (or less!) than popular history. But the truth is that Fort Union, which from 1830 to 1867 occupied an elevated prairie near the junction of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, served as a powerful United States presence in the Northern Plains, and its economic importance extended south to St. Louis, east to New York, and across the Atlantic Ocean to London. Fort Union and its counterparts in the fur trade enterprise put an American imprint on the West as they provided both capital and corporate models for business. Fort Union existed as America’s most important nineteenth century fur trade post, the longest lived, the most profitable, and the most populous. It was also the best documented, an advantage that Barton H. Barbour uses to great effect.

Barbour has several points to make in this volume, and the one he seems to enjoy the most is that the dwellers of Fort Union fashioned for themselves a complex and unique social organization. More than a simple frontier habitation, yet not quite a “company town,” Fort Union possessed a remarkably cosmopolitan society where the *lingua franca* included English, French, Spanish, German, and five Indian languages. Creoles mixed easily with métis, Hispanics, European Americans, and African Americans. *Engagés*, clerks, bourgeois, women, and children all worked hard, enjoyed the same rude entertainments, ate well, and obeyed an informal common law. It was the sort of

place warmly remembered by travelers. Princes from Germany, sportsmen from Ireland, artists like George Catlin, scientists like John Jacob Astor, and missionaries like Father Peter De Smet all left complimentary reminiscences about the place.

Life was good at Fort Union because commerce was good. Just four years after its founding, storerooms at Fort Union held an inventory of trade goods valued at more than \$50,000 with net proceeds annually amounting to \$130,000. And the bottom line held up. Even two decades after the first exchange of money took place, the fort reported a profit for its St. Louis and New York investors in excess of \$44,000. In 1865, just two years before the post closed, net proceeds rose to \$200,000. Clearly, Barbour points out, lack of profits did not force the abandonment of Fort Union. The "why" of the demise of Fort Union is a complex question. The rise of the Republican Party was a factor. During the Civil War, many Republicans viewed Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and his St. Louis business allies as likely, or actual, Confederate sympathizers, and they acted accordingly. Accusations that the company smuggled liquor to the Upper Missouri Indian tribes resulted in protracted litigation. Yes, the federal government relied on fur trade companies for transportation and warehousing of Indian annuity goods, but Abraham Lincoln's party in Washington, D.C., decided which cases to prosecute and which to overlook. Lesser events, none of which Fort Union operatives could control, combined significantly to change the fur trade and Fort Union. Extremely cold winters drove bison far to the east. The price of beaver pelts in London changed without notice. A fire in Chouteau's New York offices reduced corporate records with Astor to ashes. Statehood for Minnesota propelled Fort Snelling to new status and thereby altered the fulcrum of fur trade power away from St. Louis.

The author is not inclined to accept the "dependency theory" that that fur trade destroyed Indian life and culture. Barbour agrees that the greed of white traders played a role in the process, but his research reveals that the Indians were partners in commerce and both parties believed that the trade had advantages. It was the U.S. Army, not fur traders, who demolished the traditions of the Plains Indians. The army, working with civilian federal agents, introduced a government rationing system for Indians. That, plus a system of sutler's stores at military posts, made fur trade entrepreneurs superfluous in the world of frontier commerce.

This is no ordinary book. It is thoughtful, based on solid research, and it establishes Fort Union as a case study for all that can be learned about the influence of the fur trade on the American character during the age of Andrew Jackson.

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KATHRYN GROVER. *The Fugitive's Gibraltar: Escaping Slaves and Abolitionism in New Bedford, Massachusetts.*

Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 350. \$39.95.

American historians need not puzzle any longer about why New Bedford, Massachusetts, proved a hotbed of antislavery sentiment before the Civil War. In her remarkably rich study, Kathryn Grover carefully explains that this leading whaling center took its political cues from a large and often militant community of African Americans befriended by groups of white abolitionists and antislavery advocates typically affiliated with unusually large concentrations of Baptists and Quakers. She draws particular attention to the city's African Americans, using a wide variety of sources to depict scores of them in loving detail; if an African-American man lived in New Bedford, lingered there, or simply passed through, he is likely to be in this book, and not just as a name. Grover shows how they got to New Bedford; where they lived, worshipped, and earned a living; what they did for their people; whether they were slaves, fugitives from slavery, or fellow citizens of Massachusetts.

The central thesis is that New Bedford cleaved into loose groupings of radical abolitionists and more cautious antislavery advocates. The first group, which consisted mainly of blacks and whites with Garrisonian loyalties, took bolder stands against the South and for African-American civil rights, goaded in large part by the national furor over the Fugitive Slave Act. Black leaders, for instance, formed armed bands in the early 1850s to protect the fugitives among them from southern slave catchers and federal agents. The second group, which consisted mainly of whites, drew back in reaction to the new aggressiveness on the part of black abolitionists. Grover enriches this plausible thesis by pointing out that the idealism of the Society of Friends encouraged moderation as well as radicalism. It leaned away from radicalism and toward antislavery because the same injunctions that condemned servitude also abjured violence, violence that black leaders had come to expect and mobilized to resist in active ways. Imbued with the paternalistic outlook often associated with abolitionism, such white activists flinched at black New Bedford's "forcible resistance" in response to federal enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act.

The book also turns up useful information on other dimensions of the African-American experience. It shows that the city's robust coastal trade provided fugitive slaves with something of an escape hatch from slavery and from Virginia in particular. Fugitives, moreover, could count on support from the clandestine network of the Underground Railroad, casting further doubt on Larry Gara's claim that abolitionists lacked the organizational capacity to spirit runaways systematically from the South. Sympathetic whites not only assisted fugitives, but the more liberal-minded among them also provided blacks with jobs, an aspect of white benevolence largely unknown in urban places. Larger proportions of African-American artisans plied their trades in New Bedford than in other cities, and

an independent group of small businessmen proved strong enough to survive on its own. Not a few belonged to integrated churches, and their children were likely to attend mixed race schools, though the possibility remains that classrooms were segregated.

This book also bears on larger historiographical debates between scholars of antebellum America. One of these, and perhaps the most important, has to do with the "Holt Thesis" that local issues—temperance and nativism especially—and not slavery destroyed the Second Party System, which in turn plunged the regions into civil war. Grover's narrative indicates that there was no distinction between local and national issues when it came to slavery and antislavery. Slavery constantly intruded into local politics throughout the period and with special force in the early 1850s, simply because so many fugitives sought out New Bedford and residents found federal policy so threatening. No one could easily ignore the local ramifications of national policy. Grover's stories also correct the misimpression that radical abolitionism hewed rigidly to Garrison's apolitical moral suasionism. Black New Bedford identified closely with Garrison but paid no attention to his tirades against political engagement. As early as the late 1830s, virtually coterminous with the schism in the movement between political and antipolitical abolitionism, black men worked together as a political force against slavery and against "caste" in their city. Their activism only grew stronger and more aggressive in time. It would have helped to have pursued this important point by taking a broader view of the political landscape so as to see how African-American partisanship changed in time and whether "forcible resistance" stirred a racist backlash, revivifying the Democratic Party there as it clearly did in other Bay State cities. Or perhaps it wasn't that simple in New Bedford. One gleans as much from the fact that in 1853 Rodney French, perhaps the most radical white abolitionist in town, was elected mayor—an odd choice indeed for a white community in supposed political retreat.

In the end, this book says too much and too little. It offers layered detail about obscure figures and myriad events too often disconnected from a conceptual frame of reference. It rarely pauses to flesh out the implications of its own findings, leaving it up to the reader to find historiographical relevance. It will reward the persistent reader engaged in its topic, not the generalist out for a page turner.

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ARIELA J. GROSS. *Double Character: Slavery and Mastery in the Antebellum Southern Courtroom*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 263. \$39.50.

Ariela J. Gross has written a valuable book on the history of slavery and the antebellum South. Through an analysis of slave cases from courts in the Deep

South, Gross adds depth and complexity to our understanding of slavery's social and cultural framework, and of the tensions and contradictions slavery created in its American setting.

Two major themes dominate Gross's approach to her evidence and to the slave South. One is that "double character" of slavery, emphasized by its legal complexities, which provides the book's title. As Gross demonstrates, both civil and criminal proceedings regarding slavery required white southerners, almost in spite of themselves, to consider slaves not only as property but also as human beings. And she delineates the contradictions this created both for southern racial ideology and for social ideals. The other is the familiar theme of honor. Drawing heavily on ideas developed by Kenneth Greenberg in *Honor and Slavery: Lies, Duels, Noses, Masks, Dressing as a Woman, Gifts, Strangers, Humanitarianism, Death, Slave Rebellions, the Proslavery Argument, Baseball, Hunting, and Gambling in the Old South* (1996), and Orlando Patterson in *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (1982), Gross shows how dramas of honor and dishonor dominated discussions of slavery in southern courts. In doing so she considerably enriches our understanding of the concept of honor itself, and of its role in southern social and cultural life.

In contrast to historical treatments connecting honor to an antebellum disrespect for law, Gross shows that legal practices and institutions were central to slave society. As she makes clear, the criminal and, especially, civil proceedings to which slavery gave rise produced important narratives that gave practical definition to cultural categories related to race, status, and ideology. Civil suits growing out of slave sales, usually brought by dissatisfied buyers, created situations in which parties were required to confront their ideas regarding what it meant to be a master and what it meant to be a slave. They required parties to consider what it meant for individuals to relate to each other in a world dominated by commerce and honor simultaneously. And, above all, they required parties to confront the meaning of race in the complex world slavery created.

As Gross demonstrates, issues of race were central to the law of slavery. A major purpose of the southern legal system, she explains, was to reinforce the honor of southern whites through the dishonoring of slaves, complementing similar efforts maintained through the quotidian humiliations of plantation life and the still more demeaning humiliations of the auction block. The exclusion of slave testimony, a "medicalization" of recalcitrant behavior, and an assumption of slave deceitfulness all served to affix a badge of dishonor to the slave. All combined to confirm, for whites, their own racialized capacity for honor.

At the same time, Gross shows how the demands of slave law inevitably created cracks in the facade. Much as they tried to objectify and dehumanize their slaves, the nature of civil and criminal proceedings obliged white southerners to confront the "moral agency" (p.



73) of black women and men and to acknowledge possibilities for rational choice and human volition underlying their behavior. Creating real problems in the realm of racial ideas, Gross suggests, these were problems of which the slaves themselves were well aware.

This is a rich book, and it is impossible to touch on all the issues it raises. Gross effectively puts her legal records into a framework created by diaries, letters, and even the autobiographical writings of fugitive slaves, all of which help to complicate, still further, the story she tells. Along the way, she provides valuable insight into the uses of paternalism as a perspective for understanding slavery and even into the professionalization of medicine, as it grew out of the requirements of southern slave law.

Certainly, there are questions one can raise about the book. Most troubling is its narrowness. Neither the text nor the notes do much to place slave-related proceedings in a larger context of legal and cultural developments either in or outside the South. This seems particularly relevant where Gross attempts to give significance to professionalization, even medicalization, as products of slavery's racial and cultural demands. It remains unclear that such developments were confined to the South. In this and other ways, the book seems to take southern distinctiveness too much for granted.

But, again, this is an important book. Anyone interested in the history of slavery and the South will need to read it.

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MANISHA SINHA. *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 362. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

In this engaging book, Manisha Sinha places slavery at the center of southern political distinctiveness in the antebellum era and South Carolina at the forefront of southern nationalism. Sinha depicts Carolinian planter-politicians as ahead of, rather than distinctive from, other states in their commitment to southern sovereignty. Sinha argues convincingly that planter elites directed South Carolina politics and that slavery governed their political behavior. Beginning with the nullification crisis, proceeding through the controversy of 1850, the debates about reopening the African slave trade, and episodes of judicial nullification in the late antebellum era, and culminating in secession in 1860, Sinha demonstrates that slavery and South Carolina led the South toward its challenge to democracy and abandonment of the Union.

As South Carolina assumed the mantle of southern leadership once held by Virginia, southern politics became increasingly, if intermittently, radicalized—and racialized. Challenging historians who argue that

the course the South pursued after the 1820s represented a differing variant of republicanism or of liberalism, Sinha shows that protecting slavery and overturning the constitutional bases for challenging slaveholding drove South Carolina's antidemocratic counterrevolution.

Neither South Carolina's rise to sectional prominence nor the solidification of proslavery ideology in the South proceeded in a linear fashion. In the early antebellum era, divisions within the state complicated the ambitions of the planter-politicians, and other states proved reluctant to follow the Carolinians' lead. One of the real strengths of this book, which occasionally exaggerates the monocausal rise of southern nationalism, is the complexity the author uncovers as she traces the southern road toward disunion. Heated conflicts over nullification, both within South Carolina and the region, indicate the limits of planter-politicians' power in the 1820s. While the largest slaveholding areas of the state embraced the doctrine of nullification, other southern states balked, and Carolina elites adopted a course of political conciliation. However, as Sinha reveals, their commitment to slavery and southern nationalism persisted, reappearing in the late antebellum era, pushed to the forefront of southern consciousness by territorial controversies. Those struggles over the future of the nation and of slaveholding encouraged South Carolina's regional leadership and validated its commitment to southern sovereignty in the eyes of neighboring states. Still, conflict persisted in the South over Texas annexation, the Wilmot proviso, and presidential politics. During the crisis of 1850, South Carolina planter-politicians used reason and intimidation to shore up support within their own borders and launched an organized effort to foster sectional allegiance in other states. Although they lost the battle over secession in 1850, they were on the fast track to winning the war: slaveholding politicians throughout the South emerged from the 1850 debates committed to the principles (if not yet the action) of secession, state sovereignty, and slavery expansion. Southern nationalism ultimately triumphed in 1860, and war was inaugurated by, of course, South Carolina. While Sinha offers little that is substantially new in her chapters on disunion, her ultimate conclusion that "slavery rather than vague and undefined republican fears or rhetorical insults to southern honor guided Carolinian planter politicians" proves persuasive (p. 220).

In recent years, nineteenth-century historians, seeking inclusiveness, have expanded the definition of politics to include topics such as crowd action and social networks. Sinha returns to a more traditional and refined conception of politics: one that antebellum politicians would employ. Politics in South Carolina, Sinha emphasizes, centered on elites' political ideology and their public debates about civic action. Not surprisingly, John C. Calhoun thus drives much of Sinha's story. Not only was he the architect of nullification, but his ideas provided the basis for secession and pro-



pelled Carolinians toward southern separatism. Indeed, Sinha—typifying her perception of politics—maintains that Calhoun's influence in crafting the slave-based counterrevolution can hardly be exaggerated. Her sophisticated reading of Calhoun's political writings, along with her careful reconstruction of antebellum political debates, renders her arguments about Calhoun and the transcendent power of slavery credible.

Sinha's most fascinating and innovative chapter focuses on the debates about reopening the African slave trade. Scholars often dismiss these debates as either desperation or aberration, but Sinha thoughtfully conveys the connections between the proposed reopening of the trade, the politics of slave expansion, and the rise of southern separatism in the 1850s. South Carolinians buried the issue after secession in order to foster sectional unity, but, Sinha reminds the reader, this utilitarian decision in 1860 should not be read into the ideology of the 1850s.

The author's concluding remarks throw into high relief the counterrevolutionary nature of disunion by artfully employing the words of Carolina secessionists, including George Fitzhugh's condemnation of the Declaration of Independence for its "bombastic absurdity." The occasional redundancy or lapse into thesis mongering (it's *all* about slavery) does not mar this finely written and compelling book, which early American, political, and southern historians will not want to miss.

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MARTIN CRAWFORD, *Ashe County's Civil War: Community and Society in the Appalachian South*. (A Nation Divided: New Studies in Civil War History.) Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia. 2001. Pp. xiv, 238. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$17.50.

Martin Crawford's very valuable book uses an intimate knowledge of Ashe County's agricultural society to illuminate the impact of the war. Living in the far northwest corner of Appalachian North Carolina, Ashe's people, Crawford argues, were nevertheless shaped by American values and institutions—political and economic—as much as they were by local conditions. Relative isolation may have encouraged family and neighborhood-based subsistence farming, but it did not preclude involvement in markets and politics. More particularly, as demographic pressures on farmland in the 1850s limited opportunity, the urge toward self-sufficiency gave settlers two choices: migrate or commit to more commercial farm production. Social distance increased, and town merchants and lawyers gained influence. Likewise, Ashe males enthusiastically participated in a partisan politics rooted in family and kin group loyalties but cognizant of Whig and Democratic ideology, and therefore were current with the crises of the 1850s. Political leaders, largely drawn from firstcomer, large landowning families, were likely

to be slaveholders, raising wheat and tobacco for eastern markets, so the politics of slavery and the concerns of tidewater Carolina resonated in Ashe. When war threatened, Ashe, like much of the Upland South, embraced conditional Unionism; when Abraham Lincoln called for troops to put down insurrection, Ashe joined the stampede to the Confederacy. But importantly, again as in much of the Appalachian South, people and sections most oriented to markets outside the mountains were Confederate loyalists, while poorer areas still mostly subsistence oriented were, at first quietly, Unionist.

Relative isolation also did not prevent Ashe from suffering bitterly from the war. Men volunteered in large numbers for the Confederate Army, again, more enthusiastically in commercial villages and neighborhoods, while the Confederate Conscription Act of April 1862 coerced the reluctant to enlist. The regiments raised in Ashe fought in some of the most desperate battles of the war, most spectacularly as part of Pettigrew's charge at Gettysburg; a third of Ashe's Confederate soldiers died. Death and absence threatened labor-poor small farms; production declined and shortages increased despite efforts by kin and neighborhood exchange networks. Recruits became older and poorer, resentment and desertion grew, and—especially after neighboring East Tennessee was liberated by Lincoln's armies—so did Unionism.

So the most remote, most subsistence areas of Ashe fought a second, internal Civil War, rooted, like politics, in family loyalties. Instead of heading out to the Army of Northern Virginia or the Army of Tennessee, pro-Confederates now joined Home Guard units led by local elites and committed to stifling dissent. Murders and lynchings, driven by what Crawford calls "a politics of vengeance" (p. 142), tore more rents in the kin and neighborhood fabric of exchange that was increasingly essential as shortages and exactions worsened. By war's end, Ashe's casualties and social breakdown coupled the county to the rest of the South just as tobacco and partisan politics had earlier.

But because the freed population was relatively small, Reconstruction went more easily in Ashe. After an initial attempt to promote local peace by including all factions in a restored government, politics fell back into the same competitive partisanship under the same kind of leaders. Economic relationships remained the same, even if ex-slaveholders turned more to commerce and the poor tended more than ever to migrate as the war weakened opportunity already constricted by land shortages. Wounds caused by war deaths and family conflict would be healed only slowly, and a damaged subsistence agriculture would send more young families into coal, timber, and textile towns, accelerating cultural change in the mountains.

This book contributes much to Appalachian and Civil War historiography by integrating subsistence with partisanship and war. Crawford makes his case: national events and local conditions alike shaped Ashe's experience. He adds examples, detail, and

insight to the developing reinterpretation of the mountain South. For example, his findings strengthen arguments that stress how pressure on land and a necessary turn to markets changed the Appalachians even before the advent of the timber and coal industries, and how slaveholding and the direction of trade created Confederate loyalties. I would have liked him to connect his work more directly with this recent literature, and I would qualify his statement that "Few inhabitants were perceptibly disadvantaged by the distance that separated them from the main channels of economic and political activity" (p. 11) in view of antebellum Appalachian rates of illiteracy and straitened consumption. Still, Crawford has convincingly demonstrated how southern and how American Ashe County's Civil War was.

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VICTORIA E. BYNUM. *The Free State of Jones: Mississippi's Longest Civil War*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 316. \$29.95.

Victoria E. Bynum has a tangled tale to tell, and she tells it well. The legend of the "Free State of Jones" has long been subject to more mythmaking than analysis. The subtitle of Bynum's new book can only suggest the complexities involved in unraveling a story of conflict, betrayal, miscegenation, and denial.

Throughout this work, there is a powerful thread of antiauthoritarianism stretching back to the eighteenth-century Regulators and extending well into the twentieth century. Although class divisions often drive the analysis in this book, Bynum also argues for the importance of male honor and religious dissent in creating a pattern of restless migration and social division. Many of the earliest white settlers in Jones County descended from North Carolina families; by the 1790s, many of these families had moved to South Carolina and would soon be heading for the southwestern frontier. Like several scholars over the past two decades, Bynum emphasizes yeoman independence and women's ambivalence about this migration.

In Jones County, the subsistence economy of the Carolina backcountry persisted through complex kinship ties that often crossed class lines. The piney woods was not heavily committed to slavery, but Bynum maintains that slaveholding, along with membership in a pro-mission Baptist church (much attention focuses on Leaf River Baptist Church), became the best predictors of later support for secession. So, too, the behavior of nonslaveholding settlers who resisted evangelical injunctions against drinking, fighting, and fornicating presaged later wartime conflicts. The reader occasionally catches a whiff of economic determinism, and more attention should have been given to antebellum voting patterns, but Bynum makes a strong case for the importance of class divisions in Jones County during the Civil War.

For Bynum, the antebellum social structure formed the backdrop to a war that "would draw into its vortex a multitude of local resentments, both political and personal, that would set families against families in a brutal inner civil war" (p. 89). The book deals much more carefully with dissenters such as Newton Knight and members of several other local families who eventually deserted the Confederate Army than with those who remained stalwart Confederates. Although Bynum discusses race in various ways throughout the book, she ignores the possibility that racial solidarity may have bolstered support for the Confederacy among nonslaveholders, even in Jones County. However that may be, a turning point came with the fall of Vicksburg, when the "Knight Company" of deserters threatened to take over the area. Clashes between Knight's band and Confederate cavalry led to the death of one cavalryman and the summary executions of ten deserters. Order was only partially restored, and the cycle of bitterness and revenge continued long after the war.

During Reconstruction, Newton Knight and other members of his group pressed for the appointment of unionists to local offices and later sought patronage from Republican administrations. Political disputes escalated in a society beset by poverty, thievery, and vengeance. To complicate matters, miscegenation by Newton Knight and other members of his family added to the intensity of postwar conflicts and became a key element in the battle over the historical memory of the "Free State of Jones." Many strands of the story came together during the 1948 miscegenation trial of Davis Knight, where the tangled skein of the Civil War, arguments over "blood," and Lost Cause mythology all played themselves out as the modern civil rights movement was being born.

Much information on the "Free State of Jones" derives from oral tradition, postwar reminiscences, and twentieth-century novels, but Bynum has used these problematic sources with care and sophistication. In addition, her meticulous research has uncovered valuable information on the social history of antebellum Jones County and important primary documents from the Civil War years. This is an ambitious piece of work spanning three centuries that presents a lively and intricate portrait of some fascinating and idiosyncratic characters. Bynum is not as successful in giving voice to women and especially to African Americans as she claims, and some generalizations appear better grounded in the secondary literature on southern history that she has diligently mined than in evidence from Jones County itself. Despite excellent genealogical charts, the reader occasionally gets lost in the welter of names that of necessity make up an important part of the story. But it would be wrong to end on a critical note. Prodigious research in genealogical material, census files, church records, official documents, and oral histories provides as full a picture of Jones County and its people as we are ever likely to have. Bynum has fashioned frustratingly disparate

material into an important book that may cause historians who are skeptical about putting too much stress on an "inner" Civil War to rethink their position.

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ALICE FAHS. *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865*. (Civil War America.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 410. \$39.95.

In her widely researched and elegantly written work, Alice Fahs sets out to answer a question that has been posed many times in the past but never adequately answered: why is it that one of the nation's most cataclysmic and wrenching events, the Civil War, did not produce a literature of comparable status? Why is it that we have no great Civil War novel written at the time to commemorate what was arguably the greatest turning point in our nation's history? Why did the nation have to wait for the publication of Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage* in 1895 for anything even vaguely resembling a notable work on the war? Fahs's answer is, on the face of it, deceptively simple. It was the very extent of the transformation, the very depth of the way that the war cut through the social order, the very way in which it trampled families, rode over regions, took down slavery, and destabilized gender roles that explains the failure to produce a great Civil War novel or Civil War literary genre at the time. Fahs thinks, however, that the war produced something of more substantive literary note, perhaps not better, but certainly greater in its social and cultural impact. According to Fahs, the Civil War called forth an outpouring of poetry, fiction, humor, and history from an unparalleled cross section of the population, a genuinely popular literature that addressed the experience of an even wider range of the nation's citizenry, including not only the common man but the common woman, the slave and the ex-slave, free African Americans, and even children. Precisely because the Civil War cut so deeply across the social order, transforming so many different lives in the process, it called out this unparalleled popular voice, a voice that while perhaps not great in formal literary terms, was great in its democratizing impact and in its individualizing power.

To answer the question and then, as this book does, to categorize and discuss the various forms of long-ignored popular literature that the war generated is to create the first serious taxonomy of Civil War literature. This alone should certainly more than earn Fahs's book a place on every nineteenth-century literary theorist and Civil War historian's bookshelf. Fahs, however, takes her wide reading of the popular literature of the war and focuses it on one of the core underpinnings of Civil War historiography—and one of the central conundrums of the American character and social and cultural life to this day. According to Civil War historians, one of the greatest transforma-

tions effected by the war was the way in which it routinized, organized, and centralized American political and economic life. From this perspective, the legacy of the war rests in the consolidation of the nation, the formation of a national citizenry, and the overwhelming success of the industrial revolution that followed upon it. We experience its legacy to this day in the highly corporatized nature of the American economy and in the extent of federalized political power. How, then, can we explain the continued significance attached to the individual, individual agency, and individual rights in American culture? Fahs's contribution to answering this question is to suggest that we look to the Civil War and see it with a doubled vision. Alongside the consolidation of the power of the centralized state, we need the persistence and even expansion of the individual, the local, the popular in American society. Fahs makes a compelling case for the role that the outpouring of written expression during the war played in what she terms an "individualized nationalism."

It is at this point in her argument, however, that Fahs faces one of her greatest challenges. She has rescued popular Civil War literature from the dust bin of history. She has explained its critical role in upholding individual rights and agency in the birth of a modern democratic nation. Her argument finds resonance in the continued popularity of Civil War literature to this day, in the stories of the bravery and courage of individual men on the battlefield that are the staples of so many young boys', and not so young boys', reading to this day. While the popularity of contemporary Civil War literature seems to bear out Fahs's observations concerning the individually empowering role of such popular literary genre, it does so in a severely truncated fashion when compared to the scope of the popular literature of the war itself. While the war witnessed the emergence of a literature that reflected the massive wartime inclusion of white women and African Americans as critical actors in the nation state, contemporary popular Civil War literature has almost entirely reframed the war back to the contribution, the agency, and the individuality of white men alone. Rather than reflecting a wider, more inclusive genre, today's Civil War literature arguably limits rather than expands our vision of the significance of the event.

It is perhaps at this point that Fahs reaches the limits of literature as a window onto the larger meaning of the war. Social and cultural historians will be impressed with the way in which she skillfully negotiates the line between the history of the war and the fictionalized accounts that are the main basis for her work. Nonetheless, as much as all historians can learn from a serious consideration of Civil War literature, in the end we are left wondering how much significance can be attributed to popular literature itself as a site of individual self-creation and how much it is simply a reflection of larger social and political transformations. Fahs makes a brilliant argument for the signifi-

cance of popular culture in the war. Her work will undoubtedly open the door to a more engaged and informed discussion of the role of cultural forms, especially popular cultural forms, in what we now tend to see almost entirely as the consequence of the political and military history of the Civil War.

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JEAN EDWARD SMITH. *Grant*. New York: Simon and Schuster. 2001. Pp. 781. \$35.00.

This is a highly readable and informative biography of the nation's second lieutenant general and eighteenth president. Jean Edward Smith moves quickly and deftly through his account of Ulysses S. Grant's childhood and youth. Nothing is lacking here, but neither does Smith indulge in speculation or lengthy ruminations about the possible future effects, if any, of Grant's childhood experiences. He deals at greater length with Grant's first army career, including his service in the Mexican War and his dismal business and personal problems, culminating in resignation, while stationed on the Pacific coast. Smith makes the interesting point that Grant admired and later patterned himself after his first Mexican War commanding general, Zachary Taylor, while Grant's future opponent, Robert E. Lee, took as his model the other successful U.S. general, Winfield Scott.

With good reason, the bulk of the book deals with Grant as a Civil War general and, later, Grant as president. Smith's account of Grant's Civil War operations is detailed, forceful, and generally quite accurate. While showing an awareness of pertinent literature on the war, Smith is not afraid to offer his own interpretations, which are invariably thought provoking. One consistent departure from the consensus view is Smith's repeated downplaying of hostile feelings between Grant and such jealous fellow officers as Henry W. Halleck, William S. Rosecrans, and George H. Thomas. In contrast to what most other scholars have said, Smith maintains that all of these men had high regard and friendly feelings toward Grant, which the latter reciprocated. This is most striking in Smith's interpretation of the October 1863 arrival of Grant, exhausted from a long ride over the mountains, soaking wet, and chilled to the bone, at Thomas's Chattanooga, Tennessee, headquarters. Thomas and the dripping, steaming Grant had waited in awkward silence by the fireplace until one of Grant's aides walked in and suggested that Thomas offer Grant a change of uniform. Despite the testimony of Grant's staff as to the palpable hostility in the air, Smith maintains that "the two old soldiers were simply enjoying a rare moment of solitude, bonding with one another in the quiet by the hearth" (p. 266). This new approach is refreshing if not always entirely convincing.

Smith is in agreement with the consensus of Civil War historians when he clearly and forcefully states

that Grant's greatest strength as a general was his steady, unflappable determination and clear, razor-sharp thought, while his greatest weakness was his habitual failure to consider what the enemy might do to him. Overall, the account of Grant's Civil War career is superb.

Smith gives a careful and sophisticated account of Grant's struggles to do his duty during the difficult days of the Andrew Johnson administration. His account of Grant's presidency is comprehensive but fresh and compelling. He persuasively argues that Grant was a better president than he has often been regarded. Some of the corruption that is associated with his administration actually took place before he took office and was merely discovered and rooted out under Grant's administration, often as a result of Grant's own zeal for public probity. On the positive side, Grant continued the work of reconstruction, suppressed the Ku Klux Klan, conducted a wise and enlightened foreign policy, and helped to establish the United States as a major player on the world stage.

Like most biographies, this one is highly sympathetic to its subject. Yet it is also reasonable—admitting faults in Grant—and highly convincing overall. Unlike many biographies, this one is for the most part quite generous toward many persons who at various times differed with its subject (except perhaps Andrew Johnson). Smith apparently felt no need to attack Grant's detractors in order to make Grant look good.

The book is well researched, and so well written that each page is a pleasure to read. Its clarity, forcefulness, and calm, measured tone fit well with the personality of the man whose life it chronicles.

STEVEN E. WOODWORTH  
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JOHN C. INSCOE and ROBERT C. KENZER, editors. *Enemies of the Country: New Perspectives on Unionists in the Civil War South*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 242. \$45.00.

As recent historians of the South have reshaped the history of their region in light of the civil rights movement, interest in the history of Unionism in the Civil War South has increasingly been a subject of scholarly research and publication. Yet there has been only a single book on southern Unionism written by a professional historian: Georgia Lee Tatum's *Disloyalty in the Confederacy* published in 1934. Dozens of articles and several books have dealt with southern Unionism since then, yet the subject still lacks a broad or full picture. Books have treated the subject, but usually only within a larger story, as in my book on southern dissent or in Richard Current's *Lincoln's Loyalists: Union Soldiers from the Confederacy* (1992), or in detailed studies of particular Unionist events such as Philip Paludan's *Victims: The True Story of the Civil War* (1981), a study of some North Carolina Unionists.

John C. Inscoe and Robert C. Kenzer's fine collection of recent essays on aspects of Unionist activities



and feelings still does not offer a broadly based single volume on southern Unionism. What it does contain are ten studies discussing a variety of persons, families, classes, and locales across the Civil War South. They provide valuable and often fresh insights into the sources, nature, limits, and remarkable diversity of southern Unionism.

As the editors acknowledge, a satisfactory definition of southern Unionism is difficult to encompass, given the variety of forms it has taken. Often observers look to Unionist sentiment as deriving from nonslaveholders, though we know that the enduring armies of the Confederacy depended overwhelmingly on southern men who held no slaves. As several essays here make obvious, virtually all of the Union supporters held slaves, including the most prominent southern Unionist of all: William "Parson" Brownlow of Tennessee. Among such Unionists was a group of upper-class slaveholding Atlantans who stuck to their Unionist principles, surreptitiously providing medical help, food, and drink for wounded Union soldiers almost down to the battle of Atlanta. In contrast to Unionist small farmers, elite slaveholding Unionists in Knoxville in Unionist East Tennessee were few.

In poor mountain communities, few residents cared much about slavery in the Ozarks or Appalachia; it was neither the absence of slavery nor the presence of poverty that seemed to account for Unionist support. Much more likely as a predictor of Unionism was the presence of kinship and marriage or freedom from outside coercion by Confederate conscription, which began in 1862. Conscription was clearly the precipitant of one desperate action among hundreds of Texas Germans who opposed the draft. Several dozen Germans, seeking to flee to Mexico, lost their lives in a brutal massacre by Texas Confederates in hot pursuit. The fleeing Germans were hardly deeply committed Unionists, but they surely died resisting the Confederacy. The other side of Unionism was that of a Knoxville manufacturer, who sold goods legally to a Confederate quartermaster, although the occupying Union army declared him "a respectable Union man" (p. 86). Several essays well documented much more resolute and dangerous Union activities by self-constituted mountain groups like Peace Societies or "Red Strings." These groups brought together scores and sometimes hundreds of Unionist guerilla fighters, often composed of kin and neighbors defending their homes and families against Confederate incursions.

By their nature, civil wars force divisions among families, neighbors, and friends, and the history of Unionism in these essays offers many, often poignant, examples. Conflicts between husband and wife occur again and again here. In one particular case, two fugitive Union soldiers, on arriving at a mountain community, suddenly learned that husband and wife were in heavy disagreement about the Union. In the case of the Northern wife of a Confederate captain, her Unionism permitted the wife, through a flag of truce, to visit her brother, a Union soldier, who had

been wounded in the South. In the end, the couple's differences dissolved the marriage. Cyrena and Amherst Stone were both northern-born Atlantans who sought to resist the Confederacy; once the war began, Amherst soon found himself in a federal prison! Returning from a visit to Vermont in 1861, Amherst foolhardily praised the South's military success at First Bull Run, and his remark was overheard. A few months later, he was denounced as a Southern sympathizer to Union authorities and imprisoned. After strong protests and time in jail, Amherst was released, spending two years working with southern Unionists while separated from his quite self-sufficient wife. Stories of strong-minded Unionist women also appear in several of the essays.

A strong-minded Unionist man was surely David Strothers of western Virginia. Heavily supported by his father's long-held Unionism and presumably by his own education as an artist in Europe, young Strothers almost immediately joined a Union regiment, remaining at his post until the war ended in 1865. Despite serving as a Union soldier in his own community, he nonetheless often provided help for his neighbors, who needed assistance in adjusting to federal invaders and then occupiers. A year after the war ended, Strothers reported in his diary: "I abhor the South, I despise the West, I ignore the East, and damn the North. I acknowledge nothing but nationality and the American people, no country but the United States" (p. 33). That rejection of regional differences may well have resonated with other Unionists given the harassment, barbarism, and disruption that they experienced in rejecting a Confederate nation.

The essays are remarkably well researched and carefully documented for much of the material was drawn from local history as well as from manuscripts or original printed sources. Out of the ten essays, only two deal statistically with urban Unionists in Knoxville, Tennessee, and Montgomery, Alabama. Even the reliance by one author on a couple's written reminiscences some thirty years later is carefully analyzed, just as another author imaginatively draws upon an unpublished novel to flesh out the documentation of his story.

CARL N. DEGLER  
*Stanford University*

MARK GRIMSLEY and BROOKS D. SIMPSON, editors. *The Collapse of the Confederacy*. (Key Issues of the Civil War Era.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2001. Pp. 201. \$47.50.

The editors of this collection of essays explain that, unlike previous works that have analyzed Confederate defeat within the context of why the South lost the war, this one "focuses instead on the final months of the Confederacy's life and examines the perceptions and decisions of the people who lived through that period" (p. 1). In essence, this book offers close looks at



various aspects of the war's termination from a Confederate perspective.

In the opening essay, Steven E. Woodworth discusses "The Last Function of Government: Confederate Collapse and Negotiated Peace." Woodworth sees the debate among the Confederacy's leaders over seeking negotiated peace as a war of personalities. On one side stood such characters as Alexander Stephens, William Holden, and Joseph Brown: rebels within the Confederacy, anti-Jefferson Davis, and proponents of seeking a peaceful end to the conflict. Neither separately nor together did they wield enough power to get their way. On the other side was Jefferson Davis, resolute to the end, whose devotion to the Confederacy's ultimate success, no matter how fruitless the task, endeared him to many and brought fear to his opponents. Woodworth concludes that the majority of southern whites stood with Davis in opposing peace that would bring reunion and end slavery. Davis's position meant "only conquest" could decide the war, and in the long view of history, "it was better that way" (p. 36). No doubt it was better for the future of the reunited states. But the impact of Confederate tenacity as a southern legacy has been far less positive.

Editor Mark Grimsley examines Confederate generals during the final days of the Confederacy, addressing the question of when military leaders should have called a halt to the bloodshed. Grimsley argues that Robert E. Lee, given his personal view that his government must call the shots, would never have opposed Davis's wishes to keep fighting, even when it became obvious the southern cause was lost. Contrarily, Joseph Johnston took it upon himself to surrender to William T. Sherman, despite Davis's protestations. Grimsley sees the distinction as a factor in Lee's action as a dutiful soldier surpassing Johnston's in our historical memory. This is a valid point, and a sad commentary, on how distorted historical memory can be.

Coaditor Brooks D. Simpson looks at how the Union high command dealt with the collapse of the Confederacy. By examining the interrelationship of politics and military activities during the closing months of the war, Simpson demonstrates that political posturing by both sides produced a stalemate. Sherman experienced the frustrations of such posturing when his initial lenient surrender agreement with Johnston was rejected in Washington. Ultimately, says Simpson, "It was left to the generals to do what the president and his representatives could not accomplish—to bring an end to the war through securing the surrender of enemy armies" (p. 100). As Woodworth points out in his essay, this outcome was better, and in that sense, the diplomats' failure assured an end to hostilities without lingering doubts, except in the minds of Southern lost causers.

William Feis takes a revisionist view of Davis's alleged endorsement of a guerrilla warfare option in 1865. Feis claims that Davis never endorsed a guerrilla war in the style of William Clark Quantrill, and he presents convincing evidence to support his point. Feis

does not clearly define what he means by guerrilla war, for this kind of warfare had many nuances and faces. Perhaps Davis envisioned his armies practicing hit and run guerrilla tactics as armies, not as loosely bound bands of partisans. Since Davis never had the opportunity to implement whatever he meant, and since he did not elaborate after the war, we can never be absolutely sure of his meaning. Certainly it is doubtful that southern civilians in April 1865 would have supported an extended, open-ended guerrilla action of any kind. Most hardliners chose instead a war of words, which their ideological descendants carry on.

George C. Rable examines the ramifications of Confederate morale, a much-debated topic since the 1986 publication of Richard E. Beringer, ed., *Why the South Lost the Civil War*. The contributors to that work claimed that the loss of Confederate will to carry on the war was a major factor in Union victory. Rable correctly insists that southern morale was an overly complex issue that can not be simplified by generalizations. In his words, "To say that Confederate morale collapsed in the spring of 1865 is at best a partial truth. Rather, the persistence of unrealistic expectations, wild fantasies, and false hopes sustained the will to continue the war but at an increasingly horrible physical and psychological cost" (p. 155). Rable goes on to say that it does not matter whether Confederacy supporters, officials, and soldiers believed hopeful delusions, because such beliefs had become a "narcotic" that combated cold reality. Rable believes that this process laid the groundwork for the lost cause mythology that continues to shadow the South.

Jean Berlin addresses the topic of Confederate women's impact on the lost war, and in the process, complements Rable's point about the impact of the last days on the lost cause. Berlin asserts these women neither "hastened or postponed" defeat, arguing instead that, like Confederate morale, white female experiences in the South were complex, a mixture of emotions steeped in ramifications of "ideology, religion, domestic politics, and military events." Victims of both armies, southern white women ultimately blamed only the north for their tribulations, a tactic that kept them "trapped among the ghosts of the past" (p. 188).

These well-written essays provide much food for thought and will stimulate Civil War scholars to continue the trend in recent years to better our understanding of the period by looking beyond guns and trumpets. Military history in a vacuum does not adequately explain the war or the people who lived it. That is especially true of the Confederacy. These scholars have enlightened our understanding of how the collapse of the Confederacy affected the outcome of the war. I only regret that they did not extend their studies into the postwar period where the ramifications of these themes crystallized.

MICHAEL B. BALLARD  
Mississippi State University

MICHAEL PERMAN. *Struggle for Mastery: Disfranchisement in the South, 1888–1908*. (The Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 397. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$24.95.

"All we want is a small vote and a large count," wrote an Alabama white man to the Democratic State Executive Committee as they plotted to revise the state constitution in 1901 (p. 180). Michael Perman's book explains how ten southern states accomplished that goal between 1889 and 1908. By the end of the period, seventy percent of eligible southern voters did not vote, discouraged by a variety of measures including poll taxes, unfairly administered literacy tests, and direct primaries that included only white voters. The fraud of the 1880s abated because white southerners had erected legal structures to insure a small, overwhelmingly Democratic vote. Their aim, as one South Carolinian put it, was to assure the "permanent establishment of white supremacy" (p. 91). In achieving that goal, southern states eliminated many poor white voters even as they drove black voters from the polls.

Four generations of scholarship, from V. O. Key to C. Vann Woodward to J. Morgan Kousser to Stephen Kantrowitz, have made this story familiar to historians of the South. Perman's contribution is, by design, sweeping. He does three things that enable us to understand disfranchisement's gestalt and, at the same time, to see its parts. First, he situates the story in the context of progressive electoral reform at both ends of the period—the Australian ballot in 1889 and the direct primary around 1900—to demonstrate how the South took national democratic initiatives and twisted them into misshapen, antidemocratic forms. Second, while acknowledging the elimination of black voters as the campaigns' primary purpose, Perman groups southern states by the secondary motives that moved them to disfranchise, shedding light on intrastate politics. Third, he examines the mechanisms by which each of the ten states accomplished their tasks.

Perman leaves no doubt that all southern white Democrats shared the goal of disfranchising southern black voters, even as he illuminates secondary motivations that influenced their methods and results. Tennessee and Arkansas responded to national outcries about election fraud and renewed fears of federal intervention with the secret ballot and the poll tax, neatly cleaning up fraud and reducing the black electorate at the same time. Democrats in Mississippi and South Carolina sought to "harmonize rival factions" before agrarian politics or geographical differences split the party (p. 91). Louisiana and North Carolina reacted to "fusion" governments composed of black and white southerners from Populist and Republican parties. Alabama and Virginia black-belt Democrats, following the other states in 1901, advocated disfranchisement as a reform that could bring both honesty and white supremacy to their sections. Finally, Texas and Georgia, states that reduced the black vote

through piecemeal measures in the 1890s, added more restrictions after the turn of the century, mainly to control errant white voters.

Thus, Perman provides a useful model for thinking about disfranchisement that demonstrates the power of chronological analysis. As white southerners disfranchised, always to eliminate African Americans but often for complicated local reasons as well, each band of antidemocratic Democrats learned tricks to emulate and pitfalls to avoid from its predecessors. Moreover, Perman demonstrates how the federal government's attitude moved from outrage to mild concern to grudging admiration. Finally, through his examination of the public debate surrounding disfranchisement on a state-by-state basis, Perman disputes Kousser's identification of the disfranchisers as "conservative Democrats, mainly located in the black belt" (p. 4). Sometimes it was the party's reform wing that initiated disfranchisement; sometimes it was those Democrats living outside majority black counties; sometimes it was black-belt Democrats.

Yet, for all of that, Perman leaves the reader with nagging doubts about *why* the disfranchisers felt it necessary at that moment to eliminate the black vote. Perman, like Ulrich B. Phillips, accepts white opposition to black voters as a given. In so doing, he naturalizes the notion that white and black men could not coexist in politics and neglects or refuses to ask what Gordian knots of social and economic conflict were cut along with the electoral evisceration he so painstakingly describes. His elaboration of the disfranchisers' motives—that they cared about fraud, agrarian political challenges, and intrastate distribution of power—does not explain the primary thrust of disfranchisement. Why did black voters have to go? To discover that, Perman would have had to include the voices of rank-and-file black southerners and women, pay attention to the economic issues surrounding the agrarian unrest and urban remedies of the 1890s, explore in depth the terror and violence that made sure the new laws worked, and take into account the ideas that persuaded white Democrats that they were entitled to "mastery" in the first place.

This book is the definitive account of how the disfranchisers disenfranchised. Its typology of disfranchisement and its painstaking state-by-state analysis will make it a valuable reference for southern historians for years to come. But it is a book to be consulted more than consumed, for when consumed, one comes away hungry for more. Perman sees his work as a correction to "recent scholarship" that "focuses on particular aspects of the disfranchising episode and the social and cultural context in which it happened" (p. 8). Thus, he directs the reader to look elsewhere for deep context, since his purpose is to document only the process by which disfranchisement occurred. One wonders how useful it is to understand process without context or to understand how white men struggled for mastery without understanding why they thought they were entitled to it. The result is valuable only when

read with those other accounts that place the perpetrators in the complex world in which they actually lived, not, as Perman does, in the lily-white world of their imaginations. Perman's curious disregard for the social and cultural context surrounding disfranchisement makes this a bloodless account of a bloody crime.

GLEND A ELIZABETH GILMORE  
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RACHEL F. MORAN. *Interracial Intimacy: The Regulation of Race and Romance*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 271. \$30.00.

In the United States, racial legislation regulating intimate relations established boundaries of sexual and marital propriety. The law shaped, and was shaped by, academic, medical, and popular norms of deviance conveyed through a broad array of gendered images associating sex across the color line with pathological sexuality. Rachel F. Moran adds to a body of literature that cumulatively demonstrates that the public fiction of race categories is deeply embedded in American ways of thinking and acting. Identifying "separate but equal" families as one of the most durable legacies of legal and political racism, Moran's historical survey further demonstrates that race, not culture, continues to mediate social identities and cleavages. An obstinate refusal to acknowledge racial segregation as a salient characteristic of American family life reflects a deep belief in the romantic ideology of love, which presumes coincidence and freedom of choice. Moran looks beyond idiosyncratic attractions as a primary explanation for intimate choices of love and marriage and instead attends to the ways in which racist predispositions continue to regulate emotions and interpersonal relations. Through a close examination of the history of antimiscegenation laws, their dismantlement, and contemporary debates about intimate interracial relationships, Moran persuasively insists on the necessity of analyzing the role of race as a key variable in calculating the costs and benefits of familial ties.

From the colonial era, the black-white binary characterized the country. Color, genotype, and social ties—the three notions of race that Moran identifies—always complicated legislative efforts to maintain white purity, but ancestry was the singular factor used to define people of African descent as "colored" regardless of skin color or European progenitors. The absence of recognizable signifiers of blackness permitted racial ambiguity and facilitated the individual's right to control information about herself. Yet the ambiguity that served to shield the individual from discrimination also diffused the stigma of blackness in order to accentuate identities with greater social currency. Being black has been a liability in the United States and therefore the phenomenon of passing has required anonymity and erasure of all linkages to the wrong side of one's family.

By the mid-twentieth century, generic whiteness replaced anglocentric definitions of whiteness, facili-

tating the incorporation of previously undesirable European races, redefined by the social science vocabulary of ethnicity. With the removal of restrictive immigration quotas in 1965, race again began to morph into ethnicity as the privileges of whiteness proved fluid enough to accommodate upwardly mobile newcomers from Latin America and Asia. Throughout American history, attitudes toward sexuality and race were intimately tied to domestic and foreign policies and, as Moran maps out in separate sections of each chapter, Mexicans, American Indians, and immigrants from East and South Asia were racialized in different ways at different times. As she points out, "when the color line was critical to preserving an established social order, the definition of whiteness could become quite exacting and those who transgressed racial boundaries were deemed antisocial and dangerous" (p. 59). Nonetheless, although they were victims of legislative discrimination and restrictions on marriage, Latinos, Asians, and American Indians have increasingly been able to assimilate into white America through the alchemy of intermarriage. The distinguishing characteristics of language, national origin, and tribal sovereignty have not proved as obstinate a barrier as the legacy of negative attitudes toward blackness.

Moran is repeatedly forced to return to the singular fact that black Americans remain the most stigmatized group and have proven to be the least assimilable regardless of class mobility. Despite media attention to black-white unions, over eighty percent of interracial families do not include a black partner, black children are the least desirable in transracial adoptions, white children are rarely fostered or adopted by parents of color, and even the campaign for a multiracial category obscures the fact that black/African-American is already a multiracial category. Law professor Patricia Williams skillfully encapsulated the critique of multiracialism when she wrote: "what troubles me is the degree to which few people in the world, and most particularly in the United States, are anything but multiracial, to say nothing of biracial. The use of the term seems to privilege the offspring of mixed marriages as those 'between' races without doing much to enhance the social status of all us mixed-up products of the illegitimacies of the not so distant past."

In a departure from the direction initiated toward civil rights legislation in the 1954 U.S. Supreme Court decision, *Brown v Board of Education* (eliminating segregation in public schools), courts in the last decade have moved away from protecting historically disadvantaged group rights, as evidenced by court-ordered repeals of affirmative action policies which confuse invidious discrimination with remedial racial preference. The judicial turn toward an emphasis on individual rights and the principle of color blindness gives particular importance to Moran's study of racial equality and interpersonal associations. The color-blind ideal articulated by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Loving v Virginia* (1967) privileges the model of romantic

individualism. In contrast, Moran's historical survey serves as an important reminder that any emphasis on intentional discrimination that ignores outcome "obscures the significance of links between racial identity and personal choices in neighbors, friends and lovers" (p. 193). In the twenty-first century, Americans need candidly to confront the fact that segregation and same-race families are not race neutral; in the absence of regular interaction, as Moran warns, racial boundaries can only endure and become rigid and reified.

KATYA GIBEL AZOULAY  
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MIA BAY. *The White Image in the Black Mind: African-American Ideas about White People, 1830-1925*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 288. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

In her important new book, Mia Bay asks and answers two wonderfully timely and relevant questions: what new ideas about white people did Africans and African Americans develop in America, and why have historians been profoundly silent on such an essential subject? Despite two important limitations—that the majority of black people across much of American history have been illiterate, and that blacks have rarely been in a position freely to express their views of whites—Bay patiently and persuasively documents several powerful strands of African-American thinking about whiteness. This book fills a giant hole in the otherwise rich literature about the history of race in America. It is, profoundly, a story of "the limits of what black people can be made to believe about themselves" (p. 220).

Common to all black thinking about white people, Bay argues, was blacks' understanding that whites "deemed blacks a lesser species only to rationalize their own exploitation and abuse of people of color" (p. 9). African Americans wondered, from the early nineteenth through the twentieth century, whether the lie of white supremacy instead suggested the truth of white inferiority. Yet "African-Americans never inscribed white images across their culture and imaginative life" (p. 5) as scholars as varied as George Fredrickson, Toni Morrison, Joel Williamson, Eric Lott, and Linda Williams have shown white Americans did with their images of blackness. Black thinking about whiteness, Bay insists in one of her most important arguments, is a much smaller space than its reverse. Black people in America have thought about white people's identities to defend themselves from the effects of white racism. But otherwise, unlike whites, they have filled their psyches and their imaginations with other themes, with what it means to love and fight and live.

Bay usefully divides this black thinking about whites into three categories: nineteenth-century black ethnology, black folk thought or the racial thinking of slaves, and black racial thought in the twentieth century. Black ethnology, written almost exclusively by black men, was a literature produced in response to ethnol-

ogy, the nineteenth-century "science of the races" written by white scientists, politicians, and proslavery polemicists. This black discourse served as defense, an effort to prove that Africans and African Americans were part of a then evolving, scientific conception of humanity. Much black ethnology "reenvisioned" rather than "repudiated" (p. 47) ideas about racial difference and, as Bay argues, could easily slide "into a black chauvinism that mirrored the very racist logic it opposed" (p. 45). Here Bay examines the racial thinking of well-known figures like David Walker, Frederick Douglass, and William Wells Brown and lesser known figures like John Russwurm, a West Indian-born college graduate who wrote for and worked as an editor at *Freedom's Journal*, and the abolitionist speaker and medical doctor John Rock.

In Bay's second category of black thinking about whites, black folk thought or what she also calls "the racial thought of slaves" (p. 113), blacks' sense of white racism evolved from white actions, from observing whites treating blacks more like animals than people. Slaves' counterarguments, offered in the songs, tales, folklore, and autobiographical statements of ex-slaves, did not so much question white humanity as vigorously assert their own. Often informed by black religious faith, this vernacular tradition probed the morality of whites and suggested that divine retribution would achieve justice, if not in this world then in the next.

In her final category, Bay examines the changing racial thought of African Americans in the early twentieth century. The gradual erosion of racial determinism in white thinking posed special difficulties for black thinkers. Some black intellectuals slowly began, in a parallel development to that of some white thinkers, to see culture, rather than race, as the crucial location of human differences. Other African Americans, in contrast, continued and indeed strengthened their embrace of race as the essential and even divine marker of difference, giving rise to black separatist movements from Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association to the Moorish Science Temple.

Bay concludes by arguing that scholars have not studied black racial thinking in part because they have assumed that "the African-American struggle for equality was informed by a conviction in the fallacy of innate distinctions between the races" (p. 220). In demonstrating just how rich and varied the traditions of black racial thinking have been, that African Americans have used racist assumptions as often as they have challenged them, Bay has made an original and important contribution to historical scholarship.

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MATTHEW PRATT GUTERL. *The Color of Race in America 1900-1940*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 234. \$39.95.



With this book, Matthew Pratt Guterl establishes himself as a keen interpreter of race and what that concept has meant in the United States. Utilizing the biographies of four historical figures representing three ethno/racial groups, Guterl provides a beautifully crafted analysis of how race has been constructed and reconstructed for purposes of communal identity, political mobilization, and social stratification in the early part of the last century.

The story that Guterl tells through the rendering of racial self-classification among Irish Americans, African Americans, and white Anglos is by now familiar. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, race meant different things at different times, and racial categorization was both complicated and hotly contested. Ultimately, though, by the time of World War II, the nation settled on a definition of race based primarily on skin color, a definition that provided the full citizenship afforded by "whiteness" for all those of European extraction and something rather less than that for African Americans.

Like other historians of the "color line," Guterl focuses on the journey that Irish Americans made from a despised and alien race of "Celts" to fully embraced "whites." The first large-scale Catholic presence in the United States, the Irish fought against bouts of Know-nothingism and scientific Anglo-Saxonism by distancing themselves from blacks through urban violence, the performance of black minstrelsy, and other such "civilizing" strategies. Later-arriving, non-English-speaking European groups like Poles, Jews, and Italians went through a similar "whitening" process, each group proving itself worthy of full citizenship through its disassociation from racial blackness. Eventually, through the unifying experience of two world wars and the Great Depression, the implementation of immigration quotas, and the "Great Migration" of blacks to the North and West, immigrants of European extraction became white citizens and race became defined along the black/white color divide. In the forty years that Guterl studies, the intensifying focus on blacks turned "racial discourse away from its traditional Anglo-Saxonism and toward a unified sense of race-as-color, or as whiteness and blackness" (p. 80).

But the transmogrification of European immigrants was not a smooth, inexorable process. There were important nuances, and Guterl captures them brilliantly. Guterl points out, for example, that race had been a fundamental component of Irish nationalism in America and Ireland since the 1840s, and that as late as World War I the Irish American nationalist Daniel Cohalan mounted a defense of a distinct Irish race. But by the end of the war, with the "international Jew" and the "New Negro" in northern cities now the focus of suspicion, the "Celt" was broadly deemed eligible for white status. Irish nationalists in America began to see their overseas brethren as "the only white race in slavery," leaving Guterl to conclude that "postwar Irish American nationalism . . . was a willing participant in the sweeping return of whiteness and the

reemergence of the complicated balancing act between whiteness and Irishness" (p. 88).

Guterl chooses the four subjects of his study wisely, for they reflect well the larger historical trends evident throughout the first decades of this century. Madison Grant, the nativist author of the *Passing of the Great Race* (1916), was enormously popular during the Progressive era when the post-1880 "new immigrants" seemed a more serious threat to Anglo-Saxondom than the quiet southern negro. But by the 1930s, Grant's cultural importance had waned as immigration restriction rendered his particular form of nordic chauvinism much less attractive.

Guterl's discussions of W. E. B. Du Bois and Jean Toomer are generally superb, although his interpretation of their work is overly politicized. In general, the more Du Bois flirts with an international black identity against an American one, the more Guterl seems to approve. Toomer, a southerner of mixed parentage whose *Cane* (1923) was the best novel of the Harlem Renaissance, is at times unfairly dismissed for his earnest attempts to quell the racial disquiet within himself.

The problem for Guterl and other historians of "whiteness theory" is that their linkage of whiteness and citizenship has little bearing on group relations today. If their goal has been to recast American history as a story of racial exclusion rather than one of immigrant inclusion, to attribute the social mobility of European immigrants primarily to white skin privilege, then they must explain how it is that today nonwhite immigrants from all over the world progress at very much the same rate as European immigrants of the past. American history is either much more a story of the steadily expanding circle of citizenship than these scholars let on, or something resembling a complete societal transformation took place after World War II. If either or both of these possibilities are even partly true, something very fundamental about the character of American life is missing from this approach to American history.

SETH FORMAN

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MYRA B. YOUNG ARMSTEAD. *"Lord, Please Don't Take Me in August": African Americans in Newport and Saratoga Springs, 1870-1930.* (Blacks in the New World.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 176. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$16.95.

During the past twenty years, the study of the migration of African Americans from the South to the North at the turn of the twentieth century has shifted from a paradigm emphasizing the general breakdown and social pathology that allegedly accompanied their movement North to one in which blacks actually became actors in the process of creating what the late John W. Blassingame described as "enduring communities." Myra B. Young Armstead's book is a welcome addition to that growing body of literature that in-



cludes Joe William Trotter's *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915–1945* (1988), Allen B. Ballard's "One More Day's Journey": *The Story of a Family and a People* (1984), Earl Lewis's *In Their Own Interests: Race, Class, and Power in Twentieth-Century Norfolk, Virginia* (1991), James Borchert's *Alley Life in Washington: Family, Community, Religion, and Folklife in the City, 1850–1970* (1980), and my *Strangers in the Land of Paradise: The Creation of an African American Community, Buffalo, New York, 1900–1940* (1999). All of these works emphasize the adaptive nature of black culture and blacks' ability to exercise agency, despite racial proscriptions.

Armstead's book is a study of the urbanization of African Americans in the small, resort towns of Saratoga Springs, New York, and Newport, Rhode Island, in the early years of the twentieth century. Both towns had small and transient black populations. Scholars of black urban history have tended to ignore such regions, opting instead to focus on the teeming metropolises with their larger black populations. Hence, we know little about black life in resort centers and small towns. Armstead observes that these geographical "pastoral" settings are nevertheless prime examples of the tight urban-rural nexus within which blacks traveled frequently. She further suggests that the move may have been gradual and may have included a stint in small towns before many rural blacks moved to the big cities.

The book addresses patterns of black migration to resort centers, employment, residential life, and institution building. Armstead focuses on two major questions: did the experiences of black migrants to these two towns differ significantly from those of their counterparts in large areas, and does it make sense to analyze their communities as being separate from the larger communities in which they lived and worked? She begins with a personal narrative, describing childhood experiences in the Catskills, that helps to set the stage for an understanding of what she describes as the rhythm of the black migration experience in the resort centers: the cycle of increasing and declining populations and the shifting labor needs dictated by the changing economy. Armstead describes the intricate interactions between black permanent residents and summer residents and notes their symbiotic relationship whereby the black community welcomed the migrants and their precious dollars into their churches, businesses, and homes. But beyond their economic, social, and political connections, Armstead observes that the interrelationship helped to link blacks in Saratoga Springs and Newport to their larger national communities. She further contends that "inasmuch as it explores the extent and essence of black community, it also locates the mechanism for the transmission of an African American identity in those racialized dimensions of the urbanization processes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century United States" (p. xviii).

Armstead observes rightly that the creation of black

community resulted from their own positive and deliberate acts that resulted in the building of their own institutions, as well as the racial restrictions imposed upon its members by outside forces. However, she contends that race always emerged as the most salient factor, however, despite the undeniable impact of intersections of race, class, and gender. The institutions that blacks founded replicated those that they had established in other communities, maintaining their racial identity. These separate institutions—their churches and benevolent organizations and even some of their businesses—served to unify southern and northern blacks.

Armstead carefully discusses the class distinctions within the African-American communities of Saratoga and Newport. She contends that blacks in Saratoga and Newport created their own criteria for determining status in their communities, which differed from that of whites in the towns. For blacks, the most important criteria were a steady job and the place of employment. In this schema, headwaiters and stewards were at the top of the black pecking order in both towns, and leadership positions opened up to them in local businesses and community organizations just as they had in other black communities across the country. Despite their class differences, Armstead rightly noted that a "rationalized . . . alliance between bourgeois blacks elites and the black masses" also occurred "in the cause of race uplift" (p. 4). Her analysis suggests that the distinctions between the working class and the middle class may not have been that great and that they understood that their fates were inextricably intertwined. Kinship and acquaintance networks also played an important role in the nature of the community that African Americans developed, and these relationships considerably eased the social problems caused by the migration.

Armstead has written a compelling urban history in which she places the experiences of blacks in the resort towns of Saratoga and Newport within the context of the larger African-American community. Her delineation of the personalities and economic development cycles of the two towns provides the reader with an understanding of population growth and the different settlement patterns that emerged. The book is well written and well researched. Armstead supports her arguments by the use of oral histories, newspapers, institutional records, census data, and other government documents. The book is illustrated with breathtaking photographs. Students of urban and social history and black studies will find this book beneficial.

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GERALD W. MCFARLAND. *Inside Greenwich Village: A New York City Neighborhood, 1898–1918*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 272. \$29.95.

Greenwich Village has a special place in New York City history, and in American cultural history as well. In the Progressive era, the "Village" became known for its avant-garde culture, its bohemian life styles, and its radical politics. The Village's cultural radicals have been written about before, but Gerald W. McFarland's book pushes beyond these popular images. This book explores the history of the larger Village neighborhood: a small geographical area of lower Manhattan with considerable ethnic and class diversity. By 1900, the Village was home to Irish, Italians, African Americans, patrician New Yorkers, and a small but growing number of reformers, activists, artists, and writers. The central question of the book involves "investigating how a culturally diverse neighborhood functioned early in the twentieth century" (p. 6).

McFarland digs deeply into the Village's ethnic neighborhoods. Black and Irish communities settled the area quite early, whereas Italians arrived mostly after 1890. Comprised primarily of newcomers from Europe and the American South, each group carved out areas of settlement and established communal institutions such as churches, schools, clubs, and saloons. The Village's tenement housing and ethnic diversity provided an attractive field of social endeavor for two newly established settlement houses, Greenwich House and the West Side Branch of the University Settlement. Well-known settlement reformers such as Mary K. Simkhovich and Robert Hunter lived in the community and sought to build bridges across class and ethnic boundaries. Many of the settlement workers wrote research studies on Village housing and working conditions, works that serve as major sources for McFarland's study.

Immigrants and settlement workers shared the Village's urban space with a considerable number of patrician New Yorkers who lived on the north side of Washington Square and around lower Fifth Avenue. This upper-class Protestant elite, McFarland contends, engaged with the Village's working-class immigrants in a variety of ways. The Charity Organization Society sought to aid the poor through "scientific" charity, really the beginnings of social casework. The Church of the Ascension, an elite Episcopal institution on Fifth Avenue, hired a social gospeler as rector and sponsored a weekly neighborhood forum that attracted working-class Villagers. Another organization, the Washington Square Association, took a different approach and sought to defend the elite's Washington Square turf by targeting street vendors and ball games. Finally, McFarland gets around to the reformers, socialists, radicals, and writers who lived in Greenwich Village and worked for a variety of progressive causes: labor reform, factory safety, housing codes, city planning, women's suffrage, and others. Many of these reform activities, McFarland notes, built on "cross-class alliances" with working-class Villagers. Greenwich Village also had its share of brothels, gambling dens, dance halls, saloons, and ethnic gangs. Vice reformers wanted to eliminate these immoral influ-

ences, but for many of the area's writers and artists these features of Village life provided raw material for art, journalism, and literature. McFarland also discusses the cultural radicals who gave the village its bohemian reputation. These included John Sloan, Max Eastman, John Reed, Mary Heaton Vorse, and Mabel Dodge, artists and writers involved in the journal *The Masses*, which advocated worker cooperatives, women's rights, sexual freedom, and a countercultural politics. McFarland's study ends with the year 1918, when American involvement in World War I divided Greenwich Villagers, and by which time most recognized that the idealized conception of neighborhood unity and consensus was unachievable.

McFarland has written an excellent book, one that provides a full and fascinating account of this New York City neighborhood during the Progressive era. It covers a shorter time span than Rick Beard's and Leslie Cohen Berlowitz's edited collection, *Greenwich Village: Culture and Counterculture* (1993), but it has more cohesion and more focus. The book successfully integrates the development of the Village's ethnic and working-class communities with the institutional thrust of the elites and reformers. It makes for a complex history that gets well beyond the popular conception of Greenwich Village as little more than a hangout for bohemians and cultural radicals.

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DAN FLORES. *The Natural West: Environmental History in the Great Plains and Rocky Mountains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2001. Pp. x, 285. \$29.95.

Dan Flores's ten chapters, which comprise his treatment of North America's Rocky Mountains and Great Plains, reflect twenty years of thinking about the land, its natural history, and its human inhabitants from Texas, where he studied, to Montana, where he resides, and beyond. It is mostly a revised version of previously published material and, therefore, is more a series of meditative essays than a formal analysis of the environmental history of his region.

Flores opens by asking the reader to consider the play of light, slope, aridity, and other biophysical features, including native animals, which lend both character and identity to the natural West. These elements have all influenced human settlement—productive enterprises—which can be documented and followed by the environmental historian. The author's purview lies deeper. Flores explores interstices of the human-land debate, how we view our past roles and responsibilities in imposing changes on preexisting habitats. He discusses the role of religion, the range of unconscious attitudes and prejudices about living on the land, and refers to the subsistence strategies in so-called Indian America. Native Americans faced vagaries of drought, competed for territory, and wore down a resource base rather than living in stasis, he concludes.

Flores is respectful of precursor mentors in environmental history, notably Walter Prescott Webb, whom he debates in several chapters that address the essential condition of aridity in his natural West. Webb sets out the palimpsest that Flores works with in order to convey the processes of landscape change, as well as more recent and revisionist scholarship in which he is steeped. Flores demonstrates a broad grasp of complementary disciplines as he draws effortlessly from various sources in crafting and weighing issues and arguments about attitudes and values attributed to settlers, tourists, explorers, and officials in coming to terms with his country.

Flores prefers to filter narratives, opinions, and assumptions about past environments through the lens of Edward O. Wilson's biophilia argument, expressing a basic hope for a new environmental story. He seeks some measure of ecological restoration: more wild bison on both public and private lands; recovery of grizzly bear populations from the relict numbers that remain, and improved tolerance for this archpredator, as well as respect for individual animals. He urges a keener consideration of place by contemporary urban Americans, including the communities in the montane and lowland region of which he speaks. For example, in his reconstruction of Mormon economic stability along the Wasatch Range in Utah, Flores compares their initial noncapitalist concept of planning with the laissez-faire competition that came later. The so-called small-scale economics of place in early Mormon settlement, which he regards as sustainable, eventually conceded overly functional (too anthropocentric without ecological wit) attributes for the preservation of Zion.

This book is basically about patterns of human adjustment to environmental shifts in fragile mountain and grassland ecologies. Undependable rain, drought, locusts, and hard weather confronted settlers used to landscapes with greater moisture, more plentiful wood, and deeper soils east of the Mississippi River. Flores discusses the issues of access to resources and the responsibilities of federal, regional, and local institutions in influencing the range of extractive activities, the carrying capacities of livestock, harvesting strategies for both game and forestry interests, and ultimately, the routines and economies of the human denizens.

This is a nostalgic look at that which was, yet also a qualified vision of what can be. Restoration ecology, concludes Flores, is a term bandied about among range managers, wildlife biologists, and environmental organizations. However, he recognizes that is impossible to go back; going back means a benchmark from which to measure and assess change, and such a benchmark is under constant scrutiny and reappraisal from the assessments and understandings we continue to uncover about past ecologies. Experts have not yet learned to restore biological communities, let alone cultural ones, and many have no desire to do so. Given the vagaries of the environments about which we have

very limited understanding, and the introduction of non-native plants and animals that may be impossible to eradicate, the range of options for the future is indeed limited. Flores ponders this crucial issue at the end of his discussion about human domination of the natural West. He prefers the role of commentator, ably juxtaposing accounts of prehistoric and archaic Indian hunting with nineteenth-century Euro-American entry and occupation. His posture toward twenty-first-century decisions about the land and its people is comedic—being open, flexible, and intuitive. He offers useful and insightful assessments about an area to which he is keenly devoted, leaving us with an urge to experience the landscape in its past and present entirety and to keep our minds open to the range of possibilities for its future.

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STEVEN STOLL. *The Fruits of Natural Advantage: Making the Industrial Countryside in California*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 273. \$35.00.

This book is a fascinating tale of the California countryside that growers made as well as the detrimental consequences this new world had for the environment and labor relations. Steven Stoll writes in a clear and graceful manner that allows the reader to understand how, between 1880 and 1930, an enterprising group of orchard capitalists made California the nation's leading producer of fruit.

Stoll begins with a richly detailed description of California's natural advantages of warm climate, river water, and fertile land that first attracted wheat growers who shipped most of their crop to foreign markets. When California wheat declined due to overseas competition and falling global prices, fruit growers stepped in to build a more successful agricultural enterprise. This new kind of agriculture was based on the ideas of agricultural economist Edwin Nourse, who advocated the industrialization of agriculture through adoption of modern business methods such as specialization, mechanization, and marketing. California growers first had to learn how to manipulate natural forces to their advantage by diverting river water to irrigate fields, surveying the variety of soils, and studying climate patterns. These efforts were not enough, however; fruit producers also needed to develop a better distribution system that transported the most perishable products to distant urban markets and circumvented the power of commission merchants and jobbers entrusted to sell their fruit.

In grappling with changing consumer tastes, fruit growers needed to organize themselves into cooperatives to advertise their product. Focusing on pear fruit as a case study, Stoll effectively shows how California pear growers became the California Pear Growers Association to negotiate better prices with canneries

and make their pears appealing to consumers. To increase consumer demand, the marketing cooperative recruited the J. Walter Thompson advertising agency to promote the "perfect pear," also known as the Bartlett pear. Through effective marketing strategies that stressed education and brand names, twentieth-century American consumers came to recognize one pear variety as opposed to sixty different varieties in the previous century. While a shift to single-crop specialization resolved some problems, it also presented new ones, including insect outbreaks and labor shortages.

In the book's most original chapter, Stoll describes how California growers waged chemical warfare against fruit pests. No marketing strategy could ever convince consumers to buy pest-ridden fruit. This fact convinced fruit growers to arm themselves with spray nozzles and take to the fields in search of phylloxera, black and red scale, and the notorious Mediterranean fruit fly. Growers were assisted by a network of university experiment station experts, and by government agents who promoted chemical insecticides for pest control as opposed to more environmentally friendly solutions. Growers rarely heeded the dangers of chemical solutions to public health and the environment. Instead pest control emerged as a big business led by large chemical companies like Chevron and, according to Stoll, "contributed to the capital intensity of fruit growing and maintained the state's relative advantages over other regions" (p. 123).

Stoll describes how what began as a compromise between a benign environment and intensive cultivation ultimately became exploitative toward farmworkers who picked the fruit. This familiar story has been well told, and Stoll does not add anything new about growers' incessant search for an abundant cheap labor force. While Stoll describes the changing racial makeup of farm labor prior to the 1930s, he does not analyze the racialized and gendered constructions of "cheap labor" that rationalized certain farm jobs to whites, nonwhites, men, and women based on their putative biological and cultural capacities. The idea that Mexican men were naturally suitable for stoop labor in the fields and deserving of cheap wages, for example, was also based on racial and gender ideologies advanced by eugenicists of that period. Growers appealed to popular racial and gender notions that described Mexican males as docile, childlike, and in need of supervision. In one grower's description, "The Mexican is not aggressive, he is amenable to suggestions and does his work" (p. 152).

Aside from these considerations, Stoll has written a well-researched study that should be of interest to environmental, agricultural, business, and social historians. When read alongside Carey McWilliams's *Factories in the Fields: The Story of Migratory Farm Labor in California* (1939) and more recent works by Don Mitchell, George Henderson, David Vaught, Gilbert González, Camille Guerin-Gonzales, and Matt Garcia, this important work will certainly stimulate debate on

the relationship among nature, capital, and labor in the development of California agriculture.

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CARL-HENRY GESCHWIND. *California Earthquakes: Science, Risk and the Politics of Hazard Mitigation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 337. \$45.00.

This book tells a tale about how a small group of seismic scientists and structural engineers labored over the twentieth century to develop a rigorous new science (seismology), while educating the public about geological hazards and convincing politicians about the benefits of state and federal emergency management systems. Over nine chronological chapters, Carl-Henry Geschwind argues that these "progressive" experts are primarily responsible for the "sophisticated" system of earthquake preparedness that now prevails in contemporary California.

It was not easy to convince Californians that their state was prone to earthquakes. Despite the traumatic experience of the San Francisco earthquake of 1906, it was only in the third quarter of the twentieth century that local businesses and politicians began to countenance significant earthquake safety measures. Resistance to government regulations has been spirited ever since. Other scholarly studies have examined the economics of seismic denial in California. Ted Steinberg's *Acts of God: The Unnatural History of Natural Disaster in America* (2001), for example, tracks and analyzes the tenacious opposition of real estate interests and civic boosters to stringent (and expensive) building codes and zoning laws. Geschwind also pays attention to legal struggles and political conflicts, but his main contribution to the historiography comes from his material on earthquake scientists. Trained in the sciences himself, he devotes much of the book to the accumulation of modern earthquake knowledge, the mapping of faults, and the development of new technologies. Noting the rudimentary state of seismic science at the beginning of the twentieth century, he carefully charts improvements in measuring instruments (such as torsion seismographs) and advances in our comprehension of the moving earth (the elastic theory and so forth).

Geschwind shies away from argumentation in this book, preferring to let the facts speak for themselves. But he does challenge the prevailing sociological notion that progress in earthquake preparedness is best explained by the "window of opportunity" that opens after great disasters strike: that is to say, the moment when the political will suddenly exists to push through expensive safety reforms. To be sure, events like the Long Beach earthquake of 1933 prodded legislators to pass the landmark Field Act mandating earthquake-proofed schools, but, according to Geschwind, modern hazard mitigation owes most to scientists working methodically out of the public eye, using their exper-



tise to promote reforms, working with, rather than against, politicians and industry.

Centering on the contributions of scientists ensures that the narrative flows easily. But Geschwind surely claims too much for his subjects when he states that “the story of earthquake hazard mitigation in twentieth-century California . . . is the story of the Progressive impulse among a small group of California scientists and engineers” (p. 8). Historians have long since learned to be skeptical of triumphalist accounts that accord such an exclusive role to small groups of idealistic crusaders, properly demanding more consideration of economic motives, class politics, and cultural logics. In any case, the portrait of Progressivism offered here is curiously outdated. The author cites few recent works in the field. Although he attributes earthquake preparedness to the “ideology” of Progressivism, he offers little in the way of ideological analysis himself, tending to accept “progressive” scientists on their own terms as objective, disinterested, and public-spirited. As Geschwind himself shows, however, earthquake scientists always worked closely with the state, and, after World War II, were increasingly absorbed into the military-industrial complex. This privileged position gave them prestige and influence, but it also ensured their quiescence on social and environmental issues. Framing the problem of earthquakes in purely scientific terms, of course, is itself an ideological move. While universal safety standards, for example, sound fair and sensible, in practice they can penalize the most vulnerable members of society. Demolishing unsafe houses in a capitalist economy that is already incapable of providing adequate affordable housing may make housing stock safer, but it can also leave the poor out on the streets. And while earthquake safety itself is undoubtedly an important issue, and scientists and engineers should be commended for their contributions to earthquake preparedness, we should also consider what happens when we make the reduction of earthquake risk an absolute priority, especially if this diverts scarce public funds from social problems like poverty, housing, schooling, and welfare.

Read this book, then, for the science. But read it alongside works like Mike Davis’s *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (1998) to appreciate that science can hinder as much as it helps when it fails to take into account the social contexts of disaster.

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TIMOTHY RAWSON. *Changing Tracks: Predators and Politics in Mt. McKinley National Park*. Fairbanks: University of Alaska Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 326. Cloth \$39.95, paper \$24.95.

Timothy Rawson’s book is a tightly written study of the controversy over wolf control in Mt. McKinley National Park (now Denali National Park) from 1917, when Congress established the park, to 1954, when

National Park Service (NPS) director Conrad Wirth ordered wolf killing in the park to cease. Rawson sets the story in the context of changing, and conflicting, perceptions about wolves in the twentieth century, which accompanied the emergence of ecological science as well as the complex web of social values attending the shift from production to consumption in the American economy. Subthemes touch on the balance of nature vs. quality of habitat theories among ecologists and wildlife managers and the limits of scientific knowledge about species behavior. Set in this context, Rawson’s study illuminates the importance of personal networks in shaping environmental policy in the twentieth century, with implications that extend beyond wolf management in Alaska.

Personal networks drove both sides of the controversy, which Rawson deftly exploits as a plot device. “Numerous linkages,” he notes, “intertwined” the lives of members of exclusive sportsmen’s clubs, politicians, and civil servants (p. 116). Such linkages enabled a handful of wealthy sportsmen enamored with the bighorn Dall sheep to wield influence through the New York-based Camp Fire Club. The Camp Fire Club, as well as the better-known Boone and Crockett Club, had been instrumental in establishing the park. But in the 1930s William Beach—Yale graduate, New York businessman, and big-game hunter with so-so marksmanship—began mounting, along with other Camp Fire Club members, an antiwolf campaign that culminated with contentious Congressional hearings in 1946 over proposed legislation that, in effect, would have placed Congress in control of wildlife management in national parks. The bill failed, but the confrontation succeeded in forcing the NPS to maintain a policy of wolf killing in Mt. McKinley National Park, at least for the next eight years, during which time Dall sheep populations steadily increased—for reasons that may have had little to do with wolves.

Rawson also examines the intellectual lineage that linked the teaching of ecological science in academic institutions with its practice in the field and the resulting shift in thinking about wildlife management that occurred in the NPS during the 1930s and 1940s—the “changing tracks” to which the book’s title refers. Joseph Grinnell figures prominently here. As director of the Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at the University of California at Berkeley from 1908 to 1939, Grinnell supervised the doctoral dissertation of Harold Bryant, who, as assistant NPS director in the 1930s, urged director Horace Albright to “take a broad view” on predatory animals (pp. 45–47). Rawson mentions three other important wildlife biologists with NPS connections who either studied or worked with Grinnell: Joseph Dixon, George Wright, and Lowell Sumner. However, Grinnell’s influence extended even further through Lee Raymond Dice, who went on to teach at the University of Michigan, where *his* students included four more men who helped to reshape wildlife management philosophy in the Park Service during the 1930s and 1940s.



Rawson devotes an entire chapter to one of Dice's students, Adolph Murie (Ph.D. 1929), whose wildlife research combined meticulous field observation with analysis of historical records and set new standards for scientific investigation in the NPS. Between 1939 and 1941, Murie conducted the research that placed him, literally, at the center of the wolf-sheep controversy. His report, *Wolves of Mount McKinley* (1944), stands as "the first research monograph on wolf ecology," but his conclusions "provided evidence for advocates on either side of the wolf issue" (pp. 184–85).

Rawson does not neglect the intellectual contributions of Aldo Leopold, Paul Errington, and other ecologists, but he emphasizes the "Academic Lineage of Joseph Grinnell" in his narrative and in a useful table (p. 258). Nor does he ignore the influence of Alaskans who cared little for the federal government and paid little attention to scientific studies, but whose perceptions about declining sheep, caribou, and reindeer herds also "brought the wolf into prominent disrepute in the 1930s" (p. 98). At heart, however, this book is about the quiet influence of scientific thought on wildlife management policies in the National Park Service.

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HERBERT A. JOHNSON. *Wingless Eagle: U.S. Army Aviation through World War I*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 298. \$34.95.

The title of Herbert A. Johnson's book on U.S. army aviation through World War I implies that there were shortcomings in military aviation from its inception to the end of the war. But Johnson's question about American military aviation is much more explicit: "why was the United States so poorly prepared, in equipment and personnel, to engage in aerial combat in World War I?" (p. 1). In his introduction, Johnson states that "in the past, early army aviation, has been cast in a romantic, even nostalgic, aura of achievement and success against the intransigence of the General Staff Corps and the army high command. Considered objectively, this is something of a historically created myth" (p. 8). In successive chapters, Johnson proceeds to destroy any romantic notions one might have about the earliest days of military aviation.

The problems that military aviation confronted during this period were manifold. Among them were the activities of the pre-World War I "aeronaut constituency," an influential group of aviation boosters that consisted of the Aero Club of America, military pilots, and members of Congress, which, Johnson contends, actually impeded the advance of American military aviation with misleading and exaggerated claims about its achievements. Moreover, Johnson argues that other factors contributed to military aviation's failure: the Wright brothers' patent litigation; stinginess on the part of Congress to fund military aviation, and the failure of the Signal Corps, under whose jurisdiction

military aviation fell, to make a strong case for its value. Johnson also claims that while there was much to be learned from combatants' use of military aviation in World War I, the Aviation Service failed to make use of the available information in its unsuccessful attempt to provide support for the Mexican Punitive Expedition in 1916. Finally, Johnson contends that while World War I proved the effectiveness of aerial reconnaissance, the influence of the British Independent Air Force persuaded American aviation officers that the airplane could be the sole key to victory and drew them toward the doctrine of strategic bombardment.

Johnson's argument that the Wright patent suits helped to retard the growth of military aviation in the United States can be questioned. In his article "Blaming Wilbur and Orville: The Wright Patent Suits and the Growth of American Aeronautics" (in *Atmospheric Flight in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Peter Galison and Alex Roland [2000]), Tom Crouch points out that European governments spent considerably more on aviation, and spent it more effectively, than did the United States during the period in question. Crouch argues convincingly that European national leaders saw clearly "the importance of flight technology for the life, defense, health and survival of the nation. European nations discovered that fact before the United States. That fact, not the Wright patent suits, explains the rapid progress of flight technology in Europe relative to the United States" (Galison and Roland, eds., p. 298).

Johnson mitigates this misplaced emphasis on the patent suits with a strong case for the other, more striking, weaknesses. Nevertheless, he neglects to mention the failure to meet aircraft production goals during World War I caused by the bureaucratic bungling of the Aircraft Production Board, the advisory agency charged with overseeing aircraft manufacture during the war, the military, and military contractors. Investigations by Congress, the War Department, and the Department of Justice ensued, which revealed disorganization and waste and a lack of concern over conflict of interest, but no criminal activity. These instances of malfeasance, one could argue, were more significant causes of failure.

Similarly, one wishes that Johnson had analyzed the underlying social, cultural, and political causes of America's unwillingness to keep pace with Europe in aviation developments during the period. At one point, Johnson cites Joseph J. Corn's *The Winged Gospel: America's Romance with Aviation, 1900–1950* (1983), but he fails to take advantage of the irony of Corn's argument for aviation enthusiasm as religious fervor. Enthusiasts there were in abundance, but they could not marshal their zeal for aviation into effective action. One would like to know why they were ineffectual. Was it the American belief that the country should not become entangled in European affairs? Was it congressional disinterest? Johnson fails to explore these issues.

Nevertheless, Johnson deserves to be congratulated for a job well done. His book redefines the way in which future historians will look at military aviation in the period from 1907 to 1918, and the turmoil of the interwar years. Like all good history, Johnson's book forces a reevaluation of interpretations that are so often taken for granted.

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JANET R. DALY BEDNAREK. *America's Airports: Airfield Development, 1918–1947*. (Centennial of Flight Series, number 1.) College Station: Texas A&M University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 226. \$39.95.

Like the general public, historians pay little attention to the physical infrastructures supporting modern, urban societies. Recently, however, a number of scholars have begun to examine highway networks, urban sewer systems, downtown rail terminals, and municipal airports. Studying the origins, construction, development, and use of these facilities, it turns out, opens windows on the interaction of politics, city planning, cultural practices, and technological change.

One such work is Janet R. Daly Bednarek's monograph on American airports. Narrowly focused, it asks two questions: how did American airports become "municipal," owned and operated by cities rather than by national authorities as in many other parts of the world, and how did they also come to be federally funded and regulated? Covering the long generation, 1918–1947, Bednarek shows the emergence of the pattern of airport governance that still exists.

Bednarek demonstrates that the earliest airfields, built during and after World War I, varied considerably in their ownership and management. Some were owned by cities, others were leased from private landowners, and still others were privately owned and operated. Yet all were "municipal" in that they were identified with the town or city in which they were located and were open to all flyers. The impetus for airport development also varied, coming in part from local Chambers of Commerce and other aviation boosters as well as the U.S. Army Air Service and the Post Office. In 1917–1918, the Post Office began an experiment carrying mail by plane, while in 1921 the Air Service launched its "Model Airway" program. The latter scheme envisioned air routes between major cities along which other municipalities would build flying fields accessible to both military and civilian pilots. Neither the Post Office nor the Army had funds for air field acquisition or construction, however, so they hoped that exhortation and local "airmindedness" would lead communities to found airports. Even after Charles A. Lindbergh demonstrated the ability of planes to leap oceans, triggering an aviation boom, municipal efforts at airport building proved largely inadequate.

Ultimately, it took federal money to produce a nationwide network of up-to-date airports. The 1926

Air Mail Act began the process, permitting fledgling airlines to bid on subsidized federal contracts to carry the mail over specified routes. Although these subsidies did not directly help municipalities, they created an incentive for communities to develop airports in order to get on the air map and procure mail and passenger service. The 1926 act had in fact banned federal spending on municipal airports, analogizing them to the docks along navigable rivers or in harbors; although the federal government clearly had the authority to fund river or harbor improvements, it believed docks and airports should be developed municipally or privately.

The Depression and war of the 1930s and early 1940s changed the relationship of the federal government to cities generally and altered many people's thinking on the appropriateness of aiding municipal airports specifically. New Deal agencies such as the Civil Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration channeled work-relief funds to cities for hiring the unemployed to improve airports. Municipalities in this period not only needed help with unemployment, but they also could not afford the continuous upgrading of their fields to adapt to rapid changes in aviation technology. Faster and heavier planes required longer, paved runways, while technologies enabling a plane to fly "blind," landing in fog or inclement weather, demanded costly ground-based installations. Federal funds addressed these needs as well. Because Congress demanded that fields be municipally owned and operated before receiving aid, by World War II, all major airports in the United States, save for National in Washington, D.C., were municipal in the legal sense, not just in name.

Bednarek provides a competent guide to these developments along with the impact on airports of the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, the militarization of flying during World War II, and the more systematic federal involvement embodied in the Federal Airport Act of 1946. Because her book is based largely on the aeronautical trade press, however, we rarely glimpse airport making or operation from the grass roots, municipal level. The specifics regarding how local leaders, business leaders, politicians, and others interacted with higher government officials and the aviation community seldom enter her analysis. I hope her work will stimulate more in-depth studies of particular cities and their struggle, first alone and then in partnership with the federal and state governments, to build, operate, and—so it seems to today's air traveler—continually rebuild and expand municipal airports. In the meantime, Bednarek's book will serve as a useful introduction to the subject.

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CHARLES DAVID JACOBSON. *Ties that Bind: Economic and Political Dilemmas of Urban Utility Networks, 1800–1990*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 282. \$35.00.

Rather than analyze either waterworks or electrical utilities or cable television separately, Charles David Jacobson devotes sixty pages to each in a comparative analysis. While future investigators may quibble about his choice of Boston, Seattle, and San Francisco as sites for in-depth analysis, he does refer to other cities as well, so that most of his generalizations seem plausible. The result of this strategy is a 209-page synthesis, adequately documented, that provides an overview of the economic and political dilemmas involved in creating urban utility networks. It is suggestive for other systems as well, notably gas and the Internet. Jacobson reminds us that such systems were not "natural" growths of a free market economy but political and social constructions, with shifting franchising and contractual relations.

Three quarters of all waterworks remain government owned and might seem unproblematic examples of social services. Yet throughout their history, they have been attacked, first as state monopolies (whether in Boston of the 1840s or Los Angeles in 1910) and later as environmental threats. Economists have also questioned the common assumption that water demand is price insensitive and denounced the heavy subsidies granted irrigators in the West, where some dams and canal systems will never pay for themselves. Electrical utilities, in contrast, are largely private, but they have routinely been denounced as monopolies that fleece the public, most recently during the California energy crisis. Like waterworks, electrical suppliers faced environmental criticism of their expansion and confronted problems of supply, as power plants by *ca*

Given such differences, one cannot simply generalize from one network to the next, as cable television further shows. Print media, not electrical utilities or waterworks, provided the initial framework for cable. As with newspapers, ownership was private, advertising reduced the cost to the consumer, and national production of content provided economies of scale. Yet cable also paralleled other systems, as it was constructed only after political negotiation and became a new form of local monopoly. If cable failed to be defined as a cultural necessity like water and electricity, the new "necessity" may well be the Internet, which unfortunately is only mentioned briefly in the conclusion of this book. Readers will cast aside easy generalizations about utility networks resembling each other or arising "inevitably." As Jacobson concludes, Americans require non-profit and public institutions as utility watchdogs, and they need to uphold common carrier and antitrust principles to prevent abuses by future utility providers.

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MARGARETE SANDELOWSKI. *Devices and Desires: Gender, Technology, and American Nursing*. (Studies in Social Medicine.) Chapel Hill: University of North

Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xvii, 295. Cloth \$45.00, paper \$19.95.

By examining technology and its influence on professional boundaries, Margarete Sandelowski opens wide the dissonance between nursing's highly gendered foundation as a caring profession and its search for legitimacy through science and technology. Sandelowski effectively argues that although technology enlarged and blurred professional boundaries between nurses and physicians, perhaps bestowing a false sense of elevated status in the process, nurses entered into a Faustian bargain that sustained their invisibility in the health care system. Although nurses harnessed technology in the hospital and in fact, made possible the introduction of much of the technology used in today's hospitals, the "discursive practices" around these technologies deskilled nursing and further devalued "true nursing."

Sandelowski structures her argument both chronologically and through conceptual case studies based on patient-care artifacts and particular nursing specialties. Much of her focus rests on the first four to five decades of American nursing (roughly 1890 to the 1940s), although she briefly extends her analysis to the present. Oxygen therapy, the thermometer and stethoscope, and "X-Ray" and operating room nursing are some of the exemplars Sandelowski analyzes in wonderful detail. In fact, this book provides one of the first detailed historical treatments of the particulars of nurses' work with the equipment of patient care. The intricacies of ensuring that patients remained warm and dry while undergoing oxygen therapy in a tent-like apparatus not only create a vivid picture of the treatment but also illuminate the complex undocumented decision making nurses used to care for the patient. The book's strength is in the details: they provide a foundation for Sandelowski to support her argument that technology helped sustain nurses' invisibility, because most of the work nurses took on in management of the technology was of low status, and unstated in the medical record or other patient care documents.

Sandelowski demonstrates in clear, uncluttered language the dilemma of nurses' attempts to use new technology to recreate and enlarge the boundaries of their work and the recurring and enduring features of the nursing/technology/gender relationship. In the case of obstetrical nursing, Sandelowski describes the introduction of electronic fetal monitoring as both deskilling nurses' ability to assess contractions through touch and as supporting the "high-tech" validation of nurses' "low-tech" intuition gained by merely placing the hand on a woman's abdomen. Similar to their sisters in x-ray and operating rooms, obstetrical nurses preserved physicians' cultural authority by performing the unglamorous and low-status work associated with fetal monitoring, mainly because nurses were present at the bedside with the equipment and physicians were not, and because nurses traditionally took on tasks of this sort. Although nurses became the experts in

managing the machines and the patients attached to the machines, physicians completed the highly visible and high status work of formally analyzing the data and prescribing treatment.

Sandelowski also examines how nurses construct their identity or differences from other professions, and how early on the inability to differentiate themselves from lay women prevented nurses from rising above the status of unskilled workers. Nurses, Sandelowski explains, were particularly effective at improvisation and invention, especially involving everyday familiar objects. The use of the familiar as technology, even though highly effective in providing comfort and healing, did little to help nurses distinguish their work from typical womens' work. Technology, Sandelowski argues, contributed little to nurses' attempts to differentiate themselves from others, thus shaping both the content and form of nursing practice and helping to locate nursing firmly within the domestic sphere.

Sandelowski asserts that the irony of the nursing/technology relationship is "writ large" in the post-World War II era. As the technology in hospitals became more complex, nurses' attempts to differentiate themselves from lay women no longer resonated. Instead, nurses constructed an identity that, on one hand, distinguished them from medicine and other specialists, and, on the other, subtly (and at times, not so subtly) took on traditional medical characteristics. Sandelowski uses the nursing specialty of informatics and the nurse practitioner role to exemplify nurses' movement away from "true nursing," those comfort, touch, and emotive skills marginalized by the contemporary nurse/technology relationship, although these examples are more thinly drawn. She concludes that the nursing/technology relationship is equivocal in character: the devices and the practices they inspired both "advanced and thwarted" nurses' desires for increased status and prominence in the health care system.

Sandelowski's book is a perceptive analysis of the nurse/technology relationship, exposing the gendered assumptions underlying nurses' work with machines and equipment. Her cultural authority as both a nurse and an anthropologist provides her with the vantage point to articulate her arguments. This book should be read by historians of technology and medical and nursing historians. The book offers a distinctive context of contemporary health care and covers women—nurses—who receive little attention, despite their status as one of the largest groups of women workers. Nurses may provide an interesting contrast to other types of workers, blowing open traditional assumptions about gender and technology.

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ERIC ARNESEN, *Brotherhoods of Color: Black Railroad Workers and the Struggle for Equality*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. 332. \$39.95.

In the passionate debates over the state of the African-American community of the past thirty years, too infrequently have policy makers—and historians—taken note of the vital contribution unions made to ensure "occupational stability and security" (p. 2) for black workers. Railroads were "one of the most highly institutionalized forms of industrialized segregation," as Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) head Samuel C. Jackson wrote in 1966 (p. 2), but pioneering civil rights activism to abolish stratified racialist practices, steady jobs, and manhood wages for black workers led to relative prosperity for tens of thousands of families: home ownership, family stability, college-bound children, church going, and community leadership. Eric Arnesen's sweeping narrative is a masterful history of railroad workers and their struggles for racial equality against the "Big Four" white brotherhoods, paternalistic company managers, and indifferent federal officials (Jackson notwithstanding) from the 1820s to the present.

Paying careful attention to how macroeconomic issues reconfigured racial patterns, Arnesen observes that the gains and losses experienced by African-American railwaymen can be traced to labor shortages and surpluses. While some government mediators may have held benign racial attitudes, the concerns of management and white union leaders over the labor market very often determined the wages and working conditions of black railroaders. Violent "race riots" over dual seniority lists in Memphis, Tennessee, at the end of World War I, for example, caused white yard laborers to strike for access to black workers' jobs, militantly demanding downward mobility while expanding white supremacy and economic power (p. 69). Hostilities led to the shooting deaths of several African-American brakemen in the South after the federal government returned railroads to private control. The U.S. attorney general declined the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's (NAACP) appeal to intervene in "this carnival of blood," claiming that, like lynching earlier and voting rights later, the U.S. could not "punish wrongs committed by individuals on persons of African descent on account of that descent" (p. 82). When a second wave of terrorist acts against black brakemen broke out in Mississippi in 1931–1934, Walter White of the NAACP again requested assistance, only to be informed again that no statute permitted federal intervention in crimes against individuals. Arnesen, tracing White's "legalistic stance" (p. 122), should not be blamed for assuming the validity of the U.S. attorney general's interpretation of federal law. However, the Reconstruction civil rights acts would, in 1966, be reinterpreted by President Lyndon B. Johnson's attorney general to justify federal prosecution of individuals who murdered African Americans because of race.

Building on one hundred years of black worker studies from Abram Harris to William H. Harris as well as broad archival research, Arnesen examines how African-American labor leaders such as Robert L.



Mays, Ishmael Flory, and Willard Townsend maneuvered for power within and outside of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Arnesen rescues from obscurity numerous union activists with succinct biographical portraits and accounts of their labors on behalf of black railwaymen. Their organizations, some of them independent, some affiliated with the AFL or the CIO, and some operated like fraternal groups, demonstrate the varied strategic approaches to black trade unionism. The charismatic leadership of Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP) President A. Philip Randolph did not always command the uncritical, unified support of black railway laborers, even as they sought redress from the Fair Employment Practice Commission (FEPC) on which BCSP Vice President Milton Webster sat. The FEPC's wartime investigations of railroads and white brotherhoods elicited broad orders to eliminate immediately "numerous discriminatory practices and contract provisions and . . . that all workers be accorded equal seniority rights and equal work opportunities" (p. 182). Resistance to those orders by the railroads, white unions, southern congressmen, and President Franklin D. Roosevelt undermined the FEPC's power. Despite the Supreme Court's rulings in *Steele* and *Tunstall* (1944) mandating fair representation, the goal of union integration remained unfulfilled. Not until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of race, sex, religion, and national origin, did African Americans gain equal opportunity in the waning railroad industry, confirming Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall's wry observation that Negroes are allowed to unionize only when an industry is dying.

The only quibble with Arnesen's study may be his implicit belief in the power of government to redress racial grievances. His emphasis on courts and federal agencies, rather than the dynamism of direct action, makes tedious the bureaucratic paths of African-American workers through an alphabet soup of Washington offices. The all-too-brief stories of individual and collective resistance to racism on the steel rails remind us that, like other protests, face-to-face confrontations also broke the neck of Jim Crow.

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JACK IRBY HAYES, JR. *South Carolina and the New Deal*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 290. \$34.95.

In his examination of South Carolina during the Great Depression, Jack Irby Hayes argues that the "New Deal was the last decade of an old era and not the first decade of a new one" (p. xii). Franklin Delano Roosevelt's reforms in the Palmetto state had limited success; World War II would usher in greater change. Hayes's book fits current New Deal historiography,

which concludes that at the state level Roosevelt encountered significant obstacles that limited reform.

Hayes describes the ambiguous results of the programs from Washington. Prosperity did not come to cotton farmers, textile mill owners, or mill workers. The textile industry, vital to the state, suffered greatly during the New Deal, with respites only in mid-decade. "The most that can be said for the New Deal is that it kept workers from starving and manufacturers out of bankruptcy" and positioned them to enjoy better times during and after World War II (p. 195). There was a minimal increase in the number of mills, and wages still remained low. Cotton farmers reduced production but never saw improved prices comparable to those of the 1920s. Farmers continued to support the New Deal, nonetheless, because cash payments resulting from the Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA) significantly increased their income, and, without the federal intervention, prices, which did improve from the early 1930s, would have been even lower. Hayes concludes that, unlike what happened in some other southern states, the New Deal did not revolutionize agriculture in South Carolina. Politically, the New Deal left the state the same.

Despite the New Deal's shortcomings, Hayes seems to see the glass as half full rather than half empty. The New Deal left an impressive physical legacy; for example, the Santee-Cooper hydroelectric project was the largest Public Works Administration construction project. Cotton textiles, about seventy-one percent of the value of the state's industrial production, needed the National Recovery Administration (NRA). Workers did benefit from better wages, shorter hours, and improved working conditions. Federal spending stimulated the state's economy. In the 1930s, South Carolina had the lowest per capita income in the country but the second highest percentage of increase in per capita income. Governor Olin D. Johnston tried to implement a "Little New Deal" for the state, championed the white mill workers, and supported the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and strikers. Rural electrification transformed the lives of farmers in the state. For the first time in South Carolina history, the New Deal connected the lower classes to the policies of the federal government. Numerous federal programs alleviated illiteracy, the highest in the nation.

Before the Great Depression, African Americans comprised more than fifty percent of the population of South Carolina, and in an entire chapter Hayes details how the New Deal was for them, as for other South Carolinians, a "mixed blessing" (p. 158). While blacks enjoyed unprecedented economic opportunities, the New Deal perpetuated segregation and discriminated in pay and employment, and the NRA and AAA displaced workers and farmers. On the other hand, congressional antilynching legislation stimulated black activism. Eventually this pressure led to voting in the Democratic primary.

The state that had produced John C. Calhoun and



Ben Tillman had little interest in radicalism in the 1930s. In 1934, a textile strike—at the time the second largest strike in American history—attracted 43,000 South Carolinians; six strikers died in violence in Honea Path. Mill owners, however, backed by state government and tacit New Deal support, triumphed. Angered by African-American participation on the platform at the 1936 Democratic National Convention, United States Senator Cotton Ed Smith walked out, but race did not become a significant issue.

The major political force in South Carolina in the New Deal era was United States Senator James F. Byrnes, and he appears often in Hayes's account. While he worked behind the scenes with Roosevelt, he also intervened when the New Deal threatened South Carolina interests. When conservative opposition mounted in the late 1930s, Byrnes supported Smith's successful 1938 reelection against Roosevelt's choice, Johnston. His equivocation toward the New Deal symbolized the state's ambivalence. Hayes's book would have been strengthened by enhancing Byrnes's role and using him as part of an overarching theme. Also, for a state where three times more people lived in rural areas than in towns, agriculture needs more than a single chapter.

Hayes has made an important contribution to southern as well as New Deal history. The book is well organized and clearly written. The concluding chapter is an excellent summary.

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SAVERIO GIOVACCHINI. *Hollywood Modernism: Film and Politics in the Age of the New Deal*. (Culture and the Moving Image.) Philadelphia: Temple University Press. 2001. Pp. 292. Cloth \$68.50, paper \$22.95.

It is generally accepted today among film historians that the 1930s and early 1940s was truly a dynamic period in Hollywood, both with regard to the evolution of cinematic form and the creation of film content that either implicitly or explicitly engaged topical sociopolitical issues. Concomitantly, the latter 1930s witnessed a fierce debate among Americans as to how to respond to the increasing menace of totalitarian regimes, most particularly that of Nazi Germany. A number of significant books and articles have been published over the past twenty years that to varying degrees address the movies' relationship to this issue, namely *The Inquisition in Hollywood: Politics and the Film Community, 1930–1960* (1979), by Larry Ceplair and Steven Englund; *The Star-Spangled Screen: The American World War II Film* (1985), by Bernard F. Dick; and *Hollywood War Films, 1937–1945* (1996), by Michael S. Shull and David E. Wilt. Collectively, these studies largely concluded that many prominent Hollywood personalities, and a significant number of the films that they produced before December 7, 1941, were in the forefront of this national debate in the United States, and that overwhelmingly the content of those relevant

films was unequivocally prodemocratic and/or antifascist.

Saverio Giovacchini's use of contemporary studio documents and trade literature to further substantiate this thesis is impressive. He clearly identifies a creative symbiosis that began in the mid-1930s in America's filmmaking capital between a group of east-coast intellectuals, including writers Lillian Hellman and John Howard Lawson, and numerous German as well as other European émigrés who had escaped fascism, such as directors Fritz Lang and William Dieterle. Giovacchini invents the label of "democratic modernism" for this artistic phenomenon, that of inserting so-called political "realism" into the texts of many of the films on which these individuals were creatively involved.

But there seems to be some confusion regarding this "modernist" aesthetic evolving into a more "realist" form in the 1930s and the longstanding penchant of American film studios for incorporating topicality into their films' texts. Hollywood had never been exclusively devoted to frivolous entertainment. Granted, more often than not, topically relevant messages were inserted into films rather than films engaging sociopolitical issues head on. Nevertheless, numerous films had addressed class struggle issues as early as the 1910s. The harsh realities of the Depression had likewise not been absent from contemporary Hollywood productions; some notable examples would include *Street Scene* (1931) and *Wild Boys of the Road* (1933). The latter film deals graphically with the social impact, during the early Depression years, of hundreds of thousands of homeless youths wandering across the countryside.

Giovacchini also introduces an interesting concept regarding a subgenre of motion pictures in which a number of European directors, including Ernst Lubitsch, were artistically dominant. Dubbed "papier maché" films, these seemingly mindless operettas, usually taking place in fin-de-siècle central Europe, actually contained subtle anti-Nazi subtexts by idealizing a romanticized prefascist world. But this point is weakened by including among the films he cites two that were produced several years before Adolf Hitler came to power.

Lest one forget, the infamous Nye Committee, oftentimes bluntly discredited due to the anti-Semitism of some of its members, had held hearings in the fall of 1941, attacking what it perceived as a biased form of this realism in Hollywood: what during the later McCarthy period would be pejoratively referred to on the right as leftist "premature anti-fascism." One of the films singled out by the committee was Lang's *Man Hunt* (1941), featuring an English sportsman who stalks Hitler. Yet Giovacchini makes only a passing reference to the North Dakota senator's committee.

What was the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League, founded in 1936, all about? One need only look at the films in which its key figures were involved, including Lang and most of the other individuals with whom

Giovacchini is most concerned, to find countless examples of antifascist messages. Readers should be cautioned here that the key phrase is antifascist "messages." Those films with explicit politicized texts, such as *Man Hunt*, were far fewer. But the historical importance of those obvious films has been well documented. Another of the primary examples from this list of "usual suspects" is *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), one of the few relevant films that the author has chosen to analyze at any length.

Giovacchini's book, though highly readable, is primarily an informative synthesis and intelligible representation of a well-known academic premise: during the 1930s and early 1940s a group of highly artistic and socially committed individuals developed a politically conscious "realistic" style of film presentation that, due to the ability of the movies to reach an audience of tens of millions on a weekly basis, had an inordinate impact on the American public.

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JOSEPH MCBRIDE. *Searching for John Ford: A Life*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 2001. Pp. 838. \$40.00.

Joseph McBride, author of a number of important books on motion picture directors, has produced an enormous tome (812 pages) that effectively showcases John Ford as one of Hollywood's greatest artists. The lengthy treatment is justified. Ford made 226 films between 1917 and 1970 (including 87 documentaries) and directed 137 of them. Many of his films are of considerable interest to historians because they created influential images of the past. Among the most important dramatic features are *The Iron Horse* (1924), *Stagecoach* (1939), *Young Mr. Lincoln* (1939), *Drums Along the Mohawk* (1939), *The Grapes of Wrath* (1940), *How Green Was My Valley* (1941), *They Were Expendable* (1945), *My Darling Clementine* (1946), *Fort Apache* (1948), *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949), *Rio Grande* (1950), *The Searchers* (1956), *The Last Hurrah* (1958), *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962), and *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964). Included, too, are fascinating commentaries on Ford's wartime documentaries, especially *The Battle of Midway* (1942).

While much of McBride's biographical material is of particular interest to cinema aficionados, his analysis of the movies should prove intriguing to historians. The author's assessment of *Stagecoach*, for instance, intelligently places the movie in the context of its era. "*Stagecoach* was as much about the time when it was made as it was about the past," he observes (p. 287). In some ways, the movie represents a morality play that is critical of American bourgeois hypocrisy (a banker in the film sounds like Herbert Hoover when he says, "America for Americans. The government must not interfere with business"). *Stagecoach* also communicates the director's irritation with class distinctions. John Ford, an Irish immigrant, expressed his resentment toward WASP condescension through the mov-

ie's depictions of social snobbery. On the other hand, *Stagecoach* displays prejudice toward Native Americans. The film's Indians are essentially noble savages. *Stagecoach* suggests that Indian civilization was destined to fall to the inexorable advance of the whites' culture. Interestingly, in later films such as *Fort Apache* (1948) and *Cheyenne Autumn*, Ford offered more sympathetic portrayals. (Did these adjustments primarily reflect changes in the artist or changes in American society?) *Stagecoach*'s portrayals of Indians and Mexicans are terribly condescending by today's standards, but the film generally holds up as a brilliantly constructed archetypal western that influenced the western genre for decades.

*The Grapes of Wrath* also receives detailed attention. McBride believes Ford sympathized with the dispossessed Okies who moved to California during the Great Depression, because their troubles resembled the misery of Ford's Irish ancestors who moved to America after being evicted by landlords in their homeland. Like *Stagecoach*, *The Grapes of Wrath* spoke to the issues of the day. Through Ford's splendid characterizations and Gregg Toland's magnificent cinematography, *Grapes* dramatized the plight of thousands of victims who left the drought-stricken Great Plains between 1935 and 1939. McBride notes that Ford and his assistants eliminated some of the militant politics communicated in John Steinbeck's book by the same title, including dialogue that suggested a need for organized revolt by the underclass. McBride observes, too, that Ford's later movies tended to examine more distant historical issues and were less suggestive about the possibilities for current political reform than motion pictures such as *Stagecoach* and *The Grapes of Wrath*.

Understandably, John Wayne receives a good deal of attention in the book, because Ford shaped the Duke into a star (Wayne's impressive portrayal of Ringo in *Stagecoach* helped to launch his career as a major actor). McBride points out that Wayne acquired a reputation as a superpatriot even though he did not join the military in World War II (many other male stars served in the armed forces, such as Jimmy Stewart, Clark Gable, and Tyrone Power). The author suggests that Wayne projected the image of a tough fighting man to atone for his absence from the military at a critical time in the nation's history.

McBride's biography appears to support Andrew Sarris's observation that Ford was "America's cinematic poet laureate" (p.11), yet McBride shows no inclination toward hagiography. His book raises many critical questions about the subject. McBride reveals, for example, that Ford was a poor husband and father, and he often treated his actors cruelly. After finishing a movie, Ford was likely to become drunk (sometimes to the point of requiring hospitalization). Ford's actions in the period of the blacklist excited anger from his movie colleagues. McBride notes that Ford first reacted to the political assaults on Hollywood by defending civil liberties, but he soon tarnished his

reputation through close association with individuals and organizations that led the purge of Hollywood leftists. By the time of the Vietnam War, Ford appeared out of touch with national and international affairs. This outlook is especially evident in his jingoistic film, *Vietnam! Vietnam!* (1971). The documentary projected "mindless bellicosity" (p. 692) through a gung-ho perspective on U.S. intervention in the Vietnam War. *Vietnam! Vietnam!* embarrassed agents in the United States Information agency, who were reluctant to release the propaganda film. Domestic and international politics had changed dramatically by 1971, but Ford had not.

ROBERT BRENT TOPLIN  
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Wilmington

TIMOTHY P. LYNCH. *Strike Songs of the Depression*. (American Made Music Series.) Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2001. Pp. xi, 170. \$38.00.

Trying to understand the motivations and actions of the working class during the Depression era is a complex yet rewarding endeavor. To paint an accurate portrait of the people who labored among what is generally called the working class involves many types of analyses: who they were, what defined them, what strategies they employed, how they viewed success or failure, what institutional agencies assisted or prevented their legitimation? Timothy P. Lynch uses the workers' own songs—ones constructed during the moment of crisis—as a means to understand some of these questions. As primary source documents, the songs examined define the moment of conflict and outline the goals, fears, and frustrations of the American working class during the crisis years of the Great Depression.

Lynch uses the songs generated from strikes at Gastonia, Harlan County, and Flint. While they represent three different industries (textile, coal, and automobile) and different times (1929, 1931, 1936–1937), they are united by the central role song played in the struggle. In the Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike, many of the songs came from women like Ella May, who saw theirs as a dual struggle between breadwinner and caregiver. Songs like "Mill Mother's Lament" and "The Big Fat Boss and the Workers" reflected the difficulties of leaving children behind to labor for wages that made raising them nearly impossible. May's songs and those by others suggested that only through collective action could the exploitation of the worker end. She was killed and the strike lost.

Harlan County, Kentucky's coal strike in the early part of the 1930s also featured many women's songs, including those by Aunt Molly Jackson. The themes were similar to those of Gastonia, but given the region's labor struggles and the depth of the poverty among the workers and their families, songs like "Kentucky Miner's Wife" (by Jackson) contain more anger and frustration. In Jackson's "I Am a Union

Woman," she places herself and her people in the front lines of the labor struggle now exacerbated by the economic collapse. Florence Reece's "Which Side Are You On" described the polarization that occurred not just in Harlan County but throughout the entire country over the rights and actions of the people: one was either for the people or against them. This strike also failed.

The passage of the Wagner Act, the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the slight improvement in the economy, the modern nature of the industry, and a variety of other factors made the Flint, Michigan, strike unique from the two others that Lynch examines. At Flint, most of the songs were written by men and reflect a desire for brotherhood and solidarity in the face of danger. Much akin to wartime songs, these celebrated heroic deeds (like Cecil Hubel and Clarence Jobin's "The Battle of the Running Bulls"), solidarity, and patriotism. Because the workers occupied the plant for forty-four days and nights, songs were central to helping pass the time. Many of these were published in the United Auto Workers newspaper and acquired a certain lore given the circumstances of the strike. These were much more straight forward in their presentation: the demand for collective bargaining rights was closely connected to the rights of the citizen. This strike was successful.

Lynch's book is descriptive with little analysis. Each chapter begins with a justification of using songs as a means to better understand the particular situation, which is also covered in the introduction. The chapters themselves describe the strikes and their contexts in general enough terms, but, other than presenting many of the lyrics to the songs, there is little analysis. In both the introduction and conclusion, Lynch suggests examining the gendered meanings of the songs' construction, what made them so central to labor's struggles, and the songs themselves as historical documents, but there is little analysis of these important themes. Instead he emphasizes the lyrics. To let the words speak for themselves, as they did during the strikes, is a valid exercise. Lynch should have made his focus plain, and not introduced terms and ideas not intended for discussion. For example, throughout the book Lynch uses the phrase "class consciousness" without a clear theoretical position as to its meaning. He lets the worker's voices speak for themselves, but more critical analyses of their meanings and significance would have greatly improved the book.

KENNETH J. BINDAS  
Kent State University,  
Trumbull

KENNETH J. BINDAS. *Swing, That Modern Sound*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2001. Pp. xix, 209. Cloth \$46.00, paper \$18.00.

"Swing Era" historiography spins, dips, and leaps of late, as historians attempt to make sense of the lively, seemingly contradictory interplay between art and

commerce, authenticity and style, black and white that punctuates big band discourse. In recent years, historians have reexamined the "Swing Era," not as the sudden invention of musical form (Benny Goodman at the Palomar Ballroom in 1935), nor as sheer fakery and theft of black culture for white profit, but as a complex phenomenon of commercial culture that tells us something about American history. In this vein, Kenneth J. Bindas is not interested in "[W]hether Goodman is the King of Swing" but rather in "what factors allowed for the creation of this hierarchical lineage" (p. 18).

Attempting to build from David W. Stowe's *Swing Changes: Big Band Jazz in New Deal America* (1994) and Lewis A. Erenberg's *Swingin' the Dream* (1998), this book conceives of culture, technology, business, politics, economics, race, gender, generation, and class, as interacting processes. Setting out to explore why the "Swing Era" meant more to scads of jitterbugging, jukebox playing, record collecting fans as it became increasingly commercialized, standardized, and mass produced, Bindas concludes that swing promised its young audience a social and participatory modernity, staving off the loss of identity threatened by "the machine age." By far, the book's strength is its unapologetic conception of the "Swing Era" as the mass marketing of swing, both "product of modernism and modernization" and "embodiment of modernity" (p. xvi). The most successful chapter, "Swinging the Marketplace," delineates swing's place in broader business trends, including shifts in customer loyalty from local vendor to brand names. For Bindas, the "Swing Era," like conventional brand names, marks new modes of group identities (pp. 42–43). While not on a par with the more theoretically sophisticated projects of Stowe and Erenberg, this book does provide some productive impulses.

Bindas's proposed analysis of youth, race, ethnicity, class, gender, and nation is on target but lacks interconnections. When one social factor is spotlighted, others slip out, resulting in oversimplified analyses, such as the claim that the effects of the Great Depression were "barely noticeable" for "most women," or that Billie Holiday was "torn" between which working-class career path to follow, her mother's or her father's (that of a domestic, or that of a musician). While the "swing generation" is conceived as American and young, its race, class, and gender composition is fuzzy. The lack of an analysis of whiteness seems especially unfortunate, as is the lack of analysis of split affinities along multiple axes. While some sources are compelling, much supporting evidence appears to have been brought in for the wrong case. The analysis of advertising images is helpful in understanding the construction of swing consumers. But the use of childhood memories of jazz musicians as evidence of the hopes and dreams of their mass audience is unconvincing.

The book's greatest failing is its under-theorized perspective on race and modernity, which permits race to remain at the level of identity and experience.

Missing is an analysis of race as "one of the central conceptual inventions of modernity," in cahoots with empire and nation, to quote David Theo Goldberg (*Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning* [1993], p. 3). Repeatedly, Bindas takes the popularity of black music with white audiences as evidence that swing "transcended" race. The possibility that swing's message of progress, technology, and nation building was facilitated, in part, through white fantasies about racial difference—what bell hooks has called "Eating the Other"—is largely absent. A conception of modernity with less emphasis on "trains, planes, and automobiles," and more on colonialism, primitivism, and racial science, would have been extremely useful in helping us to understand why swing, in particular, signified "that modern sound," and why constructions of race, gender, class, and nation are so slippery, and yet so prominent, in swing discourse.

SHERRIE TUCKER  
University of Kansas

SHERRIE TUCKER. *Swing Shift: "All-Girl" Bands of the 1940s*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 413. \$29.95.

To restore the "all-girl" bands of the 1940s to their proper place in jazz history, Sherrie Tucker tells fascinating stories about women's musical training, entry into professional work, performing styles, travel experiences, and working conditions. The history of all-girl swing bands shares much with that of other female workers in the World War II era. In the void created by men's military service, hundreds of female bands entertained civilians, and a few played for military audiences. Most performers had worked as musicians before the war, their experience, like that of other female workers, defying the popular image of the middle-class housewife who took a job for the duration. After the war, women band members faced competition from returning veterans and had to find jobs in the margins of the musical industry—as teachers, in churches, in combos, and in cocktail lounges.

Tucker relies heavily on interviews with and questionnaires from more than 120 individuals. Treating oral history "as events in themselves rather than as clear channels to the 'true story'" (p. 26) and listening carefully to how these performers shaped their stories in the 1990s enabled Tucker better to understand the environment in which they performed. For example, guarded responses to her questions about sexuality suggested how strongly the stigma of lesbianism hovered around musicians in all-girl bands.

Using newspaper articles and advertisements and photographs, posters, and other materials saved by her subjects, Tucker deftly compares how the media and jazz industry presented these performers with how the musicians related their histories five decades later. While the media stressed the femininity and glamour deliberately cultivated by most bands, Tucker's informants highlighted their musical prowess and com-



plained about the extra labor required to meet beauty standards and the uncomfortable closely fitting gowns and high heels. Women had to perform gender as well as music. In this and other ways throughout the book, Tucker contrasts the experiences of female with male musicians.

Race is central to Tucker's book. Of the six bands explored in detail, three were black. The Prairie View Coeds, formed at the all-black Prairie View College in Texas when draft calls depleted its male swing band, emphasized their student status and certified their respectability by traveling with chaperones. In this way, Tucker demonstrates, African-American bands were able "to link expressions of the political desire of race women with the sensual desire of blueswomen" (p. 10). Both black and white press focused on the musicians' feminine characteristics—one black journalist referred to a black women's band as "gingervating, glamorous gorgeous gals" (p. 106)—but African-American writers evinced less skepticism about their musical talents.

Tucker describes the risks taken when black bands included white musicians, violating Jim Crow laws when they performed in the South. Recounting dramatic police searches and chases, she shows how the integration of white women into black bands challenged race and gender hierarchies—but only so far. White bands did not reciprocate, and hierarchies of skin color privileged light-skinned black women.

In a chapter on the International Sweethearts of Rhythm, a predominantly black band directed by a black man, Tucker brilliantly explores the complexities of race and color for performers and their multiple audiences. White feminists viewed a popular 1933 documentary on the Sweethearts as a representation of a racially diverse community of women not dominated by white women. The band's African-American male founder created its international character for exotic appeal and to play to audiences' presumed preference for light-skinned women. The international makeup of the band also functioned as a cover under which one or two white women could perform without raising southern officials' suspicions. In contrast, the African-American press in the 1940s portrayed the Sweethearts to signify the potential unity and power of colonized and oppressed people of color around the world.

Two other bands represented the boundaries between which all-girl bands had to operate. Phil Spitalny's extremely successful white "Hour of Charm" band demonstrated women's musical skills, but it also conveyed traditional norms of femininity. One of the least jazzy bands, it cultivated an excessively feminine sound (with harps and strings) and character (with gowns of layers of beaded taffeta). At the other extreme stood the Darlings of Rhythm, a black group whose members did not present glamorous bodies and whose music was more spontaneous and powerful, louder and more in tune with working-class black culture than other all-girl bands. They were sufficiently removed from feminine norms that no recording or film of their performances survived.

Tucker's wonderful prose, ingenious use of oral history sources, and deft exploration of the multiple ways that race, gender, and sexuality shaped the performances of all-girl bands and the minds of their audiences makes up for the occasional repetition resulting from the book's organizational scheme. Her study will both delight and instruct general readers as well as scholars of history, music, and World War II. Its only significant weakness is that it does not come with a CD.

SUSAN M. HARTMANN  
Ohio State University

IZUMI HIROBE. *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice: Modifying the Exclusion Clause of the 1924 Immigration Act.* (Asian America.) Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001. Pp. xiii, 327. \$49.95.

Although Chinese exclusion faced little opposition in the late nineteenth century, Protestant clergy, business elites, and the U.S. Department of State successfully blocked efforts by western sectional interests to pass legislation excluding Japanese during the early twentieth century. But, after World War I, Japanese exclusion rode the coattails of that larger nativist movement against immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe. The Immigration Act of 1924 imposed national origins quotas on Europeans and excluded all persons racially "ineligible to citizenship," a euphemism for Japanese and other Asiatics. Japan was humiliated by the act, and the issue irritated U.S.-Japan relations throughout the interwar period.

Izumi Hirobe's carefully researched book details the efforts, ultimately unsuccessful, of missionaries and businessmen to modify Japanese exclusion from 1924 through the 1930s. As early as 1924 and 1925, prominent clergy and reformers began advocating a quota for Japan, including the Reverend Sidney Gulick, Jane Addams, former U.S. Attorney George Wickersham, and John R. Mott of the Young Man's Christian Association. By the late 1920s, a business initiative also promoted modification of Japanese exclusion. This effort was led by western businessmen engaged in Pacific trade, from San Francisco's Wallace Alexander, whose family's fortune lay in Hawaiian sugar, to the lumber industry of the Pacific Northwest, which suffered greatly from Japan's imposition of tariffs on certain lumber products in 1929. Others favoring a quota for Japan included the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the presidents of Stanford University and the University of California at Berkeley, and Harry Chandler of the *Los Angeles Times* and the editors of other Scripps Howard newspapers.

The Japan quota advocates never spoke with one voice but promoted, variously, international justice and friendship, commercial opportunity, and, by the mid-1930s, appeasement of Japanese militarism. They faced relentless opposition from the California Joint Immigration Committee (CJIC), the successor organization of the Asiatic Exclusion League, a well-oiled



publicity and lobbying machine led by the indefatigable V. S. McClatchy. The pro-quota movement suffered, as well, from splits fed by myriad jealousies and other personality conflicts. Hirobe argues that, had the pro-quota forces cooperated during the 1920s, they might have been successful. However, by the mid-1930s events were overtaken by the Sino-Japanese War, and the opportunity had passed.

Hirobe's account is most interesting as a study of the complex entanglements produced by dynamics of regional, national, and international politics. At one level, Hirobe revises our understanding of western regional politics by reminding us that immigration politics on the Pacific Coast were not monolithic. Anti-Asiatic nativism remained strong and well represented in Congress (notably by Rep. Albert Johnson of Washington and Sen. Hiram Johnson of California), but in the 1920s and 1930s the pro-quota movement had significant support in the private sector, which in many ways had greater national reach. Despite this, Pacific Coast exclusionists held the State Department hostage to the threat of popular political opposition. State Department officials repeatedly warned off pro-quota organizers—with whom they sympathized—lest they “provoke” the CJIC and “stir up a mess” (p. 187). Hirobe also argues that Japanese Americans did not take up the quota issue because they feared CJIC would whip up anti-Japanese race hostility. Moreover, Japan, which harbored “deep-seated antagonism” toward U.S. immigration policy, was ultimately unwilling to push the issue, in part because it did not want to appear to be interfering in American domestic politics (p. 225). CJIC's continued influence seems remarkable in light of a narrowing political base. Its agricultural constituency, the Grange, became more sanguine about immigrant farm labor and dropped out of CJIC. Even organized labor was no longer the stalwart ally that it once was. Paul Scharrenberg of the California Federation of Labor played an enigmatic role, at times flirting with the idea of a quota for Japan. Scharrenberg seemed to embody some of the complex dynamics of local and global politics at work during the period; while he was labor's representative to the CJIC, he was also a member of the Institute for Pacific Relations and had active ties to Japanese trade unions.

While American immigration policy did not directly cause the United States and Japan to go to war in 1941, Japanese exclusion did play a prominent role in the deterioration of U.S.-Japan relations during the interwar period. Hirobe concludes that it fed Japan's “split psychology” toward the United States, expressed both in “great indignation” at American racism and in a desire to promote friendship between the two nations (p. 225). Walter LaFeber has noted that Japanese exclusion was a “ticking time bomb on Japan's policies.” The issue, of course, was finally resolved at Pearl Harbor.

MAE M. NGAI  
University of Chicago

ERIC L. MULLER. *Free to Die for Their Country: The Story of the Japanese American Draft Resisters in World War II*. (The Chicago Series in Law and Society.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 229. \$27.50.

As a beginning law professor at the University of Wyoming, Eric L. Muller recalled attending a presentation by a local historian about Japanese-American draft resisters who, along with their families, had been incarcerated by the U.S. government at the Heart Mountain camp in Wyoming. The story of their resistance, trial, conviction, and eventual pardon came as a surprise to Muller, who had in law school studied the landmark test cases of other Japanese Americans that had made their way to the U.S. Supreme Court. Muller's unfamiliarity with the draft resisters, and the eventual publication of this book itself, hold important clues about how we have remembered this episode in American history. Many Americans today know at least the basic details of the fate of nearly 120,000 Japanese-Americans on the West Coast who were forcibly placed in concentration camps during World War II. High school and college history texts generally underscore the unjust treatment of “loyal” Japanese Americans who despite their circumstances persevered, and the courage of those who served in the U.S. military in highly decorated Japanese-American combat units. The obscurity of the draft resisters (and other dimensions of the camp experience) is linked to the efforts by U.S. government officials and certain Japanese-American individuals to craft a sanitized version for public consumption even before the war ended—a version that has held considerable sway ever since.

Muller's study joins a growing body of literature on the camps that has begun to expand and to deepen our understanding of what took place during the war. Journalist James Omura wrote about the events as they unfolded, and others since then have recalled them, including the story of the resisters themselves. In fact, one could argue that the resisters' experiences represent the flip side of those who served in the military, an alternative expression of loyalty in which resistance exposed the violation of democratic principles. The stories of the resisters are shadows that have continued to follow the Japanese American community even through suppression and denial.

Muller has made an important contribution through the first book-length and sustained examination of the resisters of Heart Mountain—as well as those who were in the Minidoka (Idaho) and Tule Lake (California) camps. A particular asset of the book is the set of interviews that Muller conducted with ten resisters. The material from those interviews enabled Muller to weave insights and information into the narrative that would have been difficult to access otherwise. Readers gain entry into the daily routine and environs of the McNeil Island prison, where some of the men served their sentences. The oral histories of individuals like

Gene Akutsu and George Nozawa humanize and nuance the experiences of those who have generally been treated as they were tried—as an undifferentiated mass of Japanese Americans.

Not surprisingly, given Muller's expertise in the law, the accounts of the trials themselves are helpful on at least two levels. First, we are able to see the cases side by side and thereby gain a broader and a comparative perspective. As such, we see how the resisters faced differing circumstances and that the fate of the Tule Lake resisters differed from the others through the creative and bold actions of a federal judge whose conscience was shocked by what was happening. Second, Muller is able to discuss the legal issues at stake and their significance. That discussion complements our understanding of the better-known test cases of Mitsuye Endo, Gordon Hirabayashi, Fred Korematsu, and Min Yasui. Readers are also reminded how important the law and the courts have been in the fight for Asian-American agency. As Muller points out, the cases of the draft resisters "illustrated with unusual poignancy how law can deviate from justice" (p. 6).

The story of the draft resisters challenges notions of a homogenized camp experience for Japanese Americans precisely because it so sharply contrasts with the standard recounting of events. The few lone individuals who refused to keep quiet, along with the queries of children of those who were in the camps and the redress and reparations campaigns, have done much over the years to move us beyond the narrow confines that have long held the stories of the camps captive. As we hear more about the experiences of draft resisters and others, we will begin to piece together a fuller and more accurate accounting of what took place and its implications—for Japanese Americans and for all Americans.

DAVID YOO  
Claremont McKenna College

XIAOLAN BAO. *Holding Up More Than Half the Sky: Chinese Women Garment Workers in New York City, 1948-92*. Foreword by ROGER DANIELS. (The Asian American Experience.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 330. \$44.95.

Xiaolan Bao's book is a significant and welcome addition to the growing scholarship on Chinese-American history. By employing oral history interviews, newspapers, and archival documents in both English and Chinese, Bao's study meticulously records the poignant stories of the New York Chinese garment workers in the broader contexts of the history of the garment industry, Chinese immigrant labor, and the Chinese community in New York City.

The title of the book derives from a popular adage, "Women hold up half the sky," derived from Mao Zedong's writing and frequently quoted by both the Chinese governmental propaganda machine and the public to promote gender equality and emphasize the elevated role of women in Chinese society since the

Communist takeover in 1949. Here, Bao's variation of "more than half the sky" attempts to recognize the significant contributions of these ordinary garment workers to their families, the labor unions, the Chinese immigrant community, and American society as well.

As a researcher of the Chinese garment industry, Bao diligently interviewed more than one hundred garment workers. Yet Bao's contact with the garment workers goes well beyond scholarly research. When she first arrived in New York City as a foreign student in 1984, she lived for five years with two families of Chinese garment workers. She also taught in a Chinatown Sunday English school for two years, volunteered assistance to a number of garment workers, and participated in various other community activities. Her close involvement with New York's Chinese garment workers makes her not only an observer but also a participant, adding to the originality and authenticity of the study.

According to Bao, a high percentage of married new immigrant women are working outside the home, not only contributing to the family economy but also helping to transform the immigrant community. Bao attempts to recognize their contributions and, further, to promote new interpretations of Chinese-American communities in New York City through her analysis of the intersecting forces of gender, race/ethnicity, and class. Challenging as oversimplified the concepts of "uptown" and "downtown" employed in the studies of New York Chinatown by Virginia Heyer, Peter Kwang, and others, Bao claims that the Mandarin-speaking, better-educated (mostly Columbia University trained), professional, and wealthy uptown Chinese elite is only a post-World War II phenomenon. This elite group has had very limited interaction with New York Chinatown. Moreover, Bao observes, not all Chinese dwelling in Chinatown are poor, nor are all uptown residents members of the elite. Given the complexity of class stratification and historical changes in the community, Bao prefers to use the more general term "working class" when referring to Chinese working in the factories and various types of ethnic enterprises, whether employed or self-employed.

Bao also sees complications in the racial/ethnic identity of the Chinese community in New York. The ethnic diversity of the Chinese community in New York is evident in the various dialects spoken by its members. Although generally referred to as "Cantonese" speakers, the early Chinese immigrants mostly came from San Yi (meaning three counties) and Si Yi (meaning four counties) districts of Guangdong Province, whose dialects are distinctively different from "standard" Cantonese and from each other. Furthermore, many villages in Guangdong Province were dominated by more than one lineage or kinship organization; therefore immigrants with the same geographical origins and dialects do not necessarily claim allegiance to the same political organizations. The complications of lineage and linguistics do undermine the ethnic solidarity of the immigrant community.

Similarly, the picture of gender is also multifaceted. The Chinese female garment workers have differed in age, motivations of immigration, and prior educational, social, cultural, and political backgrounds. Such differences have affected their attitudes and decision making in the United States.

In conclusion, Bao's book is a significant reference for scholars of women's studies, Chinese-American history, immigration history, and labor history.

HUPING LING  
Truman State University

ALICE O'CONNOR. *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 373. \$29.95.

Alice O'Connor's book describes how American social scientists reframed the problem of poverty over the course of the twentieth century and how their ideas in turn had an impact on social policy. Along the way, she offers brief but insightful discussions of the major figures of twentieth-century social science, from the sociologists of the Pittsburgh Survey and the Southern Institute for Research in Social Science to Michael Harrington and Charles Murray.

O'Connor admires the Progressive-era sociologists and social investigators who focused on poverty as an aspect of the "labor problem" and produced such analytical writings as *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895) and W. E. B. Du Bois's *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899). These examples of "advocacy through objectivity" (p. 26) seemed to promise that social science would produce the knowledge base for a welfare state with full social citizenship.

But the Progressive era was no more than a false dawn of American liberalism, according to O'Connor. Academic sociology soon broke with reform; Chicago School sociologists focused on the "ecology" of the city as a whole, rather than on poor people and their successors viewed the poor as a class apart. By the time of the Cold War, experts had begun to see poverty not as a societal problem but as the peculiar possession of an anomalous "forgotten minority," sometimes of an anomalous region (the South or Appalachia). By the 1950s, the sympathetic ethnographic writings of engaged social investigators had given way to the voyeuristic narratives of such as those of anthropologist Oscar Lewis, whose "culture of poverty" theories were easily generalized from Mexico to North American ghettos. From there it was a short step to the Moynihan Report, to a racialized "urban crisis," and, in the 1990s, to the discovery by social scientists of a menacing "underclass."

Passion about what might have been drives this book. O'Connor wants to show why liberal social science lost its way so completely that by the 1990s it had become part of the "new welfare consensus" and of welfare repeal. The book gains momentum and

intensity as it moves forward to the intellectual and political origins of the 1960s War on Poverty, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the short-lived Community Action Programs. The final chapters describe the rise of a "poverty knowledge industry" (pp. 214–16), institutionalized by the 1980s within think tanks, foundations, and government agencies. The author is deeply critical of this development, which made poverty knowledge "a highly pragmatic technical subfield of applied microeconomics" (p. 213). Its experts supplied modern American administrations with data about the poor that was esoteric and mathematically sophisticated, but its policy recommendations often rested on untested assumptions about culture, the family, and race. They obsessed about unwed motherhood but ignored the impact on poor families of the disappearance from the urban economy of tens of thousands of production jobs.

By the 1980s, when the Reagan administration turned from the liberal think tanks to the newly emergent conservative foundations, the damage had been done. Liberal social science was utterly demoralized, O'Connor writes, with "no alternative political agenda" (p. 250). The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (1996), a Republican measure ending "welfare," or benefits for low-wage workers with children (p. 287), came at the hands of Bill Clinton, "himself a proponent of knowledge-based reform" (p. 287).

O'Connor resists theorizing about knowledge and power and she remains optimistic that knowledge can be made "a force for political change" (p. 194). Unfortunately, much of the evidence of her book suggests otherwise. "Knowledge" seems to spring from policy goals, not the reverse (p. 158), and dominant cultural narratives about the poor change with the political climate. As Linda Gordon and Nancy Fraser demonstrated in their influential essay, "A Genealogy of Dependency: A Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State," (1994), which O'Connor cites, what was important was not data but effective control of the terms of debate.

O'Connor's book surpasses previous accounts of American approaches to poverty and makes a very significant contribution to critical writing on the welfare state. Its detailed and somewhat abstract discussions are difficult but enormously rewarding. No one has shown so effectively how the academic disciplines of sociology, cultural anthropology, behavioral psychology, and econometrics were harnessed to the ends of twentieth-century policy makers, and how successive administrations legitimized some bodies of data, labeling them "knowledge" while dismissing others.

If there is one criticism to be made, it is that although O'Connor clearly believes that poverty experts got it wrong most of the time, the reader has to work hard to piece together the counter arguments, and only those readers already familiar with social-policy debates will be able to do so. However, in a final chapter, "Toward a New Poverty Knowledge," the

author outlines her own recommendations for “a broad-gauged study of political economy rather than a narrow study of the poor,” and here, at the end of the book, the reader catches a glimpse of the author’s progressive vision for “imagining, organizing, and mobilizing a new poverty knowledge” (p. 295).

RUTH CROCKER  
Auburn University

JENNIFER FROST. *An Interracial Movement of the Poor: Community Organizing and the New Left in the 1960s*. New York: New York University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 257. \$35.00.

Jennifer Frost has provided a coherent examination of the role of American women during the poor people’s movement of the 1960s. Mining a variety of sources, Frost incorporated private diaries, and personal interviews as well as manuscript collections to make her case. Frost investigated community organizers at the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), a grass-roots organizing program, with major offices in Cleveland, Chicago, Boston, Newark, Baltimore, Trenton, and Philadelphia. ERAP challenged the previous reliance on the working class, focusing instead on a vision of “an interracial movement of the poor” to attack racial inequality. The agency’s mission was to collaborate with the civil rights movements and voice “problems with welfare, housing, urban renewal, children’s welfare, police brutality, as well as jobs” (p. 96).

The author incisively argues that ERAP encouraged women to become organizers. For many, being a community organizer was better than the likelihood of a future of low-paying jobs. Since females were the most active constituency, it was not long before they helped shape the culture of ERAP, adding a maternal aspect that called for programs for children, food, clothing, and health care. Accordingly, ERAP staff provided babysitters for female activists when they held rallies. Women were closely associated with programs such as Head Start and Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), and in Chicago they established a program in which girls went door-to-door testing children for lead poisoning.

Throughout the text, Frost supplies illuminating stories to create a rich tapestry that yielded insight on the life of community organizers. She recounts how ERAP employees wrote letters, distributed petitions, and organized protests. In the words of one organizer, “You go in, stir things up, you create an organization, local people take it over, and you leave” (p. 85). Participation empowered organizers to create change, as in Cleveland when ERAP activists stole the employee handbook at the Welfare Department, simplified the rules, and then returned it. To their surprise, some caseworkers liked the changes and adopted the “revised” manual. Later, poor people held a “Rat March” to city hall by parading broken furniture, torn clothing, and dead rats to call attention to the need for the removal of garbage.

According to Frost, the power of Cold War legislators and law enforcement agents weakened the accomplishments of ERAP. In 1964, when the federal government mandated representation of the poor, ERAP staff demanded that poor people be given representation on the board of directors of antipoverty projects. In Newark, it was a success, yet the same was not true in Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland, and Philadelphia. The fact that political machines in Democratic strongholds overpowered ERAP meant that the overall impact of ERAP was one of little successes and big defeats. In Frost’s opinion, police relations within the ghetto were tenuous, as exemplified in Chicago when police officers allegedly broke into ERAP offices, started fires, hid marijuana, and later arrested several organizers for the possession of drugs. Shortly after the urban riots of 1967, several police departments insisted that the disturbances were the result of Communists associated with ERAP. In many respects, the riots signaled an end for ERAP.

By 1968, most ERAP organizers had vacated the movement and returned to the theoretical world of college life. Frost remarks that this coincided with the emergence of Black Power and that white organizers in black communities now stepped on contested terrain. External and internal pressures such as inadequate strategies, heavy workloads, and high expectations also brought a closing phase to ERAP. “Only a few organizers had their own bedrooms; many slept on floors and couches. And low project budgets and a lack of funding made food items like meat and juice luxuries” (p. 155). Initially, members of ERAP idealized the world of poor people until they witnessed high rates of alcoholism, violence, and abuse of women. It is undeniable that these intractable issues continue to be difficult to resolve, even in the best of circumstances.

The most bothersome aspect of Frost’s work has to do with the disorganized discussion of the multiple ERAP projects. In the third chapter, each of the four major cities were clearly delineated; however, subsequent chapters often skipped from one city to another within a single paragraph, making the narrative tough to follow. But having noted that, there are many different things for scholars to admire about this book, whether one is interested in postwar American history, social welfare, women’s studies, radical politics, or social movements.

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PAMELA S. NADELL. *Women Who Would Be Rabbis: A History of Women’s Ordination, 1889–1985*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 1998. Pp. xiii, 300. \$30.00.

Pamela S. Nadell vividly narrates the provocative story of U.S. Jewish women’s ordination. The story begins in the late nineteenth century, when U.S. Jewish women began publicly voicing a desire for ordination. It concludes a century later, when, in the 1970s and



1980s, women were ordained as Reform, Reconstructionist, and Conservative rabbis. The backdrop for the story includes American women's changing roles and American Judaism's adaptation to modernism. Nadell has compiled fragments of information that scholars of American Jewish history likely know into a chronicle made compelling by the multiple brief biographies of women who fought for the right to be ordained as rabbis. These individuals' stories create the larger narrative that "the women who wanted to be rabbis and their supporters invented over and over again . . . to prove that women were worthy . . . capable . . . serious, that they could learn, and . . . should use their knowledge to become rabbis, teachers, and preachers" (p. xiii).

According to Nadell, each new generation of women's ordination proponents repeated its predecessors' arguments and framed those arguments as other woman's rights advocates did: women were like men, and therefore should have the same opportunities as men (including the right to join the rabbinate); and women were different from men, and "could understand female issues and problems far better than . . . men" (and "would bring to the rabbinate enormous strengths, especially the spirituality acknowledged as particular to their sex" [p. 4]). But before women could be ordained, there would need to be a revolution in expectations and beliefs about the role of the Jewish woman as well as in seminary entrance requirements and interpretations of religious laws. For centuries, the ideal Jewish woman was a "Mother in Israel" who met her spiritual, historical, and cultural obligations through her roles as wife and mother. Only when a core of women who were dedicated to ordination found support within the seminaries and outside them, from organizations such as the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, did women become rabbis.

Nadell's primary sources range from personally conducted interviews and nineteenth-century American Jewish periodicals to scrapbooks and synagogue bulletins. These thoroughly researched sources reveal that, despite the prohibition against ordination, women preached (Ray Frank, 1890s), studied (Martha Neumark, 1920s; Helen Levinthal, 1930s), and even led services and officiated at confirmations, baby namings, and funerals (Paula Ackerman, 1950s).

Four of this admirable book's chapters focus on a brief period during which the question of women's ordination in the United States was raised. Chapter one concentrates on 1889, when Mary M. Cohen, a Jewish "communal activist," published a story in the Philadelphia *Jewish Exponent* in which a character asks, "Can't a woman be a rabbi?" Chapter two follows directly from chapter one, describing the "rising expectations for women's ordination" in the 1890s. Chapter three jumps to the 1920s and the 1930s, while chapter four focuses on 1972, the year Sally Priesand was ordained as a Reform rabbi. Chapter five addresses "the debate in Conservative Judaism" (which includes details about Reconstructionist Judaism's or-

dination of women) rather than on a particular period, yet even here Nadell constructs a chronological story that ends in 1985, the year Amy Eilberg was ordained by the Conservative Jewish Theological Seminary. The epilogue raises a question that as of yet has no answer: "Will there be Orthodox women rabbis?"

Reading this book was a delightful experience. However, I think that the volume should have included a bibliography so that others might build more efficiently on Nadell's important work. I also think that since the narrative describes only one woman who was not American, it should have included an expanded explanation of how and why *American* Judaism, compared to Judaism as it was practiced elsewhere, accommodated women's ordination.

Nadell has written an exciting new chapter in the histories of U.S. women and American Judaism, and in Jewish women's studies, a recent but rapidly expanding field. More specifically, this splendid study of U.S. women's ordination complements other recent historical studies of U.S. Jewish women: *Women and American Judaism: Historical Perspectives* (2001), edited by Nadell and Jonathan D. Sarna; Joyce Antler's *The Journey Home: How Jewish Women Shaped Modern America* (1997); Dianne Ashton's *Rebecca Gratz: Women and Judaism in Antebellum America* (1997); and Karla Goldman's *Beyond The Synagogue Gallery: Finding a Place for Women in American Judaism* (2000). Nadell's book alters our perspective on the past by telling stories that have been buried under religious, cultural, and even historical conventions. Nadell suggests that her study offers "a model for historians of women's changing role in religion and for those studying women in other professions." It does much more than this. It offers "lessons from the past [to] . . . serve as prologue for the future," and to provide the "shoulders" on which those creating their own revolutions can stand (p. 220).

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GEOFFREY LAYMAN. *The Great Divide: Religious and Cultural Conflict in American Party Politics*. (Power, Conflict, and Democracy: American Politics Into the Twenty-First Century.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 435. Cloth \$49.50, paper \$22.50.

What explains the chasm between the contemporary Democratic and Republican parties over cultural and religious issues? Political scientist Geoffrey Layman attempts to answer just that question. The result is a well-researched analysis of the role of religion in modern American politics that, while ultimately unsatisfying to the historian, represents a major contribution to the burgeoning literature on religion, politics, and electoral change.

Layman argues that cultural issues cannot be separated from the political parties. He argues that "the connection between the initial introduction of cultural



liberalism and cultural conservatism into the Democratic and Republican parties . . . ha[s] been greatly facilitated by party activists" (p. 50). Layman proposes a model to understand how cultural issues, like abortion, develop from a traditionalist-modernist religious cleavage. "Strategic politicians," as Layman calls them (he includes George McGovern, George Wallace, and Ronald Reagan as examples), embrace cultural issues prompting party activists to reorient the parties along such issues. Only then do parties take these issues to a mass base, contributing to a changed electorate. Since the 1960s, the political parties have been affected less by grass-roots-based demands, Layman's research shows, than by the religious beliefs of party activists themselves. Party activist religious preference is the root of division between a (now) traditionalist Republican Party and a (now) modernist Democratic Party.

Layman relies on the University of Michigan's National Election Studies, which present a clear picture, particularly after 1988, of religious preference, party membership, and voting behavior. Thus, from the 1988 election to the present, political historians may rely on excellent data concerning the partisan activism and voting behavior of various religious groups. Layman's data contribute to historical understanding of recent party activism and religious affiliation and preference. Much of his research confirms what historians already suspect: religiously active evangelical Christians, for instance, are strong supporters of the Republican Party on cultural and social issues, whereas non-believers and the majority of those who do not often practice their religion tend to support the Democrats. Even when Layman introduces a variable for social class, poor white evangelicals remain committed to the Republicans because of the party's support for traditional religious concerns. However, black evangelicals who share traditional religious views overwhelmingly support the Democratic Party due to its economic and social policies. What to conclude from such research? The parties are reorienting themselves, both among party activists and the mass base, along traditional-modernist religious cleavages.

Does such a divide really matter? Are cultural issues gaining predominance over "bread and butter" economic concerns? Does such a sharp division threaten the health of American democracy? Layman does not think so. The majority of voters still subscribe to economic issues as the basis for their voting behavior. His evidence supports this point, concentrating on how the parties themselves often downplay contentious cultural issues in order to win elections. Newt Gingrich's Contract with America, for instance, contained not one item on religious or cultural issues. However, Layman does not distinguish in his work between primary campaigns and general election campaigns. It is during the primary campaigns that party activists often hold sway and cultural and religious issues are most important. Such issues typically wind up defining the party platform. After the candidate is nominated, and particularly once the general election starts, divi-

sive religious and cultural issues disappear from campaigns. Layman does not focus enough on the role of primary campaigns in helping foment the traditionalist-modernist cleavage.

The historian of American politics will find in Layman's work a rich collection of data on contemporary politics. However, the author is a prisoner to his methodology. What is lacking in the book, only because data does not exist to support it, is a comparison of other eras in twentieth-century political history where sharp divides between traditionalists and modernists existed. The 1920s come to mind as one such era. Were the political parties greatly affected by religious activism in this era—an era of great conflict over immigration, religion, feminism, and challenges to traditional morality? Layman's methodology, relying as it does on contemporary election surveys, is not of much help for such comparisons. But other sources could be. Archival sources of both major parties, personal memoirs, the papers of key party figures, and religious groups (and individuals) who were interested in party politics in the 1920s could be employed to compare eras. Is the contemporary era an anomaly, a result of conflicts over the 1960s? Layman contends it is, and his data supports this, but one is left to wonder what continuities there are between the contemporary religious divide and other such divides in the past.

Layman has studied an important issue. In accessible prose and backed by impressive data, his book makes an important contribution to our understanding of contemporary religious and cultural debates and how they have shaped American politics.

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ROBERT ALAN GOLDBERG. *Enemies Within: The Culture of Conspiracy of Modern America*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 354. \$29.95.

Robert Alan Goldberg challenges *Newsweek* columnist Jonathan Alter's contention that we live in "an age of conspiracism," arguing instead that a widespread belief in conspiracies has been "part of a long and central tradition in our nation's history" (p. x). He establishes this first by briefly surveying the history of conspiracy theories, ranging from the Salem witch trials of the colonial era through the World War II internment of Japanese alien residents and citizens and the charge that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had purposefully set up the fleet at Pearl Harbor as a "back door to war." He then focuses on the post-1945 period and recounts in detail five diverse and widespread conspiratorial beliefs: that the nation was the victim of a Communist conspiracy that was covered up by the Roosevelt and Truman administrations (popularized by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and Senator Joseph McCarthy); that a more liberal secular society sanctioned "the rise of the Antichrist" (popularized on the 700 Club and in Hal Lindsey's best seller, *The Late Great Planet Earth*); that black

Americans were victims of a Jewish conspiracy (espoused by, among others, Louis Farrakhan); that various sinister groups (whether the Mafia, Cuba, right-wing activists, FBI, CIA) were responsible for President John F. Kennedy's assassination; and that government officials sought to cover up an alien presence, notably the so-called Roswell incident of 1947 or recurring sightings of UFOs.

The diversity, pervasiveness, and popularity of these conspiracy theories, Goldberg posits, cannot be explained as the product of personal paranoia. Goldberg eschews the abnormal psychology approach popularized in the 1950s by Richard Hofstadter and by the various contributors to Daniel Bell's *The Radical Right* (1963), who attribute a conspiratorial politics to an irrational, populist response to modernism. Belief in conspiracies commanded support from diverse sectors of the body politic whose influence and trust were affected by profound changes in American politics and culture. "For many," Goldberg argues, "conspiracy thinking proves an antidote to powerlessness. It lifts the despair of vulnerability and arms believers with the knowledge to understand and defeat the enemy" (p. 240). "Rather than the sum of its paranoid parts," he concludes, conspiracism . . . is part of the national birthright and offers community to believers . . . Government authorities also support the conspiracist case by echoing the fear of subversion or offering proof of collusion by abusing power or betraying the people's trust" (p. 260).

Goldberg's arresting thesis is not the product of research in primary sources or recently declassified records. A derivative work, this book is grounded in an extensive reading of the secondary literature supplemented by a thoughtful analysis of the popular culture (movies, television shows and documentaries, popular fiction and nonfiction and the tabloid press). The resultant tightly reasoned monograph will be of interest to those seeking to understand the recurring phenomenon of conspiracy beliefs. Its detailed narrative of the specific events and decisions giving rise to these disparate conspiracy theories is, at the same time, a useful survey of recent American social and political history.

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MELANI MCALISTER. *Epic Encounters: Culture, Media, and U.S. Interests in the Middle East, 1945-2000*. (American Crossroads.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 358. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

At a time when racial profiling and intolerance for other cultures is on the rise, a book discussing how Americans perceive the Middle East is very important. Since September 11, 2001, interest in understanding the Mideast region has been paramount for almost everyone, and when I opened the pages of Melani McAlister's book, I hoped that the author would add

to my understanding of what had taken place at the World Trade Center. I have gained some new insights, but for the most part, I found the book uneven stylistically and not very consistent in its presentation. The author's theme centers on the politics of culture and the development of American perceptions of the Middle East. This is based on the formation of "multilayered investments in the Middle East" and how they "have been mobilized by very different people living in the United States" (p. xiv). McAlister also seems to allude to the role of the formation of cultural perception, and the creation of American power in the region. The book explores this theme in great detail, and the author does her best to support her conclusions by analyzing film, fiction, nonfiction, and the media.

Given the title of the book, the reader might expect a discussion of the role of the American media in presenting a cultural perspective that has influenced American foreign policy in the Middle East, but such is not the case. The author has presented a series of essays dealing with topics on the periphery of the role of the media, loosely tied together by historical analysis of American policy in the region. First is an analysis of "epic films" dealing with biblical topics. Movies such as *Ben-Hur* (1959), *Quo Vadis* (1951), *The Ten Commandments* (1956), and a number of others are offered as part of the analysis of American policy in the Middle East throughout the 1950s, interfaced with the events and goals of the 1956 Suez War. This is followed by an essay discussing African-American cultural politics as it evolved away from support of Israel to a more favorable view of Arab politics and culture. McAlister highlights the evolution of the Nation of Islam and its views toward Israel, and to her credit she explores the division between the African-American and Jewish communities in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s in some detail. The author then tries to link oil as a commodity in the world market to that of the price of gold in explaining the popularity of the King Tut exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the 1970s. McAlister's conclusion that "the commodity nationalism that appropriated Tut connected to the larger logic that fused Tut and oil into a narrative of national reassertion in the face of decline" is a bit far fetched (p. 140).

Perhaps the most interesting chapter in the book deals with the raising of Israel to almost heroic proportions in the eyes of Americans following the Vietnam War. In analyzing the book and film *Exodus*, the film *Black Sunday* (1977), and the Israeli raid at Entebbe in contrast with America's experience in Vietnam, the author reaches the conclusion that Americans admired Israel for its military prowess and saw Israel as a stage upon which the Vietnam War was refought, and this time the United States through its proxy proved victorious. McAlister also interweaves gender into her discussion as she relates Vietnam Syndrome to the reconstruction of America's battered masculinity (p. 187). This is followed by a discussion of

the hostage situation in Iran, but again Israel emerges as the symbol for a revitalized American military, which takes place in the 1980s. In a sense, Israel saved America, taught it what was necessary to save itself, and was the model for massive American defense spending in the 1980s, as the neoconservative movement copied the Likud model and dominated the American political landscape.

The author concludes her work with a strong chapter dealing with the Persian Gulf War and the role of multiculturalism. The chapter itself is somewhat eerie, as McAlister could be writing about the current situation in Afghanistan as she describes the war against Iraq through the film *The Siege* as "patriotically correct." Though there is much merit in the book, it is written on so many levels—sociocultural, diplomatic, political, and economic—that it is difficult to fit everything together in a cohesive pattern. The book would be better presented as a series of separate essays rather than a complete monograph. Despite this drawback, I would recommend the work to anyone who is trying to understand American reactions to events in the Middle East, and why Washington pursues the policies it does in the region.

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ROD JANZEN. *The Rise and Fall of Synanon: A California Utopia*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press in cooperation with The Center for American Places, Sante Fe, N. Mex. and Harrisonburg. 2001. Pp. ix, 300. \$34.95.

This study of the communal society that Betty Dederich characterized as a rehabilitative institution, "built in the spirit of Revolution" (p. 1), provides a much-needed critical overview of the history of Synanon from its inception in 1958 to its disintegration in 1991. No earlier work on the community considered its entire history, nor did any approach the balanced assessment that Rod Janzen provides here. Like the contemporary literature on other utopian communities, but in a more concentrated form, earlier accounts of Synanon emerged at a specific point in its history and were largely tendentious. All were published between 1980 and 1982, considered the community primarily during the 1970s, and fell within two categories familiar to students of American communitarianism: the exposé undertaken by outsiders who view the community as a minatory threat to fundamental social mores and moral values (journalists David and Cathy Mitchell and sociologist Richard Ofshe's *The Light on Synanon* [1980]), or community apostates (William Olin's *Escape From Utopia* [1980], and David Gerstell's *Paradise, Incorporated: Synanon* [1982]). Janzen provides a more judicious and balanced assessment of the community in the context of modern communitarian scholarship.

His consideration of central issues that have preoccupied communitarian studies specialists since the

1970s—the activist and social reform agendas of utopians, the relative success of alternative social organizations, the governance structure and function of charismatic leadership, rates of member retention and withdrawal, the cultic status of utopian ventures, and the persistence of community values after breakup—will insure an academic audience for this work. But the dispassionate clarity of the discussion of the evolution of Synanon and its legacy should also attract a general audience. Most useful for readers whose only familiarity with the community may be through its early incarnation as a pre-Therapeutic Community drug rehabilitation haven, or as a vehicle of vindictive retaliation (some of whose members placed a live rattlesnake in the mailbox of anticult lawyer Paul Morantz in 1978), is Janzen's division of Synanon's history into four discrete periods: Synanon I (1958–1968, the drug rehab phase), Synanon II (1969–1975, the establishment of an alternative, utopic social order), Synanon III (1976–1981, the "corporate cult"), and the final years (1982–1991, decline, breakup, and dispersal).

Changes in membership in a community that experienced extraordinary demographic volatility over the course of its existence (Janzen argues that withdrawal rates exceeded ninety-five percent) are charted against the policy shifts that signaled the transition from one communal incarnation to the next. Thus, the evolution from a rehab to a social reform focus was preceded by an altered membership profile; "dope fiends" were joined by "squares," who lacked "street smarts," but who brought middle-class professional values to Synanon. This period also saw the inauguration of the "punk squads," juvenile offenders brought to the community for reclamation. The movement from Synanon II to III seems to have resulted from significant policy changes: the movement from monogamy to a ritualized "changing partners" in 1977, and the order issued by founder, and now virtual charismatic dictator of the community, Charles Dederich, in the same year, that all males over eighteen submit to vasectomies. For outsiders, these policies set Synanon apart as a crazy cult that had attacked marriage and the family and had, in a child-centered culture, elected childlessness. At a stroke, Synanon had appropriated to itself the social negatives that had fueled hostility, respectively, to the Oneida Community and the Shakers in the nineteenth century.

Janzen identifies "the game" (originally "the synanon"), an open-ended, confrontational, encounter-group experience that prioritized the "indictment" of individual and collective faults in a public forum, as the social and intellectual core of the community. Like Oneida's "mutual criticism," it was a disciplinary tool that promoted group cohesion and the subordination of centrifugal individualism. Dederich spoke of the democratic nature of "the game," analogizing it to a circle, as opposed to "the floor," everyday communal life, which he likened to a pyramidal structure. Nevertheless, Dederich himself was not "gamed" after 1977.

Hierarchy had triumphed over democratic process. Also valuable is Janzen's identification of the primary sources of Dederich's utopian vision—Ralph Waldo Emerson and Abraham Maslow.

Ultimately, Synanon's story is all too familiar to students of utopia: the increasing engrossment of power by a feared and venerated charismatic leader; the loss of ideological focus in the second generation; the temptations of materialism; abrupt, arbitrary changes in community policy (a more pro-violence stance and the allowance of alcohol); and the psychological stresses accompanying the evolution of "the game" (including "the wire," radio transmission and recording of game sessions).

Janzen tells this story with authority; his sources comprise the available printed accounts, personal journals of members, community papers, recordings of "the game" sessions, and interviews with central Synanon members. But overall, his treatment of the community, despite its thoroughness, is remarkably bloodless. Other than the characters of Charles and Betty Dederich, we do not get a distinct vision of even long-term Synanites. In his effort to avoid value judgments of the community, the picture we get of Synanon is etiolated and depersonalized. Other than recovering addicts, it is often difficult to read a motivation for an individual's association with Synanon as opposed to a choice to join one of the host of other utopian ventures that dotted the urban and rural landscape during its social activist period (Synanon II). It is not surprising, then, that the most enduring legacy of Synanon has been institutional: the Ad Gap Group (a promotional service) and Good Source (a "second market" retailer to social service institutions). The afterlife of Synanon, through its former members and its corporate extensions, remains rooted in the institutional rather than the personal. Janzen's volume reflects that reality, grounded as it was in Synanon's evolution from individual, personal reformation in the 1960s to charismatic corporatism in the 1980s.

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#### CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

MARÍA ELENA DÍAZ. *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670–1780*. (Cultural Sitings.) Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 440. \$49.50.

In 1670, the Spanish crown confiscated the privately owned El Cobre copper mines in eastern Cuba, a military frontier area of thriving contraband that, like other mining complexes in the Americas, articulated with a hinterland of cattle ranching and small-scale foodstuffs, tobacco, and sugar production. Until crown rule ended in 1780 the mostly creole royal slaves who worked the mines, and free and freed inhabitants and their descendants, known collectively as the *cobrerros*, pursued a special relationship with the Spanish crown

through their recognition of the king as their benefactor and ultimate arbiter of justice. In 1678, the political and social recognition of the mining settlement as a community was heightened with the crown designation of *pueblo* (village) status to El Cobre.

Concomitant with this event was the transformation of the Virgin Our Lady of Charity of El Cobre from an obscure early seventeenth-century hermitage and local cult to an important Marian shrine. Popular beliefs surrounding the Virgin's power to intervene on behalf of the *cobrerros*, and news of the Virgin's miracles drew ecclesiastics and lay Spanish and creole devotees to the annual festivities in El Cobre. For the *cobrerros* who claimed the Virgin as their patroness and their protectress, the partaking of this encompassing dominant culture "helped to produce this major Marian tradition in their *patria chica* [and] in doing so, they also conferred their own locally distinctive political and social significations to 'their' tradition" (p. 145).

On the basis of archival records from the National Archive in Madrid, the Archive of the Indies in Seville, and the parish archives in El Cobre, Cuba, María Elena Díaz situates the crucial period of *cobrero* struggles from 1690 to roughly 1710. Díaz cogently argues for slave agency through the royal slaves religious devotion, use of all judicial levels in the colonial courts, customary working arrangements, and public claims to entitlements during their incorporation into the broader political structures of colonial society. The *cobrerros'* recourse to tactical alliances—informal networks and contacts for support and patronage—was vital in the hierarchically based political culture of the colonial world, and through those alliances, Díaz claims, they fashioned a fluid continuum between slavery and freedom.

"Acts of Service" to the crown figure importantly in this study. When the royal slave and legal spokesman and proxy of El Cobre, Diego de Rosas, travelled to Madrid in 1709 and denounced the abuses of Governor Caneles, he brought on an official investigation by the visiting judge of the High Court of Santo Domingo. Díaz uses this episode to illustrate both the empowerment of royal slaves vis-à-vis royal officials and the unique bargaining power that royal slaves enjoyed with the crown. For Díaz, the *cobrerros'* demonstrations of agency through their claims to customary rights, and de facto privileges for themselves and their families, including exaction of satisfaction for local grievances and even manumission, confirm the unique position of the royal slaves in the colonial Spanish world. Less certain is Díaz's assertion that, by the end of the seventeenth century, the royal slaves of El Cobre loaned a "reconstituted peasantry." After all, they continued to be subject to forced labor for the state.

Díaz's study offers new insights into slavery and invites comparisons with other colonial slave societies of the Americas. In this regard, there are interesting parallels between Díaz's focus on the formation of a proto or "reconstituted peasantry" by the end of the seventeenth century and Lauren Derby's work on the



colonial Dominican Republic. Derby highlights notions of proto-national difference vis-à-vis Haiti and situates the formation of Creole identity in the formative period of inter-island trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Her confirmation of a looser regime of control in labor relations outside of plantation-centered areas resonates with the fluid continuum between slavery and freedom in El Cobre. After the first failed attempts at mining and sugar' production in the Dominican Republic, Derby argues, ensuing mercantilist restrictions compromised subsistence agriculture, cattle raising, meat supply and tobacco production, leaving producers with no outlet for smallholders' products or sources for their provisions. Free, freed, and slaves forged a Creole identity through the loose labor relations that informed Dutch, French, and English mercenaries and pirates in the flourishing contraband economy. Similarly loose labor relations persisted in the mountainous refuges for runaway slaves who engaged in cattle raising and formed an itinerant peasantry. For Derby, the formative trading years in the Dominican Republic "shaped a uniquely open pattern of race and class stratification, one in which movement within the social order was generalized, and blackness was not coincident with lowly class status." (See Derby, "Race, National Identity and the Idea of Value in the Dominican Republic," *Black Identity in the Americas* [2002]).

Derby's research links defiance of colonial restrictions with fear of the powerful sugar-producing French colonial neighbor, Saint Domingue, in the formation of Creole identity. Díaz argues for negotiation from within rather than defiance of the colonial state.

In the two Spanish colonies, the free black population formed a majority by the eighteenth century and many were engaged in peasant production. The royal slaves of El Cobre were granted collective freedom at the turn of the nineteenth century, but a collective Creole identity would only emerge with the emancipation of all slaves from the pervasive plantation system and the rupture of the colonial pact.

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WILL FOWLER, *Tornel and Santa Anna: The Writer and the Caudillo, Mexico 1795–1853*. (Contributions in Latin American Studies, number 14.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2000. Pp. xv, 308. \$69.50.

The first decades of Mexico's existence as an independent republic were known as the age of Antonio López de Santa Anna. But Santa Anna, as Will Fowler notes, did not read books and needed someone to compose his pronouncements. This was José María Tornel y Mendívil (1795–1853). He served as minister of war six times, usually when Santa Anna was president, all the while acting as Santa Anna's eyes and ears in Mexico City and organizing revolutions for him when needed. Tornel was in the thick of things in Mexico's first thirty

years as a nation, and in his conversion from enthusiastic York rite federalist in the 1820s to heavy-handed supporter of centralism in the 1830s, he mirrored the national transition from great expectations to political despair.

Some of the more intriguing parts of the book deal with the political formation of Tornel as young student who obtained an education that was good enough for him later to translate works in several languages, compose political declarations larded with classical allusions, and write a play entitled *The Death of Cicero*. Captured as a young man fighting against the Spaniards in the War of Independence, he managed to stay alive while his fellow rebels were being executed when it was learned he was the son of Don Julian. His captor sent him—unescorted—to plead his case to Viceroy Félix María Calleja del Rey. Spared by Calleja del Rey, he was placed under house arrest in different colleges where his status gradually shifted from prisoner to student.

In one of the political about-faces common in those years, Tornel joined the Spanish army in 1820. It was through his pen, however, that he made his way to the upper reaches of politics, writing letters and speeches for the first two presidents, Guadalupe Victoria and Vicente Guerrero. In the 1820s, Tornel rode the wave of federalism and populism, exuding the virtues and excesses of the new voters. For Tornel and many others, the sheen of republicanism did not outlast the decade. In 1834, when Valentín Gómez Farías as vice president instituted a program to limit the power of church and army, Tornel conspired to bring back Santa Anna to undo the changes.

Tornel was minister of war when the Texans carried out their rebellion. He had already known the Americans in Baltimore as minister plenipotentiary to the United States, 1830–1831, and was one of the first of many Mexicans to view the Americans with a mixture of admiration and apprehension. He marveled at the advances of American industry, but he wondered how Mexico might attain these heights of material achievement and not lose what he prized in the national character. As early as March 6, 1830, he foresaw danger in Texas, writing of the "unprecedented treachery of the colonists and settlers, and of the generosity of the Mexicans."

When, in 1836, Tornel learned that his political patron Santa Anna had been captured by the Texans, signed away Texas in the Treaties of Velasco, and sent out directives that Mexican commanders should retreat to south of the border, he did not flinch. Advising commanders in the north to proceed with "extreme prudence," he declared that Santa Anna was a victim, not a traitor, and ordered national flags flown at half-mast while the president remained in captivity.

In 1837, Tornel wrote *Tejas y los Estados-Unidos de América en sus relaciones con la República mexicana*, in which he derided the Texans' claim that they had rebelled in the name of federalism. It was really an international plot hatched in Washington. In historical



detail, he aimed to demonstrate that Texas had always belonged to Spain and then Mexico, and that the Texas tragedy arose not out of Santa Anna's incompetence but out of Mexico's careless generosity to an ungrateful people.

Further humiliations followed: the occupation of Veracruz by the French in 1838, and the cutting away of northern Mexico in the war with the United States in 1846–1848. Facing what seemed like national dissolution, politicians, often including Santa Anna and Tornel, tinkered with the political system. Various forms of centralism were instituted—even monarchy was mentioned by some—but nothing brought stability, and the political gloom deepened. Through it all, Tornel kept up a stream of political, literary, and historical publications, and promoted high culture and education. He served for many years as president of the Lancasterian Society. In 1850–1853, he wrote the much cited *Breve reseña histórica de los acontecimientos más notables de la nación mexicana, desde el año de 1821 hasta nuestros días*, which chronicled the decline of high hopes from independence in 1821. Tornel died on September 11, 1853, at age fifty-eight, once again minister of war in Santa Anna's last administration.

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JEFFREY M. PILCHER. *Cantinflas and the Chaos of Mexican Modernity*. (Latin American Silhouettes.) Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources. 2001. Pp. xxvi, 247. Cloth \$55.00, paper \$19.95.

As scholars escape from studying what we see as “high culture,” the lore of what we assumed to be the opposite, popular culture, is prized as the “real” identity of people and nations. Thus we have turned our attention to enigmatic characters, such as Mario Moreno, also known as Cantinflas (1911–1993), twentieth-century Mexico's most popular comedian. Ilan Stavans's *The Riddle of Cantinflas: Essays on Hispanic Popular Culture* (1998) was one of the first academic treatments of Cantinflas in English. Stavans saw the comedian as the epitome of genuine popular culture whom Mexico's hegemonic bourgeois culture rejected. Jeffrey M. Pilcher's book is another installment in the intellectualization of Cantinflas, the popular character who rose from the poor barrios of booming 1910s Mexico City to gain the appreciation of Hollywood and the entire Spanish-speaking world. He became both a cultural stereotype and the embodiment of a uniquely Mexican rendition of the humorous capabilities of Spanish verbosity.

In fact, *cantinflear* is a verb in Mexican Spanish: the act of using as many words as possible, with the gaudy intention of sounding highbrow, in order to say precisely nothing. This is indeed a strenuous art, and as such a tempting subject for historians of popular culture. But it is not an easy subject to deal with.

Pilcher's book is not a thorough biography of

Moreno. That said, it certainly is a good presentation, for English-speaking academic readers, of who Cantinflas was and what *cantinflismo* is, as well as an inclusive account of Cantinflas's films. Pilcher competently translates Cantinflas into the language of U.S. academia, furnishing these audiences with familiar analogies. Thus Cantinflas was, we are told, the Mexican Charlie Chaplin, but only partially so; for, as violator of social hierarchies, he was in fact a Mexican Groucho Marx; then again, as the epitome of Mexico's national identity he was closer to John Wayne. Still, by “playing sexually insecure characters,” he was in truth the Mexican James Dean. Hence Pilcher presents us with Cantinflas, the gender transgressor; Cantinflas, the exponent of agency and resistance; Cantinflas, who expresses the discourse of hegemony and counterhegemony in a single moment of laughter. The book certainly has utility in U.S. classrooms, although this reviewer finds unpleasant and unbecoming so many U.S.-centered analogies, necessary as they may be.

In fairness to the book, this review ought to end here. Other readers may not find objectionable the use of all sorts of academic tools (cultural, subaltern, media, gender, and race studies) to deal with a humor based on rhetorical tropes and body language that are inherently difficult to explain. Other than simply laughing at or commenting on the obvious political role played by Cantinflas as the official comedian of family values starting in the 1970s, this reviewer would not know how to handle the subject in a scholarly manner. Pilcher should be commended for undertaking such a difficult task. But he makes numerous rampant historical links from Quetzalcoatl's times to NAFTA, from Spanish *picaresca* to Mexican machismo, often caricaturing or misconceiving intellectual trends, historiographical points, and aesthetic issues. At times, he uses phrases that can only be considered the result of historical and/or genetic atavisms: “Mexicans love this,” “Mexicans enjoy that,” “Mexicans are like this.” The author is entitled to his Mexicans. For this reviewer, however, it is impossible to comment on these numerous misconceptions, inaccuracies, and Manichean generalizations. Suffice it to say that the book is a good basic presentation of Cantinflas's films for a U.S. academic audience.

Reading this book reminded me of the experience of watching a Cantinflas film dubbed into Catalan; shortly thereafter, Catalonia's television audience demanded that the film be rebroadcast in its original Spanish. Humor is not an easy thing to translate, let alone to understand or analyze academically. Pilcher's book sincerely aims to be a tractate on *cantinflismo*, modernity, gender, race, class, and so forth, a commendable but enterprising aspiration. Somehow either the author, by pretending to say so much so scholastically about Cantinflas, or this reviewer by pretending not to say much on such scholasticism of the popular, has

carried out the art of *cantinflear*. There, perhaps, is the point—*ahí está el detalle!*

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CARLOS ALBERTO GARCÉS. *El cuerpo como texto: La problemática del castigo corporal en el siglo XVIII*. San Salvador de Jujuy: Universidad Nacional de Jujuy. 1999. Pp. 238.

This is a frustrating but rewarding book that makes important contributions to the growing scholarship on crime and punishment in Latin America. Carlos Alberto Garcés's intimate knowledge of the little-known regional archives of Jujuy and Tucumán (provinces in northern Argentina), mastery of complex Spanish colonial penology, solid historiographical insights, and sophisticated theoretical critique will more than compensate scholars (but probably not nonspecialists) for the book's difficulties.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section provides an overview of the theoretical literature on crime and punishment with extended critiques of two classics, Georg Rusche and Otto Kirchheimer's *Punishment and Social Structure* (1939; 1968) and Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977; 1995). The second uses court records to look at crime and criminals in eighteenth-century Jujuy and Tucumán. The third mixes theory, historiography, and a variety of primary sources—court records, imperial decrees, legal codes—to uncover the cultural logic of punishment during the eighteenth century and to situate that logic in local context.

Each of the three sections has its merits. The opening theoretical chapters are nicely done but will hold few surprises for scholars, although the final subsection on "Spanish Law in the Indies" does provide a useful overview and some intriguing hints at local practices. The second and third sections cover new terrain. The second section is solidly grounded in rich archival sources and likely to be of most immediate interest to scholars. Garcés organizes his material by different crimes, which allows for some interesting comparison of legal practices including punishment. It will come as no surprise to historians of colonial Latin America that judges meted out different punishments for similar crimes, punishments that reflected the social status, race, and gender of their clients. After all, these distinctions were written into legal codes and procedures. Nevertheless, Garcés points out several instances in which local legal practices subverted the intent of Spanish imperial penologists, either because authorities lacked the technical capacity (inadequate torture equipment, run-down jails), the legal understanding, or the will to carry out the law as written.

The third section is the most promising and also the most frustrating. Here, the author attempts to link modern theory and traditional practice in order to advance his thesis that, in Jujuy and Tucumán as in

Paris and London, the delinquent's body took on "social [exchange] value" as it mediated between the singular character of the crime and the collective character of the punishment. But, while Garcés does succeed in exposing the hybrid cultural logics of eighteenth-century criminal justice systems and in linking punishment in Jujuy and Tucumán to imperial practices, his claims about the centrality of the body to punishment seem too obvious to merit the extensive theorizing that dominates the section at the expense of his archival sources. In fact, it is the long passages from criminal cases, decrees, and legal codes buried in copious footnotes that contain much of Garcés's best material and most important insights. In these notes, we can indeed see the marking of local bodies in local context, and, had the author incorporated these examples into the text and thus into the main argument, the book would have been much stronger.

My frustration with the book, then, has more to do with lack of structural coherence than with content. Garcés acknowledges that the book derives from his doctoral dissertation, and it shows. He tries to do too many things at once—theoretical critique, historiographical review, legal genealogy, social history—and even the copious footnotes, fascinating as they are, function more as a parallel text than as effective counterpoint to a carefully developed thesis. Intellectual ambition and structural complexity are not necessarily bad things, but Garcés misses the opportunity to significantly advance our understanding of the historical workings of criminal justice systems. Perhaps the most difficult problem confronting the historian of crime and punishment is to explain the articulation of formal and informal mechanisms of social control and to show how that articulation produces criminality (and, as Garcés insists, the "social value" of the criminal body) in local contexts. Garcés assembles some important pieces of the puzzle and takes a valiant stab at fitting them together, but his analysis is more suggestive than substantive.

To be fair, a valiant stab might be all we can expect at this juncture. The book would have benefited considerably from more engagement with the expanding body of Argentine scholarship on crime and punishment, but much of this work is too recent to have been included. Garcés does profitably address Ricardo Salvatore's work on crime in rural Buenos Aires province and cites an Osvaldo Barranèche article on criminal justice in late colonial Buenos Aires. References to the rich social histories of colonial Argentina, however, are scarce and sorely missed, especially in work that seeks to explore the intersection of global thoughts and local acts.

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JAMES P. BRENNAN and OFELIA PIANETTO, editors. *Region and Nation: Politics, Economics, and Society in Twentieth-Century Argentina*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xvii, 233. \$45.00.

The regions of Argentina have attracted few historians. Their literature consists of a few landmark studies and works lacking context and interconnections that have been largely ignored. Scholars have preferred to work in glamorous and comfortable Buenos Aires, where the archives are accessible and better maintained. Regional histories are much stronger in Mexico and in other Latin American nations, partly because of their greater ethnographic and cultural variety, than in Argentina. Largely populated by Europeans, the Argentine pampas developed forms of capitalist agriculture that commanded only limited interest among Latin American specialists. Scholars viewed the Argentine interior north and west of Córdoba as a backwater, whose predominantly mestizo societies could be studied more interestingly and profitably in other parts of Latin America.

Neglect of the regions left Argentine historiography unbalanced and impoverished. The focus on Buenos Aires encouraged a view of Argentina as a nation of European immigrants and neglected the role of the Hispanic population. Particularly before 1900, provincial, creole Argentina exerted decisive influence on Buenos Aires and on national development, while provincial societies exemplified many of the country's basic qualities. A recent study by Ariel de la Fuente, for example, on the western province of La Rioja in the mid-nineteenth century provides an illuminating reinterpretation of the ubiquitous phenomenon of *caudillismo*. John Lynch's recent study of the 1872 "Tata Dios" uprising in Tandil, province of Buenos Aires, describes an outburst of xenophobia linked to creole folk religion and millenarianism. The political history of nineteenth-century Argentina is unintelligible without reference to the regions and the outer provinces. In the early nineteenth century, the provinces impaired the authority of Buenos Aires and long obstructed the formation of a national union. In the twentieth century, the influence of the provinces resurfaced at critical junctures. In the late 1920s, the province of Mendoza helped set the stage for the military coup of September 1930. In the mid-1950s, agitation in Córdoba paved the way for the overthrow of Juan Perón. In 1969–1972, provincial revolts became a first stage toward the formation of the military tyranny of 1976–1982. Most recently, the need to subsidize the impoverished interior contributed to the financial and political collapse of 2001.

As the main editor of this volume, James P. Brennan reiterates the case for histories of Argentina from a regional perspective. The collection provides some good examples of Argentine regional history while illustrating some of its current problems. The best of seven articles is by Joan Supplee on the politics of Mendoza province, 1890–1912. The high quality of the article stems from the author's ability to relate provincial and national affairs, and to recognize the critical importance of patronage. In examining Mendoza politics, Supplee emphasizes the importance of water, irrigation investment, and railroad routing as instru-

ments of control. She illustrates the way family rivalries affected provincial public expenditure. With economic growth and social change, however, "By 1912, control of water, guns and money no longer guaranteed electoral success" (p. 66).

Nicholas Biddle's study of the northwestern province of Salta in the 1920s has some similar good qualities, although the story it tells is less refreshingly new than Supplee's. In this period, Salta achieved national prominence when its oil fields fell under the control of Standard Oil of New Jersey. Opposition to Standard Oil launched the first popular national movement in Argentina under Radical Party leader Hipólito Irigoyen. As Biddle notes, the campaign to nationalize oil became the first major dent in economic liberalism in Argentina. He is not the first historian to analyze this issue. He fails fully to vindicate a regional approach to Argentine history because aside from its oil deposits the province of Salta contributed little to the formation of the nationalist movement. Jane Walter's study of the role of Catholics in Córdoba in the overthrow of Perón in 1955 focuses on another familiar issue. Walter has assembled excellent data from Córdoba, although the story she tells amplifies rather than modifies a recent comprehensive study on Perón and the church by Lila M. Caimari.

Mónica R. Gordillo's article on labor movements in Córdoba during the mid-1960s is exceptionally cogent and well researched. The author provides fine illustrative data on the functioning and development of the automobile and power unions, whose members played a major part in the insurrection known as the *cordobazo* of May 1969. Gordillo illustrates Perón's discreditable role in provoking the guerrilla war of the 1970s. Best of all, she recaptures the sense of personal commitment that characterized participants in the movements and rebellions of the 1960s. Still, the picture enhances what is already known and fails to create many new interpretations. Living in Buenos Aires in 1969, I recall contemporaries making many of the same interpretations of events that appear here. Unlike the workers of Buenos Aires, for example, those of Córdoba were young men, commonly migrants, who were unwilling to accept the discipline and constraints of bureaucratic unionism. These conditions played a major part in creating the "culture of resistance" that distinguished the workers and students of Córdoba.

The two articles by Marcelo Lagos on sugar in Jujuy and Gabriela Olivera on forestry in La Rioja illustrate the variety of provincial societies in Argentina. Jujuy, the province with the largest proportion of indigenous people in Argentina, has rarely commanded much weight in the national arena. As the main redoubt of the Federalist caudillos in the nineteenth century, La Rioja, by contrast, has commanded great significance. La Rioja underwent a political eclipse during the late nineteenth century, and Olivera's article is of interest chiefly in describing the subsequent development of the province, underlining its extreme poverty.

Throughout the volume, only the article by Marta Bonaudo on the eastern province of Santa Fe appears under par. Like other contributors, Bonaudo provides excellent data but says little that is new. Her study of the European immigrants of central Santa Fe in the early 1890s does not supersede a study by Ezequiel Gallo in the 1970s. Unpolished writing in Spanish has produced an ungainly translation. A few mishaps mar the text. I cannot believe that in 1904, the Santa Fe Radicals would have used the names of their political enemies, General Roca and President Quintana, as the titles of their committees. In February 1905, the Radicals of Córdoba briefly kidnapped the vice president and not the president, as the text declares.

The book provides some good examples of Argentine regional and provincial studies. Like many volumes of collected essays, the omissions in the work create a lack of balance. The editors might have commissioned at least one piece on the province of Buenos Aires. The articles on Jujuy and La Rioja lack adequate interconnections with the national scene. The book offers cameos of provincial history but little insight into the changing role of the Argentine provinces during the twentieth century.

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LORIS ZANATTA. *Del estado liberal a la nación católica: Iglesia y ejército en los orígenes del peronismo; 1930–1943*. Translated by JUDITH FARBERMAN. (Política, Economía y Sociedad.) Buenos Aires: Universidad Nacional de Quilmes. 1996. Pp. 413.

LORIS ZANATTA. *Perón y el mito de la nación católica: Iglesia y ejército en los orígenes del peronismo (1943–1946)*. Translated by LUCIANA DAELLI. (Colección Historia y Cultura.) Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana. 1999. Pp. 452.

Until recently, there have been few serious studies of the Catholic Church in Argentina, despite its vast influence during much of the twentieth century. This major lacuna has recently been partially filled by the works of Loris Zanatta, the subjects of this review, and by Lila M. Caimari's *Perón y la Iglesia Católica: Religión, estado y sociedad en la Argentina, 1943–1955* (1995). Unfortunately, Zanatta does not appear to be aware of Caimari's fine work.

Zanatta's two volumes are extremely detailed and largely intellectual histories, examining the changing ideas of the church about its role in the larger society and influence on it. What Zanatta demonstrates clearly is the church's influence in helping to shift the hegemonic intellectual model of Argentina from liberalism (using the word in its original nineteenth-century meaning) to being a Catholic nation. While the two volumes fit together nicely in chronological terms, and the author's basic interests are similar, they should not be considered just a two-volume set. The second is

much more detailed and focuses more intensely on the church's relationship with the state; it also is based on a much wider array of sources.

The subtitle of the first volume is somewhat misleading, since the army does not receive a significant percentage of attention. We do see the church's attempt to woo the military and its growing view that the military presented the route to national salvation. Zanatta does not demonstrate how well the military received the message. He undoubtedly is correct that an intellectual alliance was forged in this period between the cross and the sword, but he does not prove it. This is probably due to his dependence on church sources, especially the semi-official church newspaper, *El Pueblo*, and the influential Catholic magazine, *Cristerio*.

The 1930s saw a widespread challenge to liberal intellectual hegemony in Argentina. This successful challenge is well known, but Zanatta argues that the role of Catholic thought has been neglected. He shows that the growing power, influence, and prestige of the church combined with its constant attacks on liberalism to help change the basic ideological climate and pave the way for the regime of Juan Perón. Perón's rise to power in 1943–1945 looms through the first volume. According to Zanatta, the church argued that liberalism led directly to socialism and communism, essentially that everything since the French Revolution was evil. While Zanatta sees different intellectual visions competing within the church, the dominant trend seems to have been to find appropriate models in Benito Mussolini's Italy, Antonio Salazar's Portugal, or, after 1936, with the general heightening of ideological tensions in Argentina brought on by the Spanish Civil War, in Francisco Franco's Spain. Marshall Petain also emerged as a model after the fall of France. However, even within the church's corporatist tendencies, rivalry existed between a hierarchical version that looked to traditional elites and a more populist version that focused on social questions. The latter became more important during the decade. Although the author examines in considerable detail attempts by the church to attract working-class support, he pays little attention to efforts of Bishop Miguel De Andrea, which were by far the most important. Undoubtedly, Zanatta adopts this strategy because of De Andrea's unusual political trajectory; he was always marginalized within the church, and he vociferously rejected Perón. Still, he created the most important Catholic union movement, even if it remained quite small.

The way the argument is shaped (the sources in the first volume are overwhelmingly those of the church) makes it difficult to say who consumed the church's rhetoric and why. We do see the creation of a successful Catholic Action program and attempts to influence intellectuals. The reasons for success are less clear, but we do know that these ideas became acceptable.

The second book covers a much shorter period, 1943–1946, and is based on a much wider group of



sources. It pivots around the creation and the acceptance within the military of the myth of the Catholic nation. Almost all factions within the military and the church seemed to accept this myth, which argued that Argentina was Catholic in its essence. Although widely different interpretations of what this meant existed, this rejection of liberalism provided an ideology for the military regime of 1943–1945, despite the twists and turns of its policies. The importance of Zanatta's argument can be seen when he uses the myth to help explain the military's insistence on neutrality during World War II, even after it became clear that the Allies would win, something that has always seemed illogical. Key elements within the Argentine church, pushed by the Vatican with which it had a very close relationship, wanted Argentina to be in a position to become the leader of Catholic nations at the end of the war. The church looked with distrust both at what it viewed as Protestant liberals and Communists among the Allies and also at the Nazis. Zanatta does succeed in showing that Catholic ideology seems to underlie the logic of the regime. It is not at all clear that it underlay Perón's turn to the working class and his ever increasing appeal to them. While he was prone to quote papal encyclicals, this appears to have been more of an attempt to justify positions taken for other reasons than an inspiration. Zanatta shows clearly that what should have been the church's moment of triumph, the military government of the 1940s, was a moment of complexity. The church's internal inconsistencies became obvious, and Perón's full embrace of the working class made many elements inside the church uncomfortable. Still, he remained preferable, for most of the Catholic hierarchy, to the liberals.

All in all, Zanatta's books are extremely important. They help us to understand the shift in ideology in the 1930s away from liberalism and to what the author has labeled the Catholic nation. Although the argument may in places outrun the evidence, and the overall length and sheer mass of detail makes the argument tougher to follow than would be optimal, it is overwhelmingly convincing. It is now far easier to understand the crucial ideological shift that occurred in the 1930s and has marked Argentina until today. It also helps us understand the ideological world that permitted the rise of someone like Perón. Although the Catholic Church has been a major player in the social, cultural, and political world of Argentina in recent decades, how it achieved its current influence has not received the attention it deserves. Zanatta's work is a crucial step in the right direction.

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#### EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

FRANK SANTI RUSSELL. *Information Gathering in Classical Greece*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1999. Pp. viii, 267. \$49.50.

The theme of information and communication in the ancient Greek world has received only limited attention from scholars. In 1974, Chester Starr published a useful essay, *Political Intelligence in Classical Greece*, in which he sketched out some of the issues and relevant evidence, but at less than fifty pages of text it did not pretend to provide a detailed treatment of the subject. More recently, Sian Lewis has produced a valuable study of *News and Society in the Greek Polis* (1996). This book casts its net more widely in a genuine (and largely successful) effort to illuminate Greek society from a novel perspective, but its broader social focus means that a detailed study of ancient Greek political and military intelligence remains a desideratum.

It is this gap that Frank Santi Russell's book seeks to fill, and it goes a considerable way toward doing so. Like Starr and Lewis, Russell concentrates on the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; as he observes, the source material for earlier centuries is too limited to allow significant generalization, while the period after 300 B.C. involves a markedly different geopolitical framework in which kingdoms replaced city states as the most important political entity. In five chapters, he examines the gathering of tactical, then strategic, intelligence; the evidence for spies; methods of communication; and counterintelligence. The first chapter, on tactical intelligence, makes a distinction between "reconnaissance agents" (scouts) and "surveillance agents" (observers, pickets and guards, patrols), while also including discussion of captives, deserters, "locals," mercenaries, and, intriguingly, diviners. The second chapter, on strategic intelligence, examines the role of envoys, heralds, *proxenoi* and related categories, and merchants and other travellers, as well as discussing oracles as good locations for information gathering. Chapter three, on spies, deals with their use internally by different regimes and in the context of foreign relations, while chapter four, "Conveying the message," covers both overt methods (messengers and signalling) and covert, while also offering observations on the interpretation and verification of the information received. (Somewhat surprisingly, Russell's remarks in this context about apparent Greek reluctance to learn foreign languages [pp. 173–74] include no reference to Arnaldo Momigliano's celebrated *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* [1975], while one of the few typographical errors I noted in an otherwise well produced volume also occurs in this chapter, where *sphragides* [seals] is repeatedly misspelled *sphagides*.) The final chapter, on counterintelligence, investigates, among other things, the limiting of access to information and of contacts with foreigners, disruption of communication by the enemy, and the role of disinformation.

Although the accumulation of examples for each major point betrays its origins as a doctoral dissertation, Russell's book presents a large body of disparate material in a clearly organized manner and is written in an engaging and often entertaining style, while his use of comparative data from modern contexts, poten-

tially a pitfall, is for the most part appropriately intelligent. The author is explicit that his primary ambition is "to define terms, to describe mechanisms, and so, in effect, to provide an intelligence resource for use in specific studies" (pp. 1–2). A larger thesis is also offered—that political and military leaders in classical Greece were aware of the value of information and that information-gathering processes became more systematic over time—but I would have liked to see more discussion of this than is provided in the rather brief conclusion, for there is a risk that the appearance of greater systematization simply reflects the greater abundance of relevant evidence from the fourth century compared with the fifth. In the introduction, Russell also offers an interesting suggestion concerning the centuries following those covered in his study, conjecturing that the Hellenistic world, with its more centralized kingdoms, may have witnessed the evolution of more professional intelligence services. This has some plausibility, although their evident failure to understand Rome and the threat it posed may also give pause for thought about their effectiveness. Here, at any rate, is a major field for further investigation, to which, it may be hoped, the author of the present study will be willing to apply his expertise in the future.

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EDWARD E. COHEN. *The Athenian Nation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 250. \$39.50.

Over the past fifteen years, Edward E. Cohen has gained a reputation among Greek historians for his unusual ideas about classical Athens. In *The Athenian Economy and Society: A Banking Perspective* (1992), Cohen boldly criticized many orthodox views about the Athenian economy. Cohen's challenge to the ideas of M. I. Finley and others was healthy and stimulating, but his own modernizing approach to the ancient economy has met with mixed reactions. In this book, Cohen returns to the fray, questioning long-held views and offering bold new ideas.

In chapter one, "Anomalous Athens," Cohen argues that Athens was too large to be a polis ("city-state") according to Aristotle's definition of the term, but was an *ethnos*, a term that Cohen considers equivalent to the modern English word "nation." Unfortunately, the author does not pause to consider whether Aristotle's discussion of the term is descriptive or normative and also has a hard time explaining why many Greek authors refer to Athens as a polis. Cohen is clearly uncomfortable with views that depict Athens as an exclusive club of male citizen warriors and stresses the participation of metics (resident aliens) and foreigners in social life. The open nature of Athenian social life has been noted by others, but has no bearing on the nature of Athenian political institutions. Cohen is also uneasy with an Athens that excluded women and

argues that women could participate in public life through the *oikos* or household, which was the basic unit of Athenian law and politics. The problem with his view is that Athenian laws never grant rights to households but to individuals, mostly male citizens.

Similar problems occur in chapter two, "The Local Residents of Attika." According to the *Constitution of the Athenians* (42.1), citizenship was only granted to persons who could prove that both their parents were *astoi*. Cohen claims that the term *astoi*, normally translated as "citizens," included both citizens and metics. This meant that anyone born while his parents were resident in Attika could become a citizen, which sounds suspiciously like modern American practice. Cohen's proposal is intriguing but runs into an insurmountable obstacle: several Greek authors (e.g. Aeschines 1.195; Demosthenes 46.22) classify metics as, or link them with, *xenoi* ("foreigners"), a category often contrasted with *astoi* and *politai* ("citizens"). Chapter three, "An Ancient Construct: The Athenian Nation," deals with the myths of Athenian autochthony and provides a useful overview of recent work on the subject but argues that these myths bore little relationship to social reality.

In chapter four, "A Modern Myth: The Athenian Village," Cohen attacks the idea, fashionable in some circles, that Athens was a face-to-face society where most people knew one another. His most successful argument attacks the view that the demes ("townships") of Attika were close-knit communities of hereditary members and shows that they were instead diverse collections of mobile residents, which included metics and members of other demes. This is the strongest chapter in the book.

Chapter five, "Wealthy Slaves in a 'Slave Society,'" attempts to paint a rosy picture of slavery in Athens but suffers from an overly literal approach to the ancient sources. Cohen assumes that when a Greek writer calls someone a slave, that person must have been a slave in terms of legal status. He overlooks the well attested practice of using the term *doulos* ("slave") to insult free men. For instance, one might call an enemy a "slave to money" or a traitor a "slave to a foreign king." This is certainly the case with Pittalakos, whom Aeschines (1.46–56) calls a slave yet also reveals that he was declared free in a judicial proceeding. But Cohen insists Pittalakos was a slave, a view that has already encountered much opposition. Cohen also relies on a strained reading of Demosthenes 36.14 to make three businessmen into slaves. Finally, Cohen marvels at the apparent freedom of *chōris oikountes*, "slaves who lived apart" (i.e. from their masters). But this kind of arrangement is not unusual in slave societies, and Frederick Douglass did not find "working his own time" all that humane a practice.

Similar problems occur in chapter six, "The Social Contract: Sexual Abuse and Sexual Profit." Cohen takes issue with the modern view that prostitutes were mostly foreigners and that Athenians exploited slaves

for sexual purposes. Cohen claims that many citizens worked as prostitutes, but his evidence consists mainly of passages where men accuse their enemies of being "whores." His argument that Athenians would not tolerate sexual abuse and other violence toward slaves ignores passages like Antiphon 6.4, Demosthenes 53.16, and Aristophanes *Acharnians* 271–75 (not to mention the numerous passages about beating slaves in Attic comedy), which indicate precisely the opposite.

While Cohen's views should provoke fruitful debate, his attempts to modernize Athenian society are not likely to win many converts.

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A. B. BOSWORTH and E. J. BAYNHAM, editors. *Alexander the Great in Fact and Fiction*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 370. \$60.00.

This impressive volume of essays collects the papers of a conference held in Newcastle, New South Wales, in 1997. For a variety of reasons, not all papers delivered at the conference are included in this volume, which features two essays by one of the editors, A. B. Bosworth, the leading scholar in the field. The first of these ("A Tale of Two Empires: Hernán Cortés and Alexander the Great") is perhaps the most refreshing study in the entire book. Furthermore, Bosworth contributes an introduction that could easily serve as a review of the book, at least as far as providing the reader with an overview of the published contributions is concerned. But the task of reviewing this volume, has fallen to me, and, despite the fact that the editor's second essay sets out to dismantle my arguments concerning the historical context and purpose of the *Last Days and Testament* of Alexander, it is one in which I take great pleasure. Simply put, this is an important and original book—not all collections of conference proceedings have fared so well—that must be owned and read by every serious Alexander scholar. Editors Bosworth and E. J. Baynham, the contributors, even the editorial assistants are either leading researchers in the field or rising stars; the topics range from the political through the philosophical (ideological) and historiographic. Bosworth's comparison of Cortés and Alexander (and, indeed, of their historiographical traditions) picks up where the author's *Alexander and the East: The Tragedy of Triumph* (1996) leaves off and points out fruitful new avenues of approach for subsequent scholarship.

*Quellenforschung* in these days much maligned—unjustly so; for no one has ever determined the truth except by accident (or, possibly, autopsy) without inquiring into the nature and reliability of the evidence. Many of these essays provide stimulating arguments and reach new conclusions by resorting to this tried and true (if somewhat unfashionable) methodology. In fact, only one essay can be dismissed as "old wine in old bottles," or perhaps "sour wine," since

good method has given way to preconceptions and rhetoric substitutes for proof.

For enlightenment we may turn to Olga Palagia's "Hephaestion's Pyre and the Royal Hunt of Alexander," which deftly merges visual (artistic) and written evidence. Ernst Fredrickmeyer's "Alexander the Great and the Kingdom of Asia" argues convincingly—and in the author's recognizable style of presenting arguments and discussions in numerically ordered point form—that Alexander's autocratic kingship of Asia was not an adoption of Persian kingship. The Persians were doubtless gratified by the concessions he made to their political sensitivities, the Macedonians less so, since they regarded any elevation of the barbarian as a weakening of the power they expected to gain from conquest. In effect, both became subjects of an increasingly autocratic ruler. Richard Billows ("Polybius and Alexander Historiography") traces Polybius's portrayal of Alexander not to those lost sources used by the extant Alexander historians (although Polybius devotes considerable ink to the deficiencies of Callisthenes of Olynthus) but rather to Demetrius of Phalerum and Hieronymus of Cardia, a proposal that certainly deserves further study. Although Billows points to two passages that cannot have come from Callisthenes's history, these do not, to my mind, disprove that Polybius's general attitude toward Alexander was taken from that primary historian. In fact, we would expect Callisthenes to have presented a more one-sided (appealing) Alexander than what the extant sources preserve; Polybius could approve of the historian's Alexander while berating the historian himself for his errors. The observation that Alexander did not conquer Media Atropatene will, of course, not derive from Callisthenes, but surely the fact that Polybius adduced information from other sources—and here we can reasonably suppose that the source is Hieronymus—does not vitiate the view that Polybius's Alexander comes primarily from Callisthenes. Baynham's essay ("A Baleful Birth in Babylon: The Significance of the Prodigy in the *Liber de Morte*; An Investigation of Genre") also makes stimulating reading. On her interpretation of the *Liber de Morte*, the dead child is Alexander's empire, and the animals that ring the body represent the new empires that arose from it. I am, however, inclined to see the dead child in this story as Alexander himself and the animals that grow from the waist of the child and cause its death as the conspirators who poison him. For this purpose, Lysimachus as the lion will not do, though the Greek *leon* may have been intended to suggest Leonnatus (who certainly had regal aspirations) and the wolf (*lukos*) could be taken as a play on the name Seleukos, who can otherwise be identified in the list of conspirators only if we assume that "Europius" is an ethnic that refers to him. Equally stimulating papers by Michael Flower ("Alexander the Great and Panhellenism"), Elizabeth Carney ("Artifice and Alexander History"), and J. E. Atkinson ("Originality and Its Limits in the Alexander Sources of the Early Empire")

round out the volume, but limitations of space preclude detailed discussion. The editors and the authors named above deserve praise for such a fine volume.

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RAMSAY MACMULLEN. *Romanization in the Time of Augustus*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. pp. xi, 222. \$25.00.

In his latest book, Ramsay MacMullen continues his enviable tradition of identifying a subject with wide implications and dealing with it concisely. The book is a timely contribution to our revitalized assessment of a pivotal period. In the long wake of Sir Ronald Syme's classic *The Roman Revolution* (1939), the Augustan era was viewed as the outcome of one man's autocratic will; following Tacitus, the emphasis was relentlessly on Roman politics and the individual will to power.

Recent studies have widened that perspective considerably, taking into account the Mediterranean (and beyond) scope of the Augustan empire and the cultural and social revolutions that were well under way even before Augustus took over. One of the distinctive phenomena of the epoch was, as MacMullen can state without hyperbole, that "never was greater progress made toward one single way of life, a thing to be fairly called 'Roman civilization of the empire,' than in that lifetime of Augustus" (p. x). The obvious questions arise: how did the process work? What are the parameters of "Romanization"? Was there a centrally guided cultural policy? What is the role of "ideology"?

Typically, MacMullen deals with such issues not from an overarching perspective but by surveying the evidence in terms of four major geographic areas, with a chapter devoted to each—the East, Africa, Spain, and Gaul—followed by a short chapter on "Replication." The surveys are masterful in their succinctness of summarizing and interpreting the copious archaeological, architectural, and epigraphic evidence, making this book the best existing resource on the subject. While fully informed, both the presentation of the material and its analysis are suggestive rather than exhaustive, a rare virtue indeed.

MacMullen's treatment by region is appropriate, as Romanization was anything but uniform in concept or practice. The East remained heavily Hellenized and native. After two or three generations, the Roman impact remained most noticeable in the areas of the military, the administration, and practical technology; in all else the preexisting hybrid culture amalgamated the Romans. More emphasis needs to be laid on the fact that the "Hellenization" of the East after Alexander already produced a mix that was elastic enough to absorb, if not swallow up, other impulses; besides, the process occasioned a methodological debate about "Hellenization" to which it would have been useful to refer.

The notion that the Romans were not cultural imperialists is not novel. Augustan Africa is a good

example, and MacMullen is adept at concisely producing the relevant evidence from architecture, town planning, and cult in particular; well-focused maps and diagrams enhance the presentation here as elsewhere in the book. At the end of the chapter, he takes up the larger issue of the role of the plastic arts in acculturation, for which great claims have been made from the customary, limited perspective of specialists. MacMullen's more comprehensive outlook leads him to stay clear of such assumptions: "The buyers . . . simply liked what they saw" (p. 48).

This kind of good sense characterizes MacMullen's approach throughout. For good reasons, he is leery of the facile use of "ideology" to characterize various kinds of artistic and architectural adaptation. His sane remarks on patronage, in connection with building styles in Provence, deserve special commendation (pp. 110–19). In general, as MacMullen argues, the initiative for the broad phenomenon of Romanization was not a push from the top but a pull especially from the upper classes in the various municipalities that saw their opportunity to get into the mainstream.

The result certainly was not an undifferentiated and monolithic "single way of life." MacMullen is attentive to its various nuances and regional peculiarities. He carefully distinguishes between public and private initiatives and, as far as the evidence allows, socioeconomic layers. Native elements never disappeared but were blended in various ways with Roman ones. There is a welcome regard for nuts and bolts, too: the effects of road building, the introduction of centuriation for land division, the largesse of Augustus and Agrippa for public works, the colonies for veterans, and the many thousands of replicas of the statue and portrait of Augustus were all bound to have a cumulative effect. So was the main underlying factor, rarely mentioned by MacMullen: the political and economic stability of the *pax Augusta*.

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CLIFFORD ANDO. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. (Classics and Contemporary Thought, number 6.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xxi, 494. \$60.00.

Almost twenty years ago, Alexander Demandt chronicled some four hundred attempts to account for Rome's demise. And yet, that the *Imperium Romanum* eventually faded might seem only natural; its astonishing longevity is the nearly supernatural thing. Clifford Ando offers an explanation not for Rome's fall but for its remarkable resilience.

Ando's book, which he prefers to call an essay (of just over 400 pages), "does no more than sketch the path to an answer" (p. xiii). The path described by Ando is important, however, and, in many ways, convincing. In short, it is this: during the first and second centuries A.D., a period when those living



beyond Rome's frontiers left the empire relatively in peace, residents of the territories controlled by Rome internalized, by means of various societal, governmental, or religious rituals, an imperial ideology. A kind of universal consensus as to the legitimacy and desirability of Rome's rule was developed. And so "the empire survived its crises because of what had been achieved in times of peace" (p. xii). Ando's task, then, is to describe, or define, that achieved consensus and, more importantly, to demonstrate how it was brought about.

Ando argues that because the Roman imperial governmental system came to be viewed by almost all of those living under its sway as "rational-legal," it came likewise to be perceived as universally beneficial. It may be that not every provincial was absolutely convinced of the absolute truth of such a proposition; nonetheless, a significant proportion of the empire's inhabitants are claimed to have participated willingly in this belief. Moreover, central to this political philosophy, or ideology, was the notion that "the charismatic power of the imperial office guaranteed the orderly functioning of the Roman bureaucracy" (p. 410). In short, a kind of paternalistic (in the most positive sense of the word) rule was propagated by the Romans and accepted by those they had subjected.

The book then attempts to clarify how provincial populations came to think this way. As Ando puts it, "By concentrating on the forms through which power was concretized and communal membership was enacted, we can shift the parameters of our inquiry away from constitutional niceties and toward the ideas and ritual enactment of those ideas that shaped self-definitions in the provinces" (p. 13). To do this, in my opinion, is a very wise thing; by attempting to understand Roman imperial government and administration in a more modern, constitutional fashion, we have long worked anachronistically. Ando's approach does much to help us understand the Roman method of ruling in what ought to be, at least in large part, more Roman terms.

I have one criticism. As mentioned, Ando lays great weight on the rational-legal aspect of the Roman governmental system. He thus dresses imperial rule in a pleasing outfit. But something lurks underneath: raw power, and abject fear instilled intentionally. For example, the provincial governor was a "destructive whirlwind of rods and axes" who could be "as arbitrary as a whirlwind too." These men withered subjects with terror (J. E. Lendon, *Empire of Honour* [1997], pp. 201–202). Maud W. Gleason, talking of the appalling tortures habitually inflicted in judicial settings, is concise: "Thus, public violence on selected bodies becomes an instrument of social coercion. More than a deterrent, it effects a *forcible realignment of subjectivity* to identify with the enforcing power" ("Truth Contests and Talking Corpses" in J. I. Porter, ed., *Constructions of the Classical Body* [1999], p. 300). As Ando convincingly demonstrates, an impressive show of rationality and legality was put on, and the audience was certainly as much a part of that show as were the actors. Still, I

would argue that the chief factor underlying audience participation was the realization that this was the only show in town. Those who did not play along, and even many of those who did, were brutally eliminated. In short, Ando's Roman Empire is perhaps too nice.

Those who work their way through all 412 pages of this book will possibly find other matters at which they might pick. They will also find very much of great value. Though a long read, this is a good one.

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ALEXANDER CALLANDER MURRAY, editor. *After Rome's Fall: Narrators and Sources of Early Medieval History*. Buffalo N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 1998. Pp. xii, 388. \$55.00.

Most *festschriften* are depressing works, consisting largely of papers extricated from remote recesses of desks, often years old and hastily refurbished at short notice, or rapidly run up to satisfy a determined editor. This volume bears none of the marks of this debased genre. It is a classic and a worthy tribute to a scholar who has given so much to the study of late antiquity and its *Nachlass* over the past forty years and more. Walter Goffart's bibliography contains some of the most penetrating and formative studies of the difficult and often rebarbative sources for European history in the period A.D. 300 to 700 and later. This volume in his honor contains work of appropriately high quality by a distinguished cadre of historians, who clearly felt they were on their mettle. The result is a volume packed with interest and insight, excellently edited and well produced. The book is not merely a graceful tribute; it is a successor to Goffart's own *The Narrators of Barbarian History* (1988) and his collection, *Rome's Fall and After* (1989). There is an excellent balance of contributions, from the early ethnoi to notions of national identity in sixteenth-century France. In between there are excellent treatments of Cassiodorus's *Variae*, heresy in Gregory of Tours, war and Christian writers, sacral kingship, power structures in Lombard Italy, Carolingian monasticism, Claudius of Turin, and Benjamin of Tudela. Only a brief, selective review of these riches can be attempted.

Ethnicity and what it signified in early medieval Europe, and how we interpret it, have been major matters for discussion in recent times; naturally the subject is fully aired in this volume. Susan Reynolds examines some of the basic concepts (tribes, peoples, nations) and does so with style and acuity. Her conclusions are limited, although her main point—that ethnogenesis was a shifting process, often determined by political allegiance rather than ethnic or cultural cohesion—is well made. The ethnic theme recurs in Edward James's essay on Gregory of Tours and the Franks and in editor Alexander Callander Murray's fascinating study of sacral kingship, or its absence, among the Franks, and in a number of other papers.

Other major themes are those of war and its movers,

paganism and Christianity, and, most appropriately, the work of chroniclers and other recorders. Steven Muhlberger contributes a thoughtful and well-documented chapter on changing attitudes to war in Christian writers of the period (400 to 600), in which it is well argued that the distaste for warfare and war leaders evident in the writers of the fifth and sixth century was subtly modified after 600; the value of military power and the virtues on which it rested were now seen as essential to the maintenance of stable secular power, and bishops saw this as clearly as kings. Ian Wood is excellent on the *Vita Columbani* and the work in Francia, while Chris Wickham has a tightly argued essay on eighth-century Italy that skillfully draws together the increasingly revealing archaeological evidence and that of charters and literary sources. His comparisons with the world of the Rhineland Franks are striking and thought provoking.

Naturally, the empire of Charlemagne occupies a major part of the volume. Janet Nelson looks at Charlemagne's realm from a viewpoint in the Po valley in the late eighth century and specifically through the life experience of the female descendants of the Lombard king Desiderius. This is a brief chapter but a cogent one in its contention that these royal women maintained an independent view of Frankish power and were able to remind the great and the good of the fragile nature of supreme authority. What was achieved by them is not recorded and may always remain obscure. In so bold a collection of studies, it is not surprising to come across a re-examination of the plan of St. Gall, by Richard Sullivan, excellently supported by a new version of the layout. This is a very ambitious treatment that raises a huge number of issues: theological, practical and architectural. If the plan really was a statement about the relationship between the cloister and the outer world, how widely was this to be disseminated, and how? Are we confronted here by a realistic blueprint at all?

Two final chapters look back to antiquity from a distance. Benjamin of Tudela has not been adequately treated thus far, and Joseph Shatzmiller outlines a promising scheme of study. Trojan origins have been claimed by several European nations, and Elizabeth Brown examines this tradition in sixteenth-century France and its destruction by the du Tillet brothers.

This is a rich and enriching volume. Given Goffart's interests, it is a pity there is no contribution on Bede. Editorially there is only one blemish: no index.

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MATTHEW INNES. *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 47.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 316. \$64.95.

This book is presented as a regional study of the middle Rhine, drawing on a "database" of some 4,000

Carolingian charters that are billed as permitting a unique reconstruction of politics and society and a radical revision of our approach to the conventional sources of the early Middle Ages. The charters in question—mainly deeds, abbreviated, purged of superfluous detail, and copied into cartularies from Fulda and, in particular, Lorsch—are well known and have long been studied; the twelfth-century *Lorsch Codex*, which furnishes the bulk of the documents, was even provided with a German translation in the 1960s. These circumstances might suggest problems in deriving from such evidence new and radical insights. Matthew Innes acknowledges the laconic character of the sources and their "mind-numbingly formulaic tradition"; he frequently complains of them being "too opaque" to serve the purposes to which he wishes to put them. But the author's ambition is undeterred by this inconvenience and by the scope imposed by the chronological or geographical limits of source material. The book's perspective envelops the post-Carolingian as well as the late Roman and Merovingian periods, despite the observation that the "internal organization of the Merovingian middle Rhine must remain shadowy, given the lack of evidence." Shadows quickly vanish in the author's exposition, which takes the form of a dubious thesis recklessly applied not just to the Rhineland but the medieval West. Banishing the concepts of office, jurisdiction, and territorial administration from the early Middle Ages, Innes replaces them with notions of autonomous local power, personal association, ritual, and charisma.

The book begins with polemic and parody. Carolingianists are depicted as characters from *Lucky Jim*, and those who study institutions are portrayed as foolishly searching for the modern state and practicing unreflectively nineteenth-century "constitutionalism," whatever that may be. (The debt of the author to the most famous of Victorian ideologies remains subtext.) Innes own approach in its parts is not unfamiliar but their conjunction forms an ideologically odd couple: the *Personenverbundstaat* of German historiography (and acceptance of the methodology that accompanies it) is adapted to the rhetoric of politics and power in current English Carolingian scholarship. The combination cannot readily be made, however, without imperiling the parts and without the author averting his gaze from the ideological roots of the German side. A modest concession to good sense is excision of Germanic continuity and the theory of the king's free.

Ironies and contradictions are never far below the surface. The "state" is said to be a modern concept describing modern conditions but the author is happy to apply it to the Roman Empire, returning to the quaint tradition of equating antiquity and modernity. We are warned—the book is filled with warnings—that the public-private dichotomy encourages us to see government disconnected from society, but this disconnection is precisely the basis for Innes's understanding of "institutions"; and the capstone of the book's thesis is the final emergence in the eleventh century of

jurisdiction and territoriality as an attribute of the law of property. We are told that the early Middle Ages needs to be interpreted in its own terms, but some seven hundred years of Western institutional history are read through a hazy and distorted prism invented for interpreting Carolingian politics. Innes rejects the idea that military obligation was a universal obligation on the free and then tells us that it was coterminous with the free Frank and that in the seventh century Frankish identity came to be universal. We are told, *inter alia*, that land was not a commodity immediately after grudging recognition of the absolute character of land sales.

Presentation and methodology are not ideal. General, well-known principles of western landholding are presented as hard-won insights of sociological analysis. Heavy reliance is placed on the explanatory dynamic of metaphor: the book promises to show us the "surge of currents of power," "the connections through which power flowed," "the objectives for which that power was harnessed" and the "circuits of power" making up local society. When the wiring diagram is finally produced, dynamic is replaced by poorly digested clichés about inheritance, land, and kinship and by modern pretensions about primitive society. Partial discussion of terminology (for example, *pagus*, *comitatus*, *functio*, *publicus*), combined with hasty generalizations and jejune philological arguments, are designed to convince the unwary reader of the obscurity of Merovingian institutions. Unlikely sources further the main theme: patterns of grave goods are recruited to show the Merovingian decline of a Roman-derived "infrastructure of office."

Finally, this book is supposed to be about changing our reading of sources, but the sources are never quoted at length in it and rarely quoted in the original even as morsels to be savored. Innes reports what they say. A random check suggests the reports can be exaggerated. Gregory of Tours is supposed to document the customary exemption of the poor from military service; Gregory actually claims exemption only for the poor of the cathedral of Tours and the basilica of St. Martin. We are assured that *formulae* show the *haribannus* to be something other than a fine, but, if actually consulted, they do no such thing. How then is a reader to interpret brief quotations (in English translation) that supposedly document the *haribannus* as a tax in the Lorsch documents yet do not seem to use the word at all? (Even more puzzlement will arise if the source is actually consulted.) One of the few Latin quotations in the book comes from a spurious charter.

ALEXANDER CALLANDER MURRAY  
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CONSTANCE BRITTAIN BOUCHARD. *"Those of My Blood": Constructing Noble Families in Medieval Francia.* (The Middle Ages Series.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 248. \$55.00.

Although all chapters but one are based upon previously published work, this book is much more than a collection of articles, for Constance Brittain Bouchard has extensively revisited the original publications, not only updating discussion and bibliography but also greatly expanding and enriching the arguments. It is an interesting and productive approach. Nor does the resulting book lack coherence, as sometimes occurs in such collections, for all the chapters deal with the same field of research and substantiate the same argument. The field of research is the West Frankish nobility (primarily but not exclusively Burgundian) of the ninth through twelfth centuries. The argument is that aristocratic family structures were more constant during this period than historians have believed. Instead of a sharp break around the year 1000 that turned loosely affiliated cognatic kindreds into rigid patrilineages (the argument of Georges Duby and others following him), Bouchard sees continuity. The families of ninth-century magnates were already strongly patrilineal; twelfth-century nobles organized inheritances and callings very flexibly. Both before and after the year 1000, for most practical purposes the "family" was a narrow group, consisting only of husband, wife, children, and the husband's parents and siblings. Before and after the year 1000, wives were considered outsiders to a husband's lineage but insiders to sons' and daughters'. Before and after, families underwent mutations throughout the life cycles of their members, as brothers who married established separate lines. Before and after, restrictive rules of consanguinity were not only preached by reformist clergy but respected by the lay aristocracy, which went to great lengths to marry exogamously. The two great transformations Bouchard does see are not sudden changes of the millenium but slow evolutionary ones. First, the old scholarly conundrum of biological continuity or discontinuity in the identity of the nobility of Marc Bloch's "two feudal ages" is resolved in favor of both: new non-noble families (viscomital in the tenth century, castellan and knightly in the eleventh and twelfth) married into established noble families, in the process creating a new nobility knit into a single class by intermarriage. Second, if the trunks of lineages seem to reach further back in the eleventh and twelfth centuries than they had in the ninth and tenth, that is because whereas political instability and royal policy had once made it difficult for any single patrilineage to control the same lands and offices over successive generations, in and after the eleventh century greater political stability and weaker royal power made it possible for patrilineages to enracinate themselves over multiple generations.

This study will be tremendously valuable to all specialists who need detailed, carefully argued information on kinship and marriage ties among the West Frankish aristocracy. This has always been Bouchard's strength, and it remains so. Her analysis of the problem of the "three Bernards" is wondrously clear (ninth-century specialists will understand what a feat that is). Equally valuable are her discussions of the

identity and marriages of Adelaide of Chalon, the various sublineages of the “Bosonids,” and the history of the transmission of the county of Autun in the ninth century. Her reconstruction of the “migration” of the names of women within the Carolingian and post-Carolingian aristocracy (Beatrix, Hadwidis, Mathilda, Gerberge, Constance, Emma, Gisela, and Judith) is invaluable.

Nevertheless, the book is deeply flawed. Bouchard’s overly polemical discussions of historiographical debates lack not only subtlety and charity, but often accuracy as well, for she seriously misrepresents the arguments of those she criticizes, including Régine Le Jan, Eleanor Searle, and Andrew Lewis, while findings she represents as utterly novel in fact only extend or restate in far more simplistic terms the subtler, richer views of Lewis and Stephen White. Also, the discipline and precision Bouchard brings to Burgundian sources is lacking the farther afield she goes. Immensely careful (and useful) when it comes to the *Series abbatum Flaviniacensium*, she takes other sources at face value (Liutprand’s *Antapodosis*, Richer’s *History*, Fulk le Réchin’s memoir, the *Gesta Consulum Andegavorum*) and therefore draws untenable conclusions. She is simply wrong when it comes to the ancestry of Robert the Strong and vastly oversimplifies the background of a Robertian viscount like Thibaud of Blois in calling him “an apparent ‘soldier of fortune’” (p. 34). She misapplies the term “clan” to “kindred” (pp. 68–69, 176), ignores the highly contextualized polemical underpinnings of the trope of “old” and “new” men in the primary sources, overlooks Witger’s early genealogy of the counts of Flanders in saying that genealogies tying comital dynasties to the Carolingians appeared only in the late eleventh century (p. 21), and criticizes the use of “leading names” to reconstitute kinship only by exaggerating its abuses, while not hesitating to use leading names herself in ways that are neither more nor less judicious than those she criticizes. For all these reasons, and despite its very real value, it is hard to recommend this book without reserve, especially to nonspecialists, whose lack of knowledge may lead them to believe that Bouchard’s peers really have been as naïve and misguided as she claims—and her own work so above reproach.

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MARK GREGORY PEGG, *The Corruption of Angels: The Great Inquisition of 1245–1246*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 238. \$35.00.

Mark Gregory Pegg has analyzed the depositions received by the inquisitors of Toulouse in 1245–1246 from 5,471 witnesses from the Lauragais about their knowledge of and involvement with the heretical “*bons hommes*” and the Waldensians, recorded in MS 609 of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Toulouse, a copy of the inquisitors’ registers made ca. 1260. None of those

questioned was a professed “good man/woman.” Some claimed to have had little involvement with the heretics, while others were what are commonly called *credentes*, believers, who sympathized with the heretics but had not been admitted to full membership of their sect.

Pegg has written a very vivid account of the society of the Lauragais and its response to the “good men” at a time when their heresy was still flourishing. No comparable study of the impact the heretics had on lay society in a defined area has been published. Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie’s *Montaillou: Cathars and Catholics in a French Village 1294–1324* (1978) was based on a smaller sample of witnesses at a time when the heresy was in decline and focuses on the social rather than the religious attitudes of the group. Pegg’s conclusion is that “no international heretical organization was discovered by the two [inquisitors], nor, no matter how many times Manuscript 609 is read, will a ‘Cathar Church’ be found by modern historians—on the contrary, an intimate, intensely local and deliberately unadorned way of living with the holy will be discerned” (p. 130). He is able to maintain this argument because he does not move beyond MS 609 to consider who the “good men and women” were, or how they attained that status. The answers to this lie in the *Ritual*, which contains the form of baptism the good men used, and in the accounts they wrote of their beliefs, like that cited *in extenso* by the Waldensian, Durand of Huesca. It is from using such sources, not simply from relying on the writings of Catholic apologists, that I among others have concluded that the good men were part of a movement, Catharism, which had a hierarchy, a belief system, and a religious pedigree.

The absence of evidence about a Cathar Church that Pegg highlights bears out the assertion made at the time by Catholic writers: that the Cathars only revealed their full teaching to those who were being prepared for initiation as “good men,” that is as full members of their church, while to the general public they wished to appear as conventional Christians leading devout and dedicated lives. Yet I suspect that this is only a partial explanation of the paradox. Many studies of the religious attitudes prevalent in local communities throughout the Christian era suggest that most lay people have been resistant to religious instruction but responsive to holiness of life. St. Francis of Assisi was aware of that and it is arguable that this helps to explain the great initial success of his order. A striking example of the imperviousness of the laity to the official teaching of their church is found in nineteenth-century England. When Henry Moule became vicar of Fordington in Dorset in 1829, he asked at each house in his parish of 2,937 people: “What do you think of Christ; and why do you bring your children to be baptized?” Everyone replied that Christ must be an angel; but they were divided about baptism. Some said that children might as well start life at church as everybody had to end it there when they were buried.



Others said: "if a child died without a name he did flit about in the woods and waste places and could get not rest" (see *Francis Kilvert's Diary*, ed. W. Plomer [1977], Vol. 2, pp. 442–43). Because we have abundant evidence about the Church of England we know that it existed in 1829 and that its Christology and sacramental theology were not in the least like those of the parishioners of Fordington. The evidence about the Cathar Church and its teachings in 1245–1246 is more fragmentary because the Catholic authorities destroyed most of its records, but those texts that do survive show that it had a coherent system of belief and organization.

Although I do not agree with all of Pegg's conclusions, I welcome his research. There is a need for detailed studies of the impact of Catharism on local communities, but in my opinion these complement and correct general studies of the whole Cathar movement but do not replace them.

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ALAIN BOUREAU. *The Myth of Pope Joan*. Translated by LYDIA G. COCHRANE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. x, 385. Cloth \$60.00, paper \$22.50.

Thirteen years after its initial publication in French, the University of Chicago Press has brought out a felicitous translation of Alain Boureau's *La papesse Jeanne*. It was worth the wait. Like all his books, this one is a learned *tour de force* that ranges widely over medieval and early modern history and literature to perform what the author has termed an "historical anthropology of Joan." Thus the English title of the book is probably more apposite than its original, as this is a study of the historical circumstances under which this mythical figure was constructed and how, over the centuries, interested parties put her to use. Whether or not she actually ever existed is beside the point. In Boureau's hands, Pope Joan is the portal through which we enter into the disparate worlds of papal Rome, Reformation Germany, and the literary milieu of the Old Regime, to name but a few of the intriguing realms this book traverses.

For those who are not already familiar with the legend of Pope Joan, it will be useful to rehearse briefly the tale that first appeared in the middle of the thirteenth century. Around 850 or so, a woman of English descent, born in Mainz, disguised herself as a man in order to follow her lover into the scholarly world. Her academic gifts were so prodigious that upon arrival in Rome, she was immediately assumed into service at the papal curia. Still disguised as a man, she was eventually elected pope. But her ruse was exposed publicly when she became pregnant and gave birth to a child during a procession from St. Peter's Basilica to the church of St. John Lateran. Gossip, followed by ecclesiastical commentators, mused that this scandalous event had two immediate ceremonial consequences. The first was that the traditional route

of papal processions now made a detour to avoid contact with the ignominious spot on which the pontifical imposture was revealed. The second was that Pope Joan's deception was thought to have given birth to a rite of verification that the pope-elect putatively underwent upon election. The ritual involved the services of a deacon who manually verified and then proclaimed aloud that the new pope possessed the requisite male genitalia.

The three chapters that comprise part one begin by historicizing this "rumored rite" through an excavation of Roman pontificals, those books that laid out and described the order of papal ceremonies, including the reputed rite of verification. Boureau shares an interest in this material with Agostino Paravicini Bagliani, whose recent work, *The Pope's Body* (2000), has done much to elucidate the rituals of the papal court. In chapter two, Boureau combs the historical record in pursuit of the veracity of the pierced porphyry chairs (one now in the Louvre, the other in the Vatican museums) on which the rite theoretically took place. Through close attention to changes in the ordinals, along with evidence from canon law, artifacts, the discourse of the Gregorian Reform, the increase of papal power, and even pasquinades, Boureau charts the development of an institution that, partly in response to Joan's specter, began to transform itself from the Roman church into the Holy Roman Church. In this regard, one of the unexpected pleasures of Boureau's treatment of the growth of the papacy and its curia is his excursion, in chapter three, into the city of Rome and his analysis of its irreverent relationship with the increasingly powerful ecclesiastical institution enclosed within its walls. Boureau unpacks the meanings of Cornomannia and Carnival, traditional feasts performed outside the Lateran Palace itself, among other places, showing how they italicized "a carnivalesque inversion of values and roles" (p. 72) that in a ribald way poked fun at the solemnity of the church hierarchy and its hermetic rites. It is possible, he suggests, that the ultimate inversion—a woman disguised as pope—might also have occurred at these festive occasions, or at least been imagined, providing a wellspring from which the Joan legend possibly surged (p. 95). Pope Joan, then, may have originated as the *popolo romano's* subversive response to a reforming ecclesiastical hierarchy increasingly attempting to extricate itself from the clutches of the mundane world.

Part two treats the historical texts in which Joan first appeared and in which she was later elaborated and excoriated. The first mention of Pope Joan in the historical record is in the Dominican Jean de Mailly's *Universal Chronicle*, written at Metz in the year 1255. Having written an authoritative monograph on Jacobus de Voragine (*La Légende dorée: Le système narratif de Jacques de Voragine (d. 1298)* [1984]), Boureau effortlessly maps out the Dominican network through which the Pope Joan narrative quickly travelled. Although the Dominicans may have been the first to

popularize the Pope Joan legend, it was the radical Spiritual Franciscans who first drafted her into service as a pseudo-pope—a “prototype of John XXII”—in their ideological warfare on the papacy. Boureau shows how it was then only a minor leap for reformers from John Wycliffe, to Jan Hus, to Martin Luther to use her as a symbol of all that was wrong with the Roman Church.

Significantly, at the same time that the myth of Pope Joan emerged, so did a real flesh-and-blood female pope. Around 1260, a mysterious woman called Guglielma arrived in Milan from Bohemia, preaching an apocalyptic message. She developed a following, and after her death some twenty years later, a cult developed led by her disciple, Manfreda of Pirovano, who claimed that Guglielma had designated her as the true pope. Manfreda in turn created a college of female cardinals who officiated at ecclesiastical services. The female prelates preached, celebrated Mass, and distributed the Eucharist, practices forbidden to them by the Roman Church. Unsurprisingly, in 1300 the sect was extirpated by the Inquisition. Boureau might have made more of the relationship between the Guglielmites and the Pope Joan legend, especially since the Guglielmite heretics are known to us primarily by way of their Dominican prosecutors. Nevertheless, the nexus he does pursue is interesting: following Gertrude Moakley, he shows that the famous image of Pope Joan on one of the Visconti-Sforza tarot cards is probably modeled on the Guglielmite pope Manfreda of Pirovano, a first cousin of Matteo Visconti, the founder of the Visconti dynasty in Milan. Filippo Maria Visconti (d. 1447), the commissioner of this magnificent set of illuminated cards and no friend of the pope, was perhaps making a political statement as well as acknowledging his ancestors by including the image of the Guglielmite popess in the tarot deck.

In part three, Boureau tracks Pope Joan's fortunes first in the hands of polemicists during the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, and then in literature beginning with Giovanni Boccaccio's entry on her in *De mulieribus claris* (1362), from which he moves expeditiously through the Enlightenment and on to literary works of the early twentieth century. Given the myriad topics and historical periods covered, this is not a book for beginners or the faint hearted, nor is it for those who require academic prose free of jargon. Those slight concerns apart, Boureau's excursus of the legend of Pope Joan is a bravura performance; in short, it is a dazzling display of erudition by one of our foremost medievalists.

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SUSAN SIGNE MORRISON, *Women Pilgrims in Late Medieval England: Private Piety as Public Performance*. (Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, number 3.) New York: Routledge, 2000. Pp. xii, 194.

This book argues that women pilgrims in late medieval England must be looked at in gender-specific ways compared with previous works on pilgrimages in the late Middle Ages. Susan Signe Morrison divides her work into six chapters of uneven length, plus three appendixes of translated documents relating to post-plague restrictions on pilgrims, as well as power of attorney and papal letters.

After her helpful introduction citing the contribution of a few scholars on medieval pilgrimage and the personal piety of women, the author starts with a chapter titled “The Milky Way,” identified by her as the pilgrimage route to the shrine of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham in England. This chapter's unusual title is not the invention of the author but an expression used by medieval Europeans to describe the arrangement of stars/planets in the sky that led from Cancer to Capricorn. Morrison's use of the title in this chapter implies that the pilgrim route to the shrine of Our Lady in Walsingham, the second most visited site to that of Canterbury in medieval England, had sites along the way that were designed to appeal more to women than to men. The culmination of the pilgrimage was the eleventh-century shrine that was built to replicate the house in which Mary received the Annunciation from Gabriel.

Fourteenth-century England in King Edward III's reign required that important subjects seek permission to leave the country. By the middle of the century, pilgrims were also required to apply, and so documented evidence of a legal nature forms the basis of the book's second chapter. The names of women, many of whom traveled with their husbands, appear in sources that have them seeking protection, securing dispensation, or, in general, settling estates in order to leave England.

Using theoretical models posited by scholars on perceptions of space, some drawn from time periods different than medieval and in locations other than England, Morrison attempts in chapters three and four to prove that access to certain religious sites were restricted to women. Here, as elsewhere in the book, the author elects to use the term “sights” for “sites” as when she writes: “The desire of women to see and touch the actual sights of Christ's life . . . It is as though women touching holy sights would infect those sacred spots with a scaly disease” (p. 108). As written, the author has the pilgrim seeing what Jesus saw rather than a site where he supposedly walked.

Secular and literary depictions of women pilgrims provide the reader with examples from both art and literature, but Morrison's use of women pilgrims found in art is so scanty that her assumptions are challengeable. When noble women are seen in stained glass or manuscript illuminations, for example, she holds that they are presented accurately, but when the image is less than sacred (profane), does that make the “Women pilgrims . . . unstable and unfixed?” (p. 99). I don't think so.

As expected, Morrison draws examples of women

pilgrims from the most well known of medieval English literature, the *Canterbury Tales*, with specific reference to Geoffrey Chaucer's Wife of Bath. All of chapter five is devoted to the trials and tribulations of Margery Kempe, who is called "the most threatening [woman pilgrim] one could name aside from the Wife of Bath" (p. 130).

The author's statement that, "while this book could not be an exhaustive treatment of women pilgrims. I hope it has opened up some avenues for research" (p. 142), remains to be proven. To hold that medieval women pilgrims must be distinguished as different than men because of their gender requires more evidence than is presented in this slim volume. To argue that women responded differently just because they were women has yet to be shown. Each person reacted to a pilgrimage in ways unique to that person.

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#### EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

DEREK J. PENSLAR. *Shylock's Children: Economics and Jewish Identity in Modern Europe*. (S. Mark Taper Foundation Imprint in Jewish Studies.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 374. \$45.00.

This book is an original interpretation of the role of economics in the formation of Jewish identity since the Enlightenment, and a major contribution to its field. It is about how, during the past three centuries, Jews, "Shylock's Children," confronted and came to terms with a paradigmatic image of themselves as at once paupers and plutocrats, ragpickers and pedlars gnawing at the foundations of societies and international bankers and financiers manipulating economic and political affairs for their own global ends. Jewish responses to successive variations on this self-contradictory image generated a Jewish "political economy," an evolving discourse on what Jews thought about "the economic structure, behaviour, and utility of the Jews within the framework of the society in which they lived" (p. 51).

Focusing on the period from the Enlightenment to the twentieth century, Derek J. Penslar covers familiar ground but from a novel perspective, deploying fresh archival research in a comparative framework and explaining the development of Jewish identity and social policy—philanthropy—in relation both to Jewish tradition and contemporary developments in European society. Where existing historiography has concentrated on the role of religion and politics in the history of anti-Semitism and Jewish identities, Penslar focuses on economics: that is, on Jewish reflection on the economic role of Jews in European society. Most interestingly, his analysis presents this reflection as an ongoing dialectic between theory and praxis. As Jewish activist intellectuals interacted with ambient cultural frameworks, they drove the evolution of Jewish iden-

tity and transformed Jewish philanthropy from piecemeal projects of reform into comprehensive social policies and programs of international scope.

To meet the gentile critique of Jews as parasitical paupers and conspiratorial bankers, Jewish thinkers of the Haskalah had advocated occupational restructuring, for which they prescribed vocational training in the guild handicrafts and agriculture. To this end, Jewish activists in the decades before 1848 also enlisted their social vision of ancient Israel, where they discerned a blueprint for a modern state based upon socioeconomic justice. The remedies they prescribed combined liberal faith in civic improvement with traditional Jewish social obligations. Thus were laid the foundations of modern Jewish philanthropy, which became an essential element of Jewish collective identity.

As the importance of the guild handicrafts in the European economy declined in the latter half of the nineteenth century, governments grew more appreciative of the importance of commerce to state power. Occupational restructuring lost much of its relevance, and Jews happily celebrated their new image as trailblazers of capitalism. Jewish writers expressed conscious pride in Jewish distinctiveness and in its benefits to the state, thus linking the success of commerce and industry to the universal values of enlightenment, culture, and morality. Meanwhile, Jewish businessmen celebrated in their memoirs the practical virtues of self-control, diligence, and thrift. Advancing industrialism, however, also spurred the growth of political anti-Semitism, which in turn caused some Jewish writers to tone down this triumphalism. But popular demand for biographies of the Rothschilds and other Jewish titans of finance continued, and so did the supply. By the turn of the century, a parallel academic output of economic histories by and about Jews, driven by a broad general support for the study of the origins of capitalism, was also flourishing. While some of this literature, notably by Werner Sombart, gave some Jews cause for concern, others welcomed it for highlighting the Jewish contribution to civilization and for restoring to Jews a sense of historical agency.

Meanwhile the migration of eastern Jews to the urban centers of central Europe continued, as did their concentration in commercial occupations, and therewith the increase of anti-Semitism. In response, Jewish communal activists renewed their economic self-critique, eventually producing a comprehensive Jewish social policy that paralleled the birth of modern academic sociology and was inspired similarly by the growth of government-sponsored philanthropic services. Numerous Jewish agencies were formed to cope with the worsening plight of Jews in Europe: the Anglo-Jewish Association, the Alliance Israélite Universelle, the American "Joint," and the Russian ORT, among others. Jewish social policy reached its ultimate extension in "social engineering," the projects of mass colonization launched in parts of Europe and the Americas as well as the Middle East.

Penslar's account always emphasizes the historical roots of Jewish social policy, the dominant reality of Jewish agency in its development, and, throughout, the importance of Jewish self-reflection on the Jewish economic role in European society. His argument challenges the common assumption that Jews adopted a secular historical self-understanding only at the end of the nineteenth century, and that they did so primarily in conjunction with the adoption of nationalist or socialist ideologies. Zionism was much more than a political response to manifestations of anti-Semitism and European nationalism. Rather it was driven by the same dynamic inherent in other Jewish organizations striving to improve the conditions of Jews all over Europe, the same drive for economic relief, restructuring, and regeneration that was most fully realized in Palestine. The author strongly emphasizes, however, that despite shared roots and other commonalities, Jewish social policy did not portend the Zionist project. The connection between Zionism and other projects of Jewish social policy was not linear but lateral, the strongest link being their shared conception of a Jewish problem needing to be addressed.

Penslar insists that in the second half of the twentieth century this problem and the circumstances that framed it ceased to exist. He leaves the reader wondering what has taken their place in the ongoing evolution of Jewish identities, but with ample instruction on where to look.

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ANGELA K. SMITH. *The Second Battlefield: Women, Modernism, and the First World War*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. 214. Cloth \$74.95, paper \$27.95.

MARGARET M. DARROW. *French Women and the First World War: War Stories on the Home Front*. (The Legacy of the Great War.) New York: Berg. 2000. Pp. ix, 341. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

Home on leave after months in the trenches, Siegfried Sassoon was outraged by what he considered the smug complacency of men too old to fight, and appalled by the patriotic ardor of English women too eager to sacrifice their sons. This antipathy was not unique to Sassoon, nor to England. French *poilus* were equally offended by the insouciant gaiety that seemed characteristic of much of the nation's civilian population. Thus a powerful myth of the Great War emerged: front-line troops, embittered by what they took to be the brutish insensibility of most civilians, became alienated from the home front. Old men and all women, apparently indifferent to and unaffected by the war, became the enemy. Margaret M. Darrow and Angela K. Smith argue that this persistent myth misrepresents the way in which French and English women experienced the war. As Darrow effectively demonstrates, French women of every region, class,

and prewar occupation were neither unmoved nor unaffected by the war. In much of northern France, German occupation brought the miseries of war inescapably into the lives of all civilians; elsewhere the agricultural and industrial demands of a nation at war compelled the economic mobilization of rural and urban women alike. In England, women—or at least, the middle-class, literate women whose writings Smith analyzes—were, she contends, so profoundly affected by the war that it transformed the way they articulated experience: they, like their more famous male counterparts, came to speak in a new cultural idiom, that of literary modernism.

At the heart of Darrow's analysis is an astute observation. Because cultural orthodoxy held that women were observers of but never participants in war, the French were hard pressed either to anticipate how women might contribute directly in times of war or to acknowledge after the fact the many ways in which women—as nurses, agricultural workers, or *midinettes*—did indeed support the national war effort. Even those women who enjoyed momentary recognition for their heroic resistance to the German occupation and their martyrdom at the hands of German oppressors quickly faded from collective memory. In France, only Mata Hari remains a recognizable, but far from honorable, female icon of World War I. The strength of Darrow's work resides here, in her analysis, grounded in the methods of both social and cultural history, of how the heroic efforts of French women were effaced by images of treachery and betrayal. Each chapter illustrates the point. Darrow shows, for example, how peasant women, compelled in the absence of husbands and brothers to till the fields and harvest the crops, kept the farms of France productive through four years of war, heart-rending anxiety, and private grief. Yet these long-suffering women gained no lasting recognition for their efforts. In the first years of the war, newspaper men and national pundits applauded their energetic patriotism, but by 1917 praise had turned to public opprobrium: peasant women were pilloried for selling their surplus production at what city dwellers took to be extortionate prices. Women in other sectors fared no better. All this makes one wonder whether the comfortably situated cultural critics, who were as protected from the ravages of combat as the women they so quickly criticized, wrote not to expose weakness in France's war effort but to redirect the ire of the disaffected *poilus*.

Whereas Darrow is interested in the many ways in which French women's efforts affected the nation's ability to wage war, Smith's analysis is more narrowly circumscribed. Taking issue with scholars who have long identified "'canonical' modernism" exclusively with male writers, she contends that a modernist sensibility was just as evident among English women who wrote about the war, either as distant observers or front-line participants. In diaries, letters, memoirs, and novels, women as obscure as Ethel Mary Bilborough (whose diary reports on life in wartime Kent) and as



famous as Hilda Doolittle found that it was impossible to write about the war except in the fragmented, sometimes brutal, and iconoclastic voice that is literary modernism. She concludes that "the direct experience of the First World War influenced the development of female modernist practice, opening up a pathway for a diverse range of different experimental discourses" (p. 197). The argument is persuasive when applied to the works of women who were well ensconced within the literary avant-garde before 1914; it is less compelling in other cases. Thus Smith's analysis of Mabel Stobart's diary, written when serving in a Serbian medical unit in 1915, and the war memoir published a year later under the title *The Flaming Sword in Serbia and Elsewhere* suggests that Stobart, an "accidental modernist" in her diary, retreated into "more traditionally structured text" when she turned her pen to publication (p. 58). Smith argues that Stobart's published text was modernist nonetheless, but the evidence is not entirely persuasive. More problematic, however, is Smith's larger claim that "this war . . . became a woman's place, as women from all walks of life were drawn in, both directly and indirectly" (p. 7). Perhaps so, but the sources Smith employs tell us only about a few women, all of them middle class and most of them exceptional in one way or another. World War I did indeed draw in "women from all walks of life, both directly and indirectly," but in the final analysis Darrow's work makes that argument more persuasively and more completely.

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ARCH PUDDINGTON. *Broadcasting Freedom: The Cold War Triumph of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky. 2000. Pp. xix, 382. \$27.50.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty present a fascinating topic. Throughout the Cold War, many people in the European communist countries spent long hours hunched over radio receivers fiddling with the dials, trying, often vainly, to find a clear signal amid the static caused by jamming. It spoke volumes about popular attitudes toward controlled media that some people went to such efforts to hear even bits of a U.S. propaganda broadcast. During the crisis of state socialism, reporters from the radios became welcome interviewers in the reform communist leaderships, and the radios were positively relied upon by their popular challengers. Certain émigré broadcasters received heroes' welcomes when they returned to their home countries. Arch Puddington refers to the "gratitude expressed by millions of listeners" (p. 313), but unfortunately he provides no evidence of just how big the audience was. In Poland and Hungary, where the reform communists Wladyslaw Gomulka and János Kádár suspended the jamming, the audience seems to have been quite broad. Despite encomia from dissi-

dents in other countries, even prominent ones like Alexander Solzhenitsyn or Václav Havel, who have said they and others listened eagerly, no individual is in a position to testify about the private behavior of multitudes. Some evidence on this score does seem to be available. Puddington mentions a survey showing that Radio Free Europe had a bigger audience than the BBC or Deutsche Welle, but he never tells what the survey found.

Puddington says Gomulka and Kádár turned off the jamming because they received political support from the broadcasts. Radio Free Europe tried both to undermine their Stalinist opponents and to persuade Poles and Hungarians to accept their leadership as the best available alternative. From 1963 to 1971, broadcasters waged an overt campaign against the Polish "Partisans," a faction drawn from military and police officials who wanted to intensify repression and anti-Semitism. During trips to Western Europe, senior Polish communists met privately with staff members of the radio and provided information that could be broadcast back into their own country. At the end of 1988, Mikhail Gorbachev stopped the Soviet jamming of Radio Liberty. In this case, too, Puddington attributes Gorbachev's decision to an expectation that Radio Liberty's broadcasts would be more favorable than Soviet media coverage.

This view of Gorbachev's decision not only is unsupported by any evidence but casts doubt on Puddington's interpretation of Gomulka and Kádár. Especially by 1988, journalists welcoming the end of censorship were Gorbachev's most effective supporters. It would have been hard for anyone to cover Gorbachev and his program more enthusiastically than *Ogonek*, *Argumenty i Fakty*, or *Moskovskie Novosti*. The decision to stop jamming coincided with the Politburo's authorization of competitive elections that chose a new legislature with broadened powers in March 1989. It seems more likely that Gorbachev ended jamming not because he counted on a supportive Radio Liberty, but because he viewed jamming as yet another instance of the censorship he opposed. Since Gomulka and Kádár also wanted to open their own societies, their motives may plausibly be seen as similar to his. Support from foreign broadcasters proved unable to protect Gomulka or Gorbachev.

Puddington concludes that the radios "made an important contribution to the peaceful nature of communism's demise" (p. 313). It is true that the radios avoided inciting anticommunist violence, especially after internal reviews found that certain Radio Free Europe broadcasts during the 1956 Hungarian uprising had urged people to join the suicidal struggle. But throughout the communist world, opponents of the regime recognized that violent rebellion was impractical. With Gorbachev dismantling repression from within, they also recognized that violence might be unnecessary. Is it really plausible to think that in the absence of Radio Liberty's contribution, violence would have been more likely?

The activities of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty raise interesting questions for the specialist on state socialism. They may also be intriguing for specialists on American diplomatic history. It is unfortunate that Puddington eschews these interesting questions (which, when he addresses them, he answers by assertion) in favor of refighting old ideological battles against critics of the programs such as Senator J. William Fulbright, U.S. diplomats serving in Eastern Europe, or Germany's Social Democrats. A book that answers charges that the radios propagated anti-Semitism or chauvinism or undermined U.S. diplomacy lacks much relevance today, especially since Puddington merely denies those charges without providing the evidence necessary to refute them.

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MARY HILL COLE. *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony*. (Massachusetts Studies in Early Modern Culture.) Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1999. Pp. x, 277. \$35.00.

Queen Elizabeth famously went on annual summer progresses, visiting many towns and cities and staying in the houses of her noblemen, courtiers, and counselors. Here Mary Hill Cole offers a workmanlike analysis of the places to which Elizabeth travelled (no further west than Bristol, no further north than Stafford, but most frequently to Essex, Kent, Hampshire, and Surrey), the individuals she stayed with (most often with William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, her chief minister, but also with loyal Catholics), the arrangements made for supplying food and drink, and the costs of such hospitality to her hosts (by no means as crippling as legend has it). All this is reasonably done and informative. Cole is, however, less sure footed in her analysis. She claims that Elizabeth used her progresses as a way of strengthening her position in relation to her councillors: while she was on progress, disruptions made it even easier than usual for her to defer making decisions. That is an intriguing and not altogether implausible suggestion, but Cole never shows that this was actually the case. Cole claims that Elizabeth on progress was vulnerable to petitioning from her hosts and their neighbors, but once again her account does not show much sign of successful petitioning. More generally, Cole resorts to rather overblown and modishly phrased assertions: "the travels of Elizabeth revealed a monarchy in flux and a queen in negotiation"; "Elizabeth's actions on the road validated the commonly held views of hierarchy and social order" (p. 172).

Regrettably, Cole ignores the content of the various ceremonies staged on Elizabeth's progresses, especially the urban entries: if political meaning is to be read into the progresses, it is in such ceremonies that it is most likely to be found. Yet, as Cole emphasizes, Elizabeth did not systematically visit all parts of her

realm. Cole believes that was because Elizabeth "did not risk going into areas known for their rugged terrain, Celtic heritage or catholic sympathies" (pp. 23–24); "she did not risk the dangers of visiting northern England or Wales even to advance acceptance of her religious settlement" (p. 145); "instead of using progresses to bring order to troubled regions, the queen in her progresses validated royal authority and social stability where it already existed" (p. 24); "the progresses revealed a cautious queen who travelled only to places where her popularity and church were secure" (p. 145). Cole, who begins by suggesting that the progresses "gave the queen a public stage on which to present herself as the people's sovereign and to interact with her subjects in a calculated attempt to keep their support" (p. 1), does not quite grasp how much what she has found unsettles conventional perspectives. Does it not show the limitations of progresses as "self-conscious exercises in public relations" as Tim Blanning has presented them; does it not undermine Kevin Sharpe's claim that the progresses "exposed the spectacle of the queen and her court to the widest possible audience"? Maybe the search for political significance in the progresses has been greatly overdone—and maybe Queen Elizabeth, unmarried and childless, simply welcomed travelling within defined and familiar limits and enjoyed staying with those courtiers and counselors who were the nearest that she had to friends.

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ENRIQUE GARCIA HERNÁN. *Irlanda y el rey prudente*. (Colección Hermes, number 2.) Madrid: Laberinto. 2000. Pp. 286.

It was perhaps inevitable, given the deteriorating relations between Philip II of Spain and Elizabeth I of England, that each should aid rebels against the other and that Philip should become involved in the ethnic, political, social, and religious complex that was sixteenth-century Ireland. Philip's involvement is the main focus of Enrique Garcia Hernán's book, an abridged version of his doctoral thesis. The approach is largely narrative, focusing on the three Irish wars or rebellions that dominate late sixteenth-century Irish history: the first, between 1565 and 1578, the second, between 1579 and 1583, and the third, between 1594 and 1603. Another chapter discusses Ireland in the context of the Armada of 1588.

There were obvious reasons why the Irish looked to Philip, the most formidable of Elizabeth's (Catholic) opponents, especially with France in eclipse for much of this period. But there were other reasons, too, including old-established economic and cultural links between Ireland and Spain. It was even argued that Ireland belonged to Philip, since it was originally part of Spain. For his part, Philip recognized the need to protect and promote the Catholic faith in Ireland and also Ireland's strategic value in the struggle against

England. However, there was never—until perhaps the 1590s—any specifically Irish expedition of substance; instead, most expeditions—for example that of the Irish adventurer, Sir Thomas Stukeley, of 1571, or that associated with the Armada of 1588—saw Ireland as a secondary objective. Indeed, some Spanish policy makers—notably the Duke of Alba—persistently opposed proposals to divert Spanish troops from Flanders to Ireland.

Philip was sometimes reluctant to commit himself in Ireland, preferring in 1568–1569 not to further provoke Elizabeth at a time of deteriorating relations between the two courts. Facing difficulties on a wide front, Philip could not always give priority to Ireland: in 1580 the conquest of Portugal came first. In addition, although by intervening in England's "backyard" Philip might oblige Elizabeth not to intervene in his own (the Netherlands), Philip did not want to get bogged down in Ireland in a struggle reminiscent of that in the Low Countries. It was Philip III, therefore, who made what was Spain's greatest commitment in Ireland, the ultimately disastrous Kinsale expedition of 1601. This latter venture, while occurring after Philip II's death, perhaps warranted treatment by García Hernán as the culmination and conclusion of a generation of projects for Spanish intervention in Ireland.

But the military struggle is not García Hernán's only concern. On the contrary, he is also greatly interested in the Irish exile community in Spain, and to a lesser degree in those few Spaniards who settled in Ireland. The Irish exiles were mostly soldiers and priests. They concentrated in northwest Spain (Galicia), partly because of its proximity to Ireland, and partly because of the traditional economic links between this region and Ireland. Few Irish exiles were to be found elsewhere in Spain, apart from Madrid. Many adventurers, while awaiting a Spanish expedition that would restore them in Ireland, participated in other Spanish adventures, such as the conquest of the Azores in 1583. Some exiles, including Stukeley, even died in battle in 1578 on Sebastian of Portugal's African crusade. In 1593, it was suggested, without success, that a new crusading military order of Saint Patrick be established in Ireland, under the grand mastership of one of Philip's nephews or sons-in-law, to carry on the struggle and to provide financially for some of the exiles. Following the English raid on Cadiz in 1596—retaliation for Philip's dispatch of aid to the earl of Tyrone, reigniting his rebellion—the Irish exiles were regarded with greater suspicion by the Spanish authorities. Unfortunately, however, García Hernán does not say very much about the broad response to the Irish exiles of the larger Spanish population.

In many respects, this is a familiar story. Nevertheless, García Hernán, drawing on a wide range both of primary sources (notably the archives of the Spanish Council of State but also the dispatches in the Vatican Archives of the papal nuncio in Spain) and of secondary sources Irish and Spanish, has usefully set it in the context of both Spanish policy and the Irish diaspora.

Indeed, his book complements Geoffrey Parker's study of Philip II's "Grand Strategy" and Thomas O'Connor's recent collection on the Irish diaspora in early modern Europe. García Hernán has enhanced our knowledge and understanding both of Spanish policy in Ireland during the reign of the Prudent King and of an Irish exile "lobby" that sought to shape and benefit from that policy.

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LISA STEFFEN, *Defining a British State, Treason and National Identity, 1608–1820*. (Studies in Modern History.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. x, 245. \$72.00.

Lisa Steffen's book is based on the very good idea that definitions of treason are, in effect, definitions of sovereignty. Tracking shifting meanings of treason, as set out in statute law, prosecuted at trial, and explicated by great legal theorists such as Sir Edward Coke, Sir Matthew Hales, and Sir William Blackstone, may thus illuminate not only changing concepts of sovereignty and its location but understandings of national allegiance and identity as well. In contrast to John Barrell's *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793–1796* (2000), a big book with a short chronological range, this is a short book covering a long period.

Steffen's survey opens with *Calvin's Case* in 1608—which, after the union of crowns, pinned down a common British allegiance to the king—and concludes with an account of the treason trials of the Cato Street conspirators in 1820. The emphasis, however, is on the "long eighteenth century." Along the way we encounter Coke, early Stuart England's (not Britain's) preeminent jurist; the impeachment of the earl of Strafford; the execution of Charles I; and the treason trials of Jacobites in 1746 and of "Jacobins" in 1794. It is both a fascinating and a revealing story. The foundation of treason law up to 1842 was a 1352 statute under whose provisions treason consisted principally, but not exclusively, in "compassing and imagining the king's death" and "levying war" against him. Crucially as it would turn out, this meant the king's person, not the "crown," the "realm," Parliament, or the state. In the cases of Strafford, Archbishop Laud, and, most spectacularly, King Charles himself, Parliament got around this awkward fact by "depersonalizing" treason (p. 27) and placing the onus on the body politic. The king's person figured not at all in the charges laid against Laud.

Treason law reverted to this statute at the restoration, but ambiguities remained. For instance, a 1709 act extended English treason law to Scotland: did that then mean that Scots domiciled in Scotland could be tried in England? The answer, as many Jacobites discovered to their cost in 1746, was yes. Moreover the person of the king was de facto, thereby disabling any Jacobite arguments about legitimacy. The central paradox of dependence on the 1352 statute emerged during the Jacobin trials of the 1790s, when state

prosecutors argued, by necessity, that the “king” meant the “king-in-parliament,” an impeccable Whig and, in its day, revolutionary doctrine. In short, “the person of the king in name is the state itself . . . the state could not be attacked without an attack on the person of the king” (pp. 112–13). “Republican” defendants, on the other hand, insisted, with equal necessity, on the anachronistic and quasi-Tory principle of the distinct executive authority of the crown.

The Jacobins were acquitted. Most of the accused in the trials reviewed here were, however, convicted, and Steffan has no illusions about the manner in which political power could negate legal nicety. But in terms of the politics of treason trials, the book might have benefited from discussion and description of these set-piece occasions as theaters of terror. The brief account of the impeachment proceedings against Lord Lovat in 1746–1747 suggests the potential of such an approach. The 1710 show trial of Dr. Henry Sacheverell (although for “high crimes and misdemeanours,” not treason) would also have repaid analysis. Nonetheless, this study clearly demonstrates the importance of legal history for political history. The courts as much as Parliament shaped the meanings of sovereignty.

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ANDREA FINKELSTEIN. *Harmony and the Balance: An Intellectual History of Seventeenth-Century English Economic Thought*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000. Pp. viii, 381. \$49.50.

The history of economic thought, unlike the history of scientific or political thought, has been relatively untouched by the now well-established desire to historicize the work of canonical thinkers. As a result, the literature is more strongly marked by teleology than other areas of intellectual history. Andrea Finkelstein's book can be seen as a significant contribution to the contextualization of economic writing. As such, it will be open to the standard objection that it reduces a study of (in this case) the science of economics to a form of antiquarianism with little relevance to the difficulties of our own times, but readers of the *AHR* are unlikely to sympathize with that line of criticism. Finkelstein's study also reflects (along with, for example, recent work by Craig Muldrew and Keith Wrightson) a growing tendency to reincorporate economics into our view of early modern English society. This new economic history aims to recover the social practices and beliefs that gave meaning to, and shaped, patterns of production, exchange, and consumption. As a contribution to a contextualized intellectual history, and an economic history integrated with the wider cultural and social world, this book is a welcome addition to the literature.

Finkelstein's is an ambitious project. She seeks to place the writings of the “leading economic writers” of the seventeenth century in the context of their larger intellectual world and economic change in that period.

The book focuses on nine writers, chosen because they figure prominently in modern histories of economic thought: Gerard de Malynes, Edward Misselden, Thomas Mun, Sir William Petty, Sir Josiah Child, John Locke, Sir Dudley North, and Nicholas Barbon. Whether these writers represent the “best the century has to offer” (p. 5) is one problem of this method; whether they qualify as “economic writers” is another. The nine writers are considered in three broadly chronological groups. Malynes, Misselden, and Mun are read as men struggling to respond to the commercial crisis of the 1620s within the bounds of an organic world view. Petty, Child, and Locke offer an insight into the impact of the new mechanical philosophy of the mid-century on economic thought. The final three reflect attempts to deal with the impact of war and the increasing complexity of fiscal relations in the final decades of the seventeenth century and the opening of the eighteenth. They also, among them, have an appropriate range of governmental, mercantile, and philosophical interests to reflect the general interests of the whole tribe of early modern “economic writers.” Inevitably, given the book's scope, the treatment of each writer's world view is brief (Locke gets twenty-four pages, for example), and there is little extended treatment of economic practice. But we have to start somewhere, and these vignettes make a helpful contribution to a reconsideration of the economic thought in this period.

Overall, Finkelstein concludes, these people were uncomfortable with the market and sought to understand the implications of commercial relations in terms of their preexisting or evolving world views. They shared a sense that commercial relations were potentially chaotic and therefore disruptive of social and political order. Such conclusions will not, perhaps, surprise many historians, but they offer an important corrective to those working in other traditions who are more often concerned to pick apart the failures and inconsistencies in these writings. Finkelstein's attempts to translate early modern writings into the terms of modern economic theory, and then to explain their blindnesses, may be jarring for many historians. For example, she notes that Petty “did not realise how far his ideas on value-creation went toward substituting a gross product model for trade balance one, likely because economics was only a means for Petty and not an end in itself” (p. 176). This seems to flirt with the kind of decontextualized treatment that the book criticizes. Finally, her treatment of these writers is intended to contribute to the debate about the spirit of capitalism. Given the limits of the study, it has to be considered a useful rather than decisive contribution. Although the jacket claims that the book will be used by undergraduates, it seems unlikely that they will be the main audience for this complex study. Nonetheless, the issues are clearly laid out, the questions addressed are very important, and the argument is convincing. Finkelstein's book will certainly be of interest to historians and postgraduates working on the intellec-



tual, cultural, and economic history of seventeenth-century England.

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JOHN CALLOW. *The Making of King James II: The Formative Years of a Fallen King*. New York: Sutton Publishing. 2000. Pp. ix, 373. \$32.95.

England has had many disastrous monarchs, but perhaps none quite as inept as James II. From a position of strength at his accession in 1685, he rapidly managed to alienate the monarchy's natural supporters and, by the time of William of Orange's invasion in late 1688, even his own standing army was beginning to desert him. The puzzle is that, as duke of York, James appears to have been quite a successful soldier and administrator. The discrepancy is usually explained on the grounds that James must have experienced a rapid and sudden decline in later life, perhaps as a result of contracting syphilis. The favorable view of James's early life, however, rests on an uncritical overreliance on James's semiautobiographical *Life*, a highly problematic source that can scarcely be taken at face value. By using a wealth of other documentary evidence—official reports, memoranda, letters, personal diaries, and narratives—John Callow, in his superb biography of James before he became king, offers a more realistic assessment. The conclusion seems clear: James was not tragically cut down in later life by prolonged physical and mental deterioration (and he certainly never had syphilis); he had always been inept.

Callow starts with a brilliant discussion of the provenance of the *Life* and a lengthy historiographical excursus to explain how our misunderstanding of James's achievements as duke of York arose. The next three chapters explore James's childhood, his years in exile, and his life as a restoration duke, whereas chapters five through ten proceed thematically, evaluating in turn James's self-image, involvement in politics, achievements at the Admiralty, record as a military commander, involvement in trade and commercial policy, and governorships of New York and Scotland. James's personality was crucially shaped by the experience of seeing his father humbled before his subjects, and he came to see the cause of all Charles I's misfortunes as the result of his willingness to compromise at key junctures in his reign. The fact that James was twice held captive as a boy and went into exile as an adolescent also meant that he never managed to understand the complex and shifting nature of political allegiances during the Civil War and interregnum; for him, the world was polarized between monarchists and republicans, and he saw no distinction between Presbyterians and Independents, who were both equally traitorous in his eyes. Even though his conversion to Catholicism in 1669 led him increasingly to see the value of liberty of conscience, the fact that his conversion owed much to private study and the influence of a foreign religious order meant that he had little under-

standing of the everyday needs and the pragmatic political concerns of his English coreligionists. James liked to see himself as the most patriotic of Englishmen; unfortunately, given his conversion, his chosen self-image of an honest and dedicated soldier was hardly likely to rehabilitate him with a general public who had come to associate popish princes with political tyranny enforced through a standing army. Besides, James was not a particularly good warrior. His early military career, in the 1650s, was far from glorious, and although he showed himself to be a reasonably good administrator at the Admiralty, he was a dreadful commander-in-chief who repeatedly failed to learn from his mistakes (in part because he never seemed to realize he was making any). Nor did James have a firm grasp of commercial or imperial policy; he was not a great patron of trade or the founder of empire, as has sometimes been claimed, though he was perhaps the founder of the English slave trade. He made a real mess of things in New York (by ceding New Jersey to his close friends) and never really got to grips with the fundamental problems in Scotland (where, despite short-term successes in restoring law and order, he managed to alienate influential opinion in both the Highlands and Lowlands).

This is a compellingly argued book, judicious in its assessment, even if the portrait of James is largely negative. I would perhaps credit James with more success in Scotland, though not least because as viceroy he was largely content to follow the orders of his brother rather than to initiate policy himself. Callow might also have paid more attention to the loyalist reaction of the early 1680s; the evidence of loyal addresses and demonstrations suggests that not only Charles II but also the duke of York enjoyed a surge in public support at this time. Indeed, James II was genuinely popular—in all three of his kingdoms—at the time of his accession, which makes the speed of his downfall all the more remarkable and tragic.

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ELLIS WASSON. *Born to Rule: British Political Elites*. New York: Sutton Publishing. 2000. Pp. xvi, 224. \$34.95.

Historians are in agreement that a landed elite governed England (and in due course Wales, Ireland, and Scotland) from the Middle Ages until the later nineteenth century and, to a vestigial degree, even more recently. (Thus members of the Cecil family served as the chief minister of Queen Elizabeth I, as the last prime minister of Queen Victoria, and in John Major's cabinet from 1994 to 1997.) Scholars have differed, however, on how large that elite was, how continuous its existence was, and how open it was to the incorporation of newcomers. They have differed also on whether the heads of newcomer families first made their mark as landed proprietors, as office holders, as lawyers or bankers, or as merchants or industrialists.

According to Ellis Wasson, attempts to define that elite across the centuries by counting titled hereditary peers or country houses or the acreage of estates or by estimating family wealth have all fallen short.

In this work, Wasson proposes a new definition based on the number of family members elected over the centuries to the House of Commons or serving in the hereditary House of Lords. Wasson readily grants that service in Parliament might prove helpful to the individual member. He could sponsor beneficial private legislation. He could secure appointments in the government or the army or the Church of England for his relations or for himself. He had freedom from arrest for debt while Parliament was in session, and he could enjoy the London "season." His words and his votes could even promote the well-being of the kingdom. But, Wasson insists, election to Parliament had become so expensive by the eighteenth century that it was far more likely to undermine rather than enhance the family's economic fortune. Admission to Parliament had become an end in its own right, and by the seventeenth century membership had become the single most significant confirmation of social status.

By making use of the records, published and unpublished, of the History of Parliament Trust as well as Burke's *Peerage* and *Baronetage* and a host of specialized secondary works, Wasson has assembled a data base involving 18,000 individuals and 2,800 families. He concludes that a mere 368 families provided more than two-thirds of all MPs and four-fifths of all peers who served between 1660 and 1945. An even smaller number of about 140 "Grande" families, half of them established by the close of the Middle Ages, furnished Parliament with members over the course of as many as five centuries. Much of the book involves commentary on the thirty-five lists and tables that have resulted from submitting the data base to detailed computer analysis.

Wasson's industry is admirable, even if many of his conclusions do not surprise unduly. The political *Grande*s may have been a small and long-lasting group, but in each generation some families died out and others were incorporated. The *Grande*s were at no time a caste, and Wasson contends that the late Lawrence Stone underestimated its openness to newcomers. In Wasson's judgment, scholars such as W. D. Rubinstein have paid too much heed to the lawyers and the financiers among the upwardly mobile and too little to the industrialists, but he does not truly quarrel with Martin J. Wiener's thesis that it was the values of the earlier landed aristocracy that most newcomers sought to adopt. In a chapter on the Welsh, Scottish, and Irish aristocracies, he contends that these amalgamated with the English in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to a smaller degree than scholars such as Linda Colley have suggested. At the same time, he finds that the Anglo-Irish Protestant Ascendancy, which did indeed collapse precipitately in the years between 1880 and 1923, had fewer Cromwellian roots and many more medieval ones than most Irish nation-

alists have assumed, and that the "image of a largely absentee elite is false" (p. 127). The non-fox-hunting Scottish aristocracy may have been the "most exclusive" (p. 115) in the British Isles, but it partook more readily than did the Irish of the sense of a common national heritage transcending social class.

Wasson's method of calculation causes the pre-1914 aristocratic decline in England to seem marginally more rapid than it probably was, and individual endnotes that refer to ten or more distinct works often leave the reader frustrated rather than edified. Yet Wasson has undertaken a gigantic task, and a brief review cannot do justice to findings that will henceforth figure in numerous ongoing historiographical debates. By itself, genealogy may not constitute political history, but in the cultural evolution of the British Isles it can hardly be ignored.

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ROBERT WOODS. *The Demography of Victorian England and Wales*. (Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time, number 35.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxv, 447. \$69.95.

The shift from a demographic regime of high fertility/mortality to one of low fertility/mortality is one of the most profound transformations in human history. Yet in England, the place where this transformation was first completed, a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention has been devoted to the demographic history of the eighteenth century, when the great change was in its earliest stages. There are, of course, good reasons for this. The discovery that northwestern Europe did not conform to the standard Malthusian model during the premodern period—the realization that it depended more on the "preventive" than on the "positive" check—has stimulated interest in trying to quantify this process. The absence of vital statistics before 1837 induced the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure to concentrate its energies on reconstructing estimates of births, marriages, and deaths for the 1541–1837 period. This could only be done by laboriously extrapolating from the fragmentary parish registers that remain.

The paradoxical result, as Robert Woods points out in this important new book, is that we may now understand more about the demographic trends of the pre-1837 period than about the subsequent era, in which the registrar-general's vital statistics are presumed to speak for themselves. During the second half of the nineteenth century, according to the numbers, both fertility and mortality dropped in a mutually reinforcing, self-sustaining dynamic. Woods's aim is not to question this story, or even the statistics on which it is based. Rather, his purpose is to take the sophisticated quantitative techniques of multivariate and regression analysis, pioneered by the Cambridge Group, and apply them to this older data, so as to

increase the amount and quality of information that they can be made to reveal. The result is a dazzling—and daunting—display of statistical pyrotechnics, which will be tough sledding for all but the most cliometrically proficient historians. It is, however, worth persevering, since Woods has raised important questions and produced intriguing results.

Woods's basic premise is that the real value in the official registration statistics lies in the fact that the numbers were reported separately for all six hundred and fourteen registration districts. As a result, they can be disaggregated, not only by age, occupation, and cause of death, but also by geography. Woods, a geographer by training, understands that there was no single "English" demographic transition. Rather, there were a series of separate local transformations that manifested themselves differently in different locations, and that proceeded with varying speeds.

With regard to fertility, Woods is acutely aware of the limitations of the registrar-general's data. The bare numbers point almost inescapably to the conclusion that late Victorian families adopted deliberate strategies of family limitation. Unfortunately, the paucity of qualitative information on Victorian sexuality makes it difficult to know how (or even whether) this actually occurred. Fifty years ago, J. A. Banks suggested that family limitation trickled down to Britain's workers from the Victorian middle classes, which desired to maintain higher standards of consumption and began to shift from "quantity" to "quality" childrearing strategies. Slowly but surely, according to Banks, these practices of family limitation percolated into the working class. Woods does not entirely dismiss this hypothesis, but he emphasises the paucity of evidence in its favor. He does, however, dispute the diffusionist model, since his own work shows that family limitation was not initially class specific, but that it began more or less simultaneously within every class. As for motivations, Woods adds little to the list of factors that Banks and others had already advanced: mass literacy, popular education, the rising costs of rearing children, and the increasing power of women in marital relationships.

With regard to mortality, the registrar-general's statistics are much more informative, and Woods's analysis of them becomes much more illuminating and exact. He proves what many of us always suspected: that urban and rural mortality rates were widely divergent, and there were many local variations on both themes. With striking precision, he demonstrates that high urban densities were strongly correlated with child and infant mortality but much less so with adult mortality. Occupation, however (even when disentangled from environment), had a profound effect on adult life expectancy. Whereas a twenty-year-old clergyman, in 1871, could expect to live another 46.4 years, a typical unskilled laborer of the same age could expect only another 35.3 years (pp. 223–33). Being a coalminer was dangerous everywhere, but those in

Durham and Northumberland lived seven years longer than those in South Wales.

The ultimate test of Woods's analytical enterprise is its ability to shed new light on the late nineteenth-century mortality decline. Woods does not dispute the current consensus that infant mortality remained very high until the early twentieth century, but he explores some of the more subtle changes that, from the 1860s onward, began significantly to improve adult and older child longevity. He disputes the hypothesis of Thomas McKeown that rising living standards and improved nutrition were the primary causes of these improvements in health. More significant, in his view, were the diminishing virulence of tuberculosis and scarlet fever, the thinning out of the worst slum districts, and a sharp drop in the incidence of diarrhea and dysentery. Apparently Edwin Chadwick and the sanitary reformers were right after all.

While Woods's book makes a valuable contribution, it also suffers from some disconcerting flaws. With 198 figures and tables spread out over 426 pages, the book has approximately a 1/3 ratio of graph to text. As a result, there is very little sustained discussion or cumulative argumentation, and the writing incessantly lurches from graph to graph. For this reason, historians are likely to find this book more useful as a source of information than as a comprehensive synthesis of its complex, interrelated themes. When such a synthesis is written, however, it will have to draw heavily on Woods's painstaking work.

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JAMES A. JAFFE, *Striking a Bargain: Work and Industrial Relations in England 1815–1865*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 273. \$74.95.

In this book, James A. Jaffe offers a new interpretation of early nineteenth-century English labor history. Disputing the convention that collective bargaining emerged with "the mid-Victorian compromise," he contends that it was well established by the late eighteenth century and part of a more general tradition of arbitration with roots in the fourteenth century. This argument is based on substantial archival research and informed theoretically by other disciplines, notably industrial relations and anthropology, which, respectively, supply Jaffe with "game theory" and the "gift relationship" concept. Applying these ideas to his empirical data, he suggests that employers extended benefits (gifts) to elicit greater effort from workers; that strikes and lockouts were seen as little more than ways of instituting or reviving negotiations; that reputations for fairness and justice were more important than economic considerations in the bargaining process; and that collective bargaining should be understood not as an adaptive response to capitalism but as an expression of "British culture" (a doubly problematic term that he uses without explanation).

Some historians will find Jaffe's emphasis on wage bargaining useful, but some will be disturbed by his treatment of existing scholarship. He observes that the historiography of nineteenth-century labor is built on paradigms of struggle, repression, and conflict, and that it is contradicted by "the persistence of voluntary arbitration" (p. 208). But his engagement with that historiography is cursory, and he overlooks its attention to the unskilled, deskilled, and unemployed. This oversight, and his belief in the ubiquity of workplace bargaining, seem to blind him to the possibility that it was only skilled workers who had any bargaining power.

Further objections could be raised against Jaffe's theoretical model. Some, for example, may find the "gift relationship" a less powerful explanatory tool than he imagines. Developed by anthropologist Marcel Mauss in the 1950s, the concept is used by Jaffe to explain what he describes as the mutual commitment of employers and workers to arbitration. Yet his own evidence indicates that, in 1832, the proprietors of Hetton Colliery "refused to negotiate and with the help of troops and local banks replaced thousands of unionized workers with miners brought in from other parts of the country" (p. 176). On this evidence, the picture of masters and men, committed to arbitration and keen to maintain their reputations for fairness seems to dissolve, like Jaffe's argument, as soon as interests diverge and workers have nothing to bargain with.

Also susceptible to criticism is Jaffe's use of "game theory," a theory devised by mathematicians and adopted by social scientists to explain given kinds of behavior as rational responses to given situations. Convinced that this theory offers much to "the historian of industrial relations" (p. 184), Jaffe credits it with the insight that in "bargaining circumstances, decisions are often based upon an understanding that the past behaviour of one party is indicative of their future performance" (p. 185). He admits to a flaw in the theory (it does not account for complications that can subvert rational choice) but fails to address a further criticism: "games" are always complex. The more complex the game, the harder it is to build accurate empirical assumptions into the explanatory model and the more uncertain prediction becomes. Moreover, it is now widely acknowledged that when the model does point to empirically accurate conclusions, those conclusions will, more often than not, be independently obvious. This could be said of Jaffe's inferences.

A final criticism relates to Jaffe's treatment of postmodernism. He refers to it, he writes, because it emphasizes that history is contingent and reciprocal and because this emphasis is critical to his book (p. 4). Yet he does not acknowledge the contingency of his own narrative or the assumptions that prefigure it. Nor, having speculated that postmodernists will object to the "materialism and representationalism" of his approach, does he consider that such objections might

be warranted. Instead, he simply says that "it would be foolish" to defend himself against them (p. 6). This comment begs an important question: why does Jaffe assume that, in the case of postmodernism, the customary expectation of intellectual engagement can be ignored? If he thinks the anticipated critique is unjustified, then surely he should explain why. If he is unable to do so, then perhaps the critique has something to teach him. Either way, engagement would have been preferable to "rais[ing] the spectre of postmodernism" (p. 4) and leaving it to hover.

None of this is to say that Jaffe's book lacks value. For traditionalists, it presents significant information that is quite at odds with extensively documented conventions. In doing so, it demands historiographical revision. Relativists could also find the book useful, for it shows that convincing evidence can be found (or constituted) to illustrate the most disparate historical arguments. It thereby touches inadvertently on an important aspect of historical contingency: the selective process that helps to determine historical meaning.

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SIMON GUNN, *The Public Culture of the Victorian Middle Class: Ritual and Authority and the English Industrial City 1840-1914*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 207. \$74.95.

Mid-nineteenth-century middle-class capitalists have often been seen as uncultured philistines interested only in profit, and the cities they lived in, notably Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds, as "grim, fortress-like creations," to use J. B. Priestley's phrase, with utilitarian houses, Gothic-revival churches, and dark satanic mills spewing smoke into the air. In 1988, Janet Wolff and John Seed, in *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power, and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class*, sought to correct part of this stereotype by analyzing for the first time the involvement of industrialists and bankers in the arts, focusing on their patronage of painters, their involvement in exhibitions, and their promotion of cultural institutions. Now Simon Gunn, who was a contributor to that volume, has turned his attention to "the public culture of the middle class," by which he means the architecture and spatial layout of the cities, characteristic institutions such as private clubs, cultural events such as classical music concerts, and civic rituals including processions and ceremonials. This public culture, he suggests, was crucial for the articulation of class in the nineteenth-century industrial city.

Public bourgeois culture in the second half of the nineteenth century was distinguished by several characteristics: it was increasingly based on cash payment rather than on subscription, reflecting a shift from an elite culture predicated on personal acquaintance to a more anonymous and inclusive one; it emphasized public visibility and display rather than the private,



interior world of the home or club; and, it was differentiated by its ritualistic and performative character that had the effect of marking social differences and asserting power over others by symbolic means.

To a considerable degree, Gunn's book is an attempt to rehabilitate the northern industrial cities, frequently documenting what they share with their more famous exemplars, especially London. Devotees of Charles Dickens and Elizabeth Gaskell will be shocked to learn that the *Building News* commented in 1861 that "Manchester is a more interesting city to walk over than London," and that the London-based *Magazine of Art* praised the innovative civic building in Birmingham, calling that city "perhaps the most artistic town in England" (p. 40). Likewise, while it will come as no surprise that city streets were renovated into sites of consumption and display with department stores and distinct shopping districts, the vogue for arcades in Birmingham in the 1880s was such that a local periodical ironically proposed roofing the entire central area and renaming the city "Arcadia" (p. 49).

Gunn also, at least occasionally, points out how the northern cities were different from London. One particularly important observation is that in London the social faultlines were between a proletarian East End and a fashionable West End, whereas in the northern industrial cities attention focused on the central zone itself, which was portrayed as an island of safety in the midst of the crime and immorality of the slums and workers' districts immediately bordering and surrounding it.

But if Cottonopolis and Coketown were not as dark, dirty, and devoid of culture as they were once thought to be, Gunn's middle class is, in the end, a familiar entity. The reconstruction of Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds involved not just monumentalism but also that particularly middle-class concern, morality, manifested in cleansing the city of elements that were considered impure, contagious, or dangerous. This is still a middle class concerned for its status and self-image; obsessed with improvement, discipline, and spirituality; eager to attend concerts, participate in voluntary societies, and enter the political arena.

This is a book, moreover, that stands firmly, perhaps too much so, on the work of other scholars. Gunn frequently invokes the theories of Pierre Bourdieu and Richard Sennett on the delineation and maintenance of boundaries between groups and classes and the modes of self-presentation that helped make sense of the increasingly anonymous experience of nineteenth-century urban life. Gunn also draws from Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall on the importance of the domestic sphere in middle-class life, Judith Walkowitz on gendered urban space, and David Cannadine on public pageants. As a result, many of Gunn's conclusions seem familiar. It will come as little surprise to readers with even a rudimentary knowledge of urban or nineteenth-century British history, for example, to learn that "the wealthier, suburban sections of society . . . announced their presence in the city center by

means of certain stylized modes of behavior and a series of repeated, visible displays of wealth and authority" (p. 76), or that the Hallé concerts "became central to the construction of a high culture after 1870 that was recognizably bourgeois in form and character" (p. 135).

In the end, though, this book is greater than the sum of its parts. It makes a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Victorian middle class and helps us to see that social group as a cultural force and as the possessor of a unique culture that differentiated it from those above and below it. If R. J. Morris in *Class, Sect, and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class; Leeds, 1820-1850* (1990) demonstrated that the middle class could be defined economically, and Dror Wahrman in *Imagining the Middle Class: The Political Representation of Class in Britain, c. 1780-1840* (1995) showed that the middle class could be defined rhetorically, Gunn has indeed made the case that it can also be defined culturally.

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JONATHAN ROSE. *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 534. \$50.00.

Jonathan Rose asks what working-class autodidacts read, what they made of their reading, and how their lives changed. He denies that canonical literature perpetuates ruling-class values and is irrelevant to ordinary people. Scholars who wish to know how audiences understood literature must ask the audience what the text means, rather than analyze the text to determine its meaning for the audience. Texts do not perform "ideological work" by themselves. "The work is performed by the reader, using the text as a tool" (p. 15). Readers do not encounter texts with clean mental slates. Rather, the perspectives that they bring to the texts shape their interpretation of what they read. And the more widely one reads, the more likely one is to discover diverse ways of understanding text and world. Autodidacts employed "intertextuality" (juxtaposing texts to discover new meanings) and recognized that canonical texts (e.g. Homer, the Bible, even Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade") supported multiple readings. Some drew radical conclusions from conservative texts by Edmund Burke and Thomas Carlyle; imprisoned conscientious objectors in World War I found support in Ralph Waldo Emerson, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Francis Bacon, William Shakespeare, Thomas Hardy, Tobias Smollett, Thomas More, and Carlyle.

To prove this, Rose read most of the two thousand working-class autobiographies in David Vincent *et al.*, *The Autobiography of the Working Class* (1984-1989), also using other works by autodidacts and, when available, oral histories and public opinion surveys. The result is a nuanced description of the British

working classes' reading habits and mental worlds circa 1760–1960. Rose recognizes that memoirs privilege the successful. Workers who rarely read, never moved beyond the penny bloods, or were women were less likely to write memoirs than were workers who devoured books, rose to lower-middle-class, white-collar jobs, or were men. The same is true for others. MPs and clergymen who kept diaries and correspondence were few, and thus unrepresentative of all MPs and clergy. Yet historians use their output. Rose also recognizes that autobiographers sometimes romanticize their pasts, sometimes grow sour with age. Historians must distinguish childhood opinions from present-day opinions, understanding that recollections are better at recording attitudes than facts.

How reliable are working-class memories? The passage of years may affect memoirists' judgments about and even recollections of the books that mattered to them as lads or young men. Rose gets around this when discussing one autodidact's reading of Charles Dickens. "[A]utobiographers may unconsciously fictionalize, rewriting memories to create an engaging story. Acorn's account does sound suspiciously Dickensian, and . . . he may well have recast his own life in the same melodramatic mode. But for the historian of reading, it does not really matter . . . The question here is Dickens's influence on working-class readers. If Acorn . . . adopted a Dickensian frame in reading and then used the same rules for interpreting experience when he wrote his reminiscences, then that influence was very great and deep" (pp. 111–12). Although Rose's observation is well taken, perhaps some memoirists forgot, or chose not to remember, books that once influenced them deeply but that later they found puerile.

Rose discovers a notable difference between autodidacts and middle-class readers: "[A]t any given point, the reading tastes of the British working classes consistently lagged a generation behind those of the educated middle classes, a cultural conservatism that often coexisted with political radicalism" (p. 116). Poverty had much to do with this. Autodidacts relied on penny bookstalls for their reading material, and it was years before contemporary works appeared there. Nor could working-class community library budgets afford new works. Moreover, autodidacts, especially in the nineteenth century, dwelt in social and geographical isolation, reading whatever cast-off books and magazines came their way, unaware of avant-garde trends.

Rose accounts for the decline of the autodidact by blaming the modernist movement's "corrosive hostility toward the common reader." Fearful that mass democracy and education distributed culture more equitably, modernists such as T. S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Wyndham Lewis, and D. H. Lawrence created "literature and art deliberately made too difficult for a general audience," and "strove to preserve a sense of class superiority by reviling the mean suburban man. They convinced themselves that the typical clerk was

subhuman, machinelike, dead inside, a consumer of rubbishy newspapers and canned food" (p. 393). Rose then cites plebeian writers (V.S. Pritchett, Richard Church) who thought that lower-middle-class clerical life was stimulating. But some autodidacts rejoiced that writing had freed them from having to work at "an uncongenial job at some clerk's desk" (p. 419). Rose also suggests that modernists coveted the larger sales that plebeian authors enjoyed.

Nasty comments (by, for example, Eliot and the Woolfs) document Rose's argument, but counter-arguments can be advanced. He contends that a new, less accessible canon of American literature (Walt Whitman, Emily Dickinson) replaced "the old popular canon" (Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell). Earlier, however, he cites autodidacts who had found Whitman's poetry liberating. Nor does Rose explain modernist autodidacts. George Barker, a school-leaver from Loughton, fixed cars and worked as an office boy until Eliot, William Butler Yeats, Edwin Muir (himself an autodidact), and Lady Ottoline Morrell took him up. Barker's name is not in Rose's index.

Rose relishes irony, noting, for example, that new grammar-school and university-educated Labour leaders moved the party from economic to cultural protest. "By now the right has won the battle for privatization, lower taxation, and a hospitable climate for business; while multiculturalism, feminism, gay rights, and government support for the 'creative industries' have become potent issues for the left" (p. 145). My favorite is the butcher's son who won a parrot in a writing contest. "Within a week this parrot had ceased to be" (p. 420).

This exciting *tour de force* deserves a prize.

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MICHAEL WORBOYS. *Spreading Germs: Disease, Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865–1900*. (Cambridge Studies in the History of Medicine.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 327. \$59.95.

Could any aspect of modern medicine be better understood than the origins and impact of "germ theory"? Are not Louis Pasteur, Robert Koch, and Joseph Lister among the best chronicled of medical discoverers? What is there left to say? Lots.

Germ theory has been paradigmatic for "science in medicine." Teachers of medical history still struggle against a "light-switch" mentality afflicting history students as much as scientists: before germ theory, how was progress made in the dark? After germ theory, why was progress so slow? Excellent histories of public health now allow full replacement of the first part of that caricature. But what of the second? Bruno Latour has accounted for the "Pasteurisation of France" by doing for Pasteur what Leo Tolstoy did for Napoleon Bonaparte: distributing agency across armies of followers. But that historical practice seems unstable; briefly summarize the story, and you are back

to the emperor. Indeed, neither biographical studies nor case studies of particular episodes can provide the mental furniture we need for a history that is technically and politically adequate. Where do we find accounts of medical theory and practice that would give a student a good chance of making sense of textbooks on infectious diseases or surgery *ca.* 1880? How, more generally, might we use key areas of medical history as historical laboratories for understanding the complexities of theory and practice in the shifting, sectioned, many-layered worlds we all now inhabit? If that is the task, then Michael Worboys has built a base camp for the necessary explorations.

There was no "germ theory"; there were many. Antiseptic surgery, say, or public health cannot be properly understood as "application of theory"; you need to explore the complex interactions of changing principles and practices. Doctors were more concerned with diseases than with microbes, because patients were their business. The powers of patients' bodies cannot be left out of the disease-germ story (or deferred until "immunology" appears). And, in this case, as in anaesthetics or therapeutics, the meanings of theories and practices were entwined with changing meanings of "science." Worboys substantiates all these points through extensive readings of printed sources, and by intelligent use of the tools of social history of science, technology, and medicine (STM).

He does not labor "social constructionism" but demonstrates beautifully why most veterinarians, even the professional leaders, had only a passing interest in germs: they already had a disease construction that worked. The infective agents were sick cows, the body at risk was the national herd, the remedy was slaughter (and isolation), and the power was the state veterinary service. He shows how disputes involved the boundaries of mobilized concerns as well as hand-to-hand struggles over particular issues: the debate about antiseptics changed the boundaries of "surgery" so that wound healing was not left to dressers; if medical men were willing and able to use their germ theories in "public health," that was partly because sanitary engineering and nuisance inspection were increasingly the preserve of other professionals. And in dissecting the complexities of Victorian tuberculosis, Worboys shows how germs of various sorts were fitted into several different, changing models of disease causation. Most often, germs were "seeds" and the body "soil"; that biological model long predated germ theories, and indeed it remains a useful first step when we seek relief from monocausal accounts.

When most of us learned our "germ theory," the success of antibiotics in curing infections had made germs into timeless sole causes, and that understanding had been reflected back to the discovery of germs. Older concerns with hereditary and general environmental influences were irrelevant; why worry about "constitutions" of people or place, when the magic bullets had finally been issued? But the complexities of biology and society have proved not quite so dispos-

able, and people less ready to be simply patients. We now know that we should learn from social history as well as from science—even for germs.

Perhaps the use of good medical historiography, like the philosophy of Ludwig Wittgenstein, lies less in new truths than in revealing common errors. When we long for simple models of radical enlightenment, for the surety of a clear step forward, then a dose of sound medical history may help. Victorian germ theories were not a light switch; they were protean components of multilayered shifts in professional and vernacular understandings. Any historians of political or social change who still feel that (some) science was qualitatively different from the messy worlds they study should read Worboys. His book is not easy reading, nor does it flaunt its historiographical underpinnings, but it joins a select band of history texts that show, by sophisticated and detailed analysis, how medicine has worked in and on the world.

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MARK CONNELLY. *The Great War: Memory and Ritual Commemoration in the City and East London 1916–1939*. (Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2002. Pp. xii, 259. \$70.00.

Although World War II came home to London via the Blitz, the Great War of 1914–1918 continues to be, in Britain, the central event of the last century. Remembrance Day remains November 11, the date of the 1918 Armistice, and poppies for sale for veterans' charities are omnipresent. The war memorials are largely those recalling 1914–1918, with add-on rolls of the dead recalling 1939–1945.

The second great war was more a world war, played out in Singapore and Hong Kong, Egypt and Burma, as well as in Europe as far as the Arno and the Elbe. In the earlier war, the carnage was more massive, and just across the English Channel in Flanders. Yet history reflects a different war than do its memorials. As Mark Connelly writes, in a work begun as a doctoral dissertation, the Great War is recorded as a horrific slaughter followed by a botched peace during which ex-servicemen "were cast aside and left to atrophy on street corners or in the dole queue" (p. 2). In the grey interwar decades, "God," "King," and "Country" became empty, even disreputable, words. That the memorials portray a much different war is one of the themes of Connelly's engrossing study, which examines the ironic legacy in brass and in stone. Human loss was interpreted the way local traditions wanted it to be. Memorials are seldom if ever erected to condemn the sacrifices of the dead. Remembrance becomes compounded of sorrow, pity, hope, and pride, and one of the fascinating aspects of Connelly's examination is to demonstrate how significant were hope and pride.

Overlapping constituencies hard pressed for funds were appealed to for competitive memorial projects.

Their iconography required obvious religious elements, in particular a cross or an effigy of Christ, or both. Soldiers recalled the calvaries of Catholic Flanders, and parishes were attracted to Anglican adaptations. Unveiling one at St. Edward's, Romford, the bishop of Chelmsford saw comfort in the thought of a fallen life translated elsewhere. Noting the roll call of the dead, he declared that each was alive "in a land that was as great a reality as Australia" (p. 58). The most influential sector of London was the square mile of the City, its Wall Street. The City's honor required that it memorialize units directly associated with it: the City of London Regiment, the Royal Fusiliers, the London Rifle Brigade, the Honourable Artillery Company, even the Post Office Rifles. Each required its own memorial, foreshadowing a nationwide burden.

With the catastrophe of the Somme in mid-1916 came the first ritual remembrance, and by the end of October, more than 250 shrines were up in East London and metropolitan Essex. Some were symbols of community, articulating the feelings of residents of tenement blocks or institutions, while adopting the iconography of local churches. Pride required that each, even a large wayside cross in a private garden in Bethnal Green, was dedicated by a clergyman and maintained with fresh flowers. Generalized grief and mourning, Connelly writes, were, from the start, less important than the specific fallen, who were examples of devotion and sacrifice to an ideal of national character. But the plethora of back-street shrines, some of them hasty and improvised, declined at war's end. Enthusiasm waned as funds were solicited for more expensive, permanent—and fewer—memorials.

Armistice parades began in 1919 and 1920, often proceeding from shrine to shrine. Schools and churches and factories—even a millinery firm, a brewery, a gasworks, and a newspaper office—had tablets recalling individual dead in traditional rolls of honor, the churches even listing noncommunicants, sometimes local Jews, who were asked to contribute despite the alien symbols clustering about the names. Most Jews wanted their own sacrifice and loyalty visible to the outside community, but that would not occur inside a synagogue. They managed both. Seeing waste and duplication, the *City Press* suggested as early as December 1918 that memorials in stained glass windows or stone crosses served "no useful purpose," and that "something practical" to enhance life for the living would be "an inspiration to generations yet unborn" (p. 41). Few such memorial schemes happened. People preferred tradition to a swimming pool or a garden. The Gas Light and Coke Works at Becton settled for a gas eternal flame, which at least called attention to its product.

When the Honourable Artillery Company memorial was dedicated at Bishopsgate in 1922, the rector observed that one wall of the roll was deliberately left blank for the dead of the next war. Objecting, he thundered, "There will be no memorial of the next great war because there will be no church to hold it

and no people of London to receive it" (p. 170). He was almost right, but so was the concept.

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ANDREW THORPE. *The British Communist Party and Moscow, 1920–1943*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 308. \$74.95.

Was the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) essentially a tool of the Soviet Union? For many years, debate about Communists in Britain has revolved around two fundamentally opposed answers to this question. The orthodox answer, shared by many scholars writing in the Cold War, was that Communists were indeed servants of Moscow, a nest of spies funded and controlled by a foreign power. They point to the substantial financial support the Soviets provided their British comrades, the constant echoing of the latest pronouncements from the Communist International (Comintern), and the regular contact between Comintern representatives in Britain and British Communists in Moscow. Since the height of the Cold War, a second, more sympathetic school has found that the CPGB was actually an autonomous radical organization that often deviated in practice, if not in rhetoric, from Moscow's control. Andrew Thorpe seeks to put an end to this debate with his impressive and solidly researched study of the relations of the CPGB and the Comintern from 1920 to 1943.

Utilizing sources that have only become available with the opening of the Comintern archives in Russia, Thorpe provides a new perspective on the connection between the CPGB and the Soviets. Thorpe has examined all the relevant Comintern documents to paint a detailed portrait of the give and take of the relationship. He finds that although "it would be foolish to argue that the CPGB was autonomous of, and still less independent" from the Comintern, "it would be equally fallacious to see it simply as a tool of Moscow without significant life of its own" (p. 282).

Thorpe thoroughly considers the most damning evidence of CPGB slavishness, especially the problem of "Moscow Gold," the funding of the CPGB by the Soviets. Thorpe traces the substantial sums—often in diamonds rather than gold—that the Russians gave the British to buy buildings, publish newspapers, and pay salaries. The money allowed the CPGB to make itself a far more important force on the left than it might have been otherwise. Still, although the money "clearly helped determine some aspects of the nature of the new party," Thorpe argues, "it is a peculiarly crude interpretation which argues that finance equalled control" (p. 278).

The financing of the party is not the main point of Thorpe's book, despite his careful attention to it. Rather, he presents—convincingly—a story of "tugging at the line" in which British Communist leaders interpreted the Comintern's pronouncements as they saw fit (p. 282). By considering party meetings, Com-



intern conferences and correspondence, he follows the ups and down of the evolution of the CPGB and its changing program. The political line handed down from Moscow, he discovers, was not a clear set of commands. Rather it allowed for a variety of interpretations. At times, of course, when Joseph Stalin decided on an issue, such as opposition to war in 1939, the party had "to jump to his command," a loyalty that had party leaders avoiding admitting the brutal aspects of the Soviet regime or the self-serving nature of its foreign policy (p. 257). But, more often than not, there was substantial opposition within the party to changes in the line. For instance, party leader Harry Pollitt in the mid-1930s convinced the party to downplay "Stakhanovism," which made heroes of Soviet workers who dramatically speeded up production, to avoid upsetting British trade unionists. Pollitt's opposition to Stakhanovism was hardly the exception; each change in the party's position met with factional conflicts and lively debates, although the party did eventually toe the line. Ultimately, the Communist Party's politics and evolution cannot be explained by "monolithic models and simplistic interpretations." Rather it was a British political institution that was "proud to see itself as part of a world movement creating a 'better' future" (p. 13).

Thorpe's careful attention to institutional details leads to a clearheaded assessment of Comintern-CPGB relations. Yet the book's strength is also its weakness. The entirely institutional focus makes for slow going and, more importantly, distorts the international connection. We never learn that people joined, sometimes stayed in the CPGB, and believed in its ideology because of its relationship with Moscow. Such an analysis is an essential part of the international history of the CPGB. The Communist Party *was* the Communist Party because of its relationship to the Soviets—otherwise it would have been just another minor sect. Its importance depended on the Soviets for more than finances or the latest turn in the line. Those occasions when it broke out of the left ghetto to generalize its militant appeal came mostly because of the Soviet Union's popularity. The valiant efforts of the party's thousands of militants were frustrated at moments when the USSR was out of favor but fulfilled when the Soviet Union was in. It is this relationship with Moscow that Thorpe neglects. It would have been a more rounded treatment had he done so, but his careful examination of the party's and the Comintern's inner workings should settle once and for all the issue of Moscow's millions. It should, but given the intense polemics on the issue, it probably won't—through no fault of Thorpe's.

VICTOR SILVERMAN  
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JIM SMYTH, editor. *Revolution, Counter-revolution and Union: Ireland in the 1790s*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 245. \$59.95.

The focus of literature appearing on the revolutionary decade of the 1790s in Ireland has been on the United Irishmen, the course of the 1798 rebellion, and the Defenders (a lower-class secret society). Although Jim Smyth in his introduction reiterates that there is no consensus on the two central themes that have preoccupied historians—whether there was a longer eighteenth-century dimension to the 1798 rebellion or merely a particular 1790s one, and what importance the British and European contexts have—the present collection does not aspire to resolve these issues. Rather these essays extend earlier perspectives into a treatment of how revolution and counterrevolution culminated in the Act of Union (1800).

The collection has a number of key themes. First, the state's lack of resolve before 1798 contrasted sharply with its resolution thereafter. L. M. Cullen depicts the state as at times confident, at other times reactionary in the face of the impending crisis. In the 1790s it was remiss in its security policies as it increasingly allowed loyalist groups to preempt decision making, thereby embarrassing government and marginalizing moderates into an acceptance of repressive legislation and an increased role for the army in local security. This created much antigovernment feeling and drove many of Whig sympathy into an alignment with the United Irishmen.

Yet, surprisingly, in the wake of 1798, as Thomas Bartlett and Michael Durey demonstrate, government policy was not universally retributive. Bartlett traces how deftly Cornwallis dealt with the related issues of conciliation for the rebels (in a charged atmosphere where loyalists wanted severe punishment) and compensation for those who had suffered. Cornwallis's desire to impose a "measured severity" (p. 107) or "qualified leniency" (p. 131) ultimately succeeded over the loyalist impulse for arbitrary justice. Durey shows how there was a general amnesty for the rank and file, with the rest either pressed into army service or transported to Botany Bay. Given the circumstances and the loyalist desire for revenge, the government dealt equitably with the prisoners. Although Cornwallis's goal of returning Ireland to order was achieved, the effect of dispersing so many rebels from Ireland was that the revolutionary ideal was brought overseas to blossom particularly in the United States. (A valuable case study of this process is offered by Luke Gibbons, who traces the career of Thomas O'Connor, United Irishman, and in New York exile editor of *The Shamrock*, in the columns of which a romantic and republican convergence was promulgated, textually and graphically.)

Another dimension to the impact on the status quo is advanced David W. Miller in "Irish Christianity and Revolution," which exemplifies his proposal that "in our treatment of religion in Ireland we should move beyond denominational history to consider religious phenomena comparatively" (p. 195): in effect, that we think of religious systems, as opposed to churches, as a model of analysis. Adopting the argument advanced

for religion in America by Catherine L. Albanese, Miller elucidates aspects of community, cultus, creed, and code for the Irish religious "system." In practice, this categorization may be too rigid in its application to the Irish context. For example, while community is defined along ethnic and confessional lines, it does not take account of the 6,000 Catholics (primarily middle and upper class) who converted to the Established Church and who in the process blurred the denominational boundaries. In his view, 1798 was revolutionary in the sense that a fundamental redistribution of power occurred whereby the dependent Anglican polity (especially its clergy) was transformed from one that unrealistically tried to instill compliance to the state by all the population, to one where the Established Church became more activist and evangelical. Miller is "cautiously affirmative" (p. 210) on the question of whether there was a revolution, and he gives a "qualified 'yes'" as to whether this affected the religious systems. Whether his interpretation is warranted by the events and changes is open to question, but at the very least his depiction of the 1798 event not as a failed rising but as part of a continuum is valid.

A second theme is that the carrying of the union involved much more than a buyout of the borough owners. As Bartlett shows, the policy of conciliation and compensation, on the whole, did not produce a rupture between Cornwallis and the Anglo-Irish, although it is unclear if it had any adverse effect on the passage of the Act of Union. The rapid processing of claims helped to quell loyalist disgruntlement over the clemency policy, sufficient to assist Cornwallis in his goal of pushing through the union.

Smyth emphasizes that the union as a solution to security issues, the Catholic question, and management of the Anglo-Irish had a long gestation period. His focus is the intense public relations campaign after the initial defeat of the legislation and its final passage. In reaching beyond the normal boundaries of political exchange, both sides sought to buttress their case by an appeal to wider audiences. This appeal failed to mobilize lower-class Catholics and Presbyterians, who saw the elimination of the Irish parliament and the reduction of Irish MPs as steps toward parliamentary reform. The anti-union side thus was unable to generate support among these classes to the degree that the United Irishmen were. (In related contributions, Mary Helen Thuente explores how United Irish satires were used to influence public opinion and undermine current political structures; while Fintan Cullen elucidates how portraits fulfilled a similar role for a narrower and different audience.)

Third, the inclusion of local studies as a means of reinforcing or qualifying what was happening nationally continues to be of value, and those in this collection are no exception. Daniel Gahan shows that in Wexford there was a clear division between the more radical north and east and the relatively more placid south and west. Rivalries between Catholic and Protestant minor gentry propelled the former into the

United Irishman organization in 1797, with their tenants, artisans, and laborers joining in deference to them. He argues that the result of reading Tom Paine or Wolfe Tone would have been a greater consciousness of the position of Protestants over them. Yet he does not advert to the equally significant argument that such hostility might have been directed against their Catholic superiors on economic and social grounds, given that deference was crumbling and religious allegiance might have been less determinative as an integrative element.

In her study of Ulster, Nancy J. Curtin traces how magistrates became ineffective in their job of enforcing law and order in the localities; how deference among social classes declined, as reflected in absenteeism and hostility toward Anglican clergy; and how the pressing by magistrates for a union showed that they had reneged on their responsibilities in local government. Unanswered here is what the proportionality was between those traditional absentees who were union supporters and those who became so as a result of the breakdown of law and order in the localities. Tommy Graham traces the shift in the leadership of the United Irishmen movement from Belfast to Dublin in 1796–1798. As a case study, it is illustrative of how difficult it was for the organization to establish a truly effective national structure, despite the fact that such was assumed both by the government and by republican sympathizers.

Like any good collection, this book raises many questions, and points the way to further research on, for example, the economic and social impact of the war (1793–1815) on Ireland; the 1790s in Scotland; and the legacy of 1798 in the popular literature and ballads of the nineteenth century. More centrally, the extent to which loyalist disgruntlement over Cornwallis's policy of leniency toward the rebels influenced the carrying of the union awaits definitive investigation.

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MARC MULHOLLAND, *Northern Ireland at the Crossroads: Ulster Unionism in the O'Neill Years 1960–9*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. xi, 287. \$69.95.

Marc Mulholland has written the most detailed account yet of Terence O'Neill's premiership of Northern Ireland between 1963 and 1969. A cautious modernizer, a provincial promoter with a technocratic faith in bureaucrats and planners, O'Neill was a familiar enough figure in the 1960s. Cities, provinces, and states throughout the Western world were producing his like. O'Neill, however, will be remembered as the man in charge when the Troubles broke out. 3,000-odd deaths later, the question of his responsibility weighs heavily on historians who tackle his career. Should they ignore the then-unknowable future, or must any account organize itself around the end result?

Mulholland is a sharp and lucid writer, and his research is impeccably based on recently available

papers and an array of newspapers and interviews. His portrait of O'Neill, the introverted and misplaced man, is convincingly sympathetic. His reconstruction of the Unionist administration, its squabbles and initiatives, is thorough and should remain the standard account for a long time. Best of all, Mulholland returns these things to their proper explanatory context: electoral competition. The Unionist Party was losing ground to the Northern Ireland Labour Party in the early 1960s. Red and green scares being temporarily ineffective, O'Neill stole his opponents' progressive policies and saved his party's seats. The resulting infrastructure improvements were also successful in attracting money from the national government: the heart of provincial statesmanship everywhere.

These schemes have often featured in discussions of the Northern Irish state but seem to shrink in significance under Mulholland's commonsensical pen until they resemble the same fights over projects and jobs that happened everywhere else. Of course, this is where a whole generation of activists cut their teeth, and Northern Ireland was no exception as decisions over housing, jobs, and the siting of a new university all drew predictable protests. The problem was, Northern Ireland was not like anywhere else.

It is here (in 1966 and 1967) that Mulholland starts to tell us what this all meant in terms of the popular explosion to come. O'Neill had advocated a typically cosmetic brand of tolerance toward the Catholic minority, but he had no realistic strategy for dealing with community relations. Even if he had, he would not have been able to force it down his Jurassic party's throat, as many Unionists were alienated by his inclusive rhetoric, trendy administrative reforms, and—not least—his personality. They were further alarmed by the rise of a Protestant insurgency led by Ian Paisley, the greatest political talent of his generation. O'Neill was under pressure from above as well as below, as the Labour government in London wanted him to go even further. Against all this, his passive liberal supporters could not keep him in power. Mulholland draws this picture well, with O'Neill forever rushing back from somewhere more civilized to sort out the latest crisis.

O'Neill was challenged and found wanting. So far, Mulholland's judgment remains in the interpretative mainstream, albeit carrying unprecedented authority on the back of his research. At this point, however, he singles out the largely Catholic civil rights movement for blame. With "a profoundly politicised and dangerously polarising slogan" (p. 160) and embodying "a festival of liberation and vengeance for the minority" (p. 161), the campaign was, he asserts, an ethnic identity-building rebellion rather than a rational strategy for reform. It was this, and the state's brutal response, that carried Northern Ireland past the crossroads.

An ethnicized revolt was arguably the result rather than the origin of the movement. The Nationalist Party was dying, as Mulholland stresses, and many Belfast Catholics were voting Labour. More to the point, his

argument seems to turn in on itself at the end. If O'Neill's minor reforms were enough to reawaken the ancestral struggle, presumably neither a more radical nor a more traditional Unionist leader could have succeeded in pacifying both Catholic and Protestant constituencies. If the universal principle of "civil rights" was too inflammatory, what would not have been? Surely any Catholic campaign of any consequence would have attracted the same bricks and clubs. In which case, O'Neill's decisions matter little compared to the communal structures he could not control.

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ANTONIO FEROS. *Kingship and Favoritism in the Spain of Philip III, 1598–1621*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 299. \$69.95.

In 1598, the Venetian ambassador in Madrid reported that Philip II had "hardly expired" when the new King Philip III publicly recognized as his favorite the future duke of Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, whose charm and adulation had conquered the young prince. Soon after, Lerma embarked upon what Antonio Feros describes as a "revolution in government" (p. 125), which allowed him to amass powers unlike those any *privado* (favorite) had ever enjoyed. The favorite became, following contemporary language, the king's shadow and friend; he was the intermediary between the subjects and their increasingly invisible monarch. With "quasi-absolute royal power" (p. 126), Lerma had a free hand to fix the desperate royal finances that threatened Spanish supremacy over Europe. But his reforms failed miserably. In November 1607, the monarchy announced it was bankrupt. With little money to conduct war, in 1609 Philip III signed a truce with the Dutch Republic after four decades of fighting. The tragic expulsion of 300,000 Moriscos from the Iberian kingdoms between 1609–1614 did not appease Lerma's opponents, who eroded Philip III's confidence in his *privado*. In 1618, the disgraced favorite left the court for Valladolid. Following Philip III's death three years later, the new regime led by the count-duke of Olivares took away Lerma's enormous income and lands accumulated during his years of power. Lerma's death in 1625 spared him further humiliation.

Feros's excellent study of the duke of Lerma's career offers a highly readable narrative that reexamines the major policies and changes in the functioning of the highest spheres of the royal government during Philip III's reign. Several of his conclusions about Lerma's "revolution in government," such as the extent of the success in the centralization of power or the effectiveness of the juntas, or ad hoc committees, in bypassing the royal councils, will surely stimulate further debate. The term revolution seems more appropriate for the transformation of the *privado* into a formidable figure

in the royal court than for the reforms in the government of the monarchy's territories, whose results ranged from mixed to ineffective.

However, few will dispute the fact that the real significance of Feros's book lies elsewhere: namely, in his discussion of the "discourses, concepts, and languages" (p. 5) in contemporary debates about the relationship between favorites and royal power. His approach combines cultural history and the study of political theory and language associated with the work of J. G. A. Pocock and Quentin Skinner. His brilliant analysis of political treatises, plays, and works of art not only forces us to reconsider the much maligned Lerma regime, but it also raises major questions about the nature of monarchical power in Spain and the rest of early modern Europe. *Ragione di stato* theorists—such as Baltasar Alamos de Barrientos, Jean Bodin, Giovanni Botero, and Justus Lipsius—argued for the necessity of favorites. Finding new sources of money to support the monarchy's nearly permanent state of war, balancing political expediency and religious beliefs, expediting orders and at the same time upholding the law—all major early modern governments confronted these extremely complex problems, which were magnified in the largest empire to date. The office of chief minister had evolved over the course of the late sixteenth century to allow the Spanish king to cope with a staggering number of decisions. Supporters and detractors of Lerma's regime disagreed over his qualifications and whether kings should grant so much power to a single man. Yet they generally agreed that the Spanish monarch needed trusted counselors of extraordinary abilities. Feros's awareness of the early modern language of friendship lets us see how Juan Pantoja de la Cruz's virtually identical portraits of Philip III and Lerma (pp. 106–107) are graphic expressions of the notion that king and favorite should be twin souls. Despite Lerma's evident failures, kings relied on favorites throughout the seventeenth century because they needed them.

The failure of Lerma's policies, Feros argues, "should not be viewed as proof of their inadequacy but as the result of serious mistakes in their implementation and of an international situation over which the Spanish monarchy had little control" (p. 139). It is impossible to ascertain whether his policies were irremediably flawed or whether, under the right conditions, they could have succeeded. Yet Feros's remark points to a larger problem: assuming that success and failure were inevitable. Despite their sharply different outcomes, the careers and policies of Lerma, Olivares, the duke of Buckingham, and Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin were in many ways remarkably alike. Feros's study should stimulate a reconsideration, not only of Lerma's importance but also of the reasons for the success and failure of early modern absolutist monarchies.

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JOSÉ E. ÁLVAREZ. *The Betrothed of Death: The Spanish Foreign Legion during the Rif Rebellion, 1920–1927*. (Contributions in Comparative Colonial Studies, number 40.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2001. Pp. 282. \$65.00.

Spain, the gold standard of "old colonialism," came late to the "new colonialism" competition. The shock of *El Desastre* of 1898, which José E. Álvarez argues had a profound effect on Spain's national psyche, combined with French encroachment into Morocco to jumpstart Madrid's expansion inland from its presidios at Ceuta and Melilla from 1909. Madrid rapidly discovered two major impediments to its imperial designs, however: first, popular support in Spain, and in the army, for a takeover of the Moroccan Rif was razor thin. Second, Spain's under-equipped, indifferently led, and dispirited conscript force was in poor shape to spearhead the colonization of a ferociously independent mountain folk.

*Africanistas* recognized that, to circumvent political and military impediments to Moroccan conquest, the Spanish army required a military instrument that was strongly disciplined, efficient, able to take casualties free of the political repercussions associated with conscript losses, and "independent," as one officer subsequently wrote, "of the ups and downs of Spanish politics." Not surprisingly, they looked to French Algeria for military models. The *Regulares*, organized in 1909, were a knock-off of the Algerian *tirailleurs* of France's African Army. But the incontestable fighting qualities of these native mercenaries were matched neither by their numbers nor by their loyalty, especially when fighting their own kith and kin. Therefore, in September 1920, the visionary forty-year-old lieutenant-colonel of *Regulares* José Millán Astray convinced the Spanish government to replicate the celebrated French Foreign Legion in the Spanish army. He chose Major Francisco Franco, the Spanish army's young wunderkind, as his deputy, tasked with imparting professionalism and brutal discipline to the infant corps.

The Spanish Foreign Legion was not merely a counterfeit of the French original, however. On the contrary, Astray nurtured a quasi-mystical vision of his new corps as a hybrid of the *Reconquista* and the sixteenth-century *Tercios de Extranjeros* (foreign infantry regiments) that had battled heretics in the Low Countries. Astray's aspiration was to forge a mentality among Spanish legionnaires that combined a bastardized Bushido, fervent Catholicism, and the quest for an honorable battlefield death. Unlike the French Legion, foreigners largely boycotted the Spanish Legion. A handful of North American and Northern European volunteers rapidly became demoralized by the rigors of legion life, perhaps also by its aggressively Hispanic ethos. The ten percent of legionnaires recruited abroad were almost exclusively Latin Americans and Portuguese. While the Spanish Legion, like its French counterpart, acquired the reputation as an asylum for



misfits and cutthroats, Álvarez never really tells us who these men actually were. Desertion, the running sore of mercenary units, is alluded to but not explored. One suspects that it was less of a problem in a nationally homogenous force composed in the main of patriotic, adventurous, or foolhardy Spaniards, many perhaps transfers from conscript units. This would have given the Spanish Legion a cultural and political homogeneity absent in the French original. The addition of the cream of the Spanish officer corps, drawn to the legion as a source of promotion and as a proving ground for personal bravery, helps to explain its exemplary battlefield performance in the Rif War. Nevertheless, from Álvarez's accounts, the legion's preferred tactic appears to have been the casualty-heavy frontal assault.

This book offers a celebration of legion valor rather than a critical analysis of the relationship between the legion's recruitment, training, and indoctrination and its battlefield success. Nor does Álvarez provide a balanced assessment of the role of a force that seems to have peaked at something under 6,000 men in Spain's victory over Abd-el-Krim. Indeed, those looking for a history of the Rif War had better look elsewhere. But the author is not so mesmerized by the legion's valorous combat record that he fails to note that Spain paid a high political price for the creation of a force that proved to be, as one officer noted, "a dependable instrument against rebellions, and the protests of radical organizations." The introduction of a praetorian force into a poorly managed conscript army gave the *Africanistas* inordinate influence over Spain's Moroccan policy, and ultimately over Spanish politics. One of the hopes of the legion's founders was that it would become, "a 'military academy' for converting the Spanish armed forces into like-minded units." A subsequent volume might explore how the legion constructed and disseminated its reputation as a symbol for Spanish heroism, how it overcame opposition in the army, and how this translated into political influence in the interwar years. Álvarez notes the irony that the force that once terrorized North Africa and subsequently Spain during the Civil War of 1936–1939, one destined to become the elite guard of the Franco regime, has only survived into Spain's new democratic age by discovering a vocation for peacekeeping missions.

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ANTHONY CRUBAUGH. *Balancing the Scales of Justice: Local Courts and Rural Society in Southwest France, 1750–1800*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 257. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$19.95.

Of the myriad reforms enacted by the National Assembly, there was none of which it was more proud than its reorganization of the judiciary, particularly its creation of the justice of the peace. Anthony Crubaugh's book

not only provides insight into the reasons that deputies were so proud of the institution but validates that pride.

In a well-conceived and well-executed study, Crubaugh compares the seigneurial regime with its analogue established by the National Assembly, the justice of the peace, with a focus that is useful on two counts. It offers a direct comparison of the administration of justice between the Old Regime and the revolution and it does so in a rural setting: Aunis and Saintonge, which became the Department of Charente-Maritime.

Under the Old Regime, seigneurial courts were ubiquitous, inefficient, and expensive. Pursuing a civil case was a financially daunting venture, due in part to elaborate procedures and the fact that many of the court personnel were unsalaried, which meant that they had to develop revenue from civil suits in order to receive an income. These factors made many individuals reluctant to initiate a civil case and enabled lords to intimidate and exploit their tenants through the threat of a lawsuit.

In like manner, seigneurial justice was inefficient in the criminal sphere because of the financial burden to lords of pursuing investigations or prosecutions. As a result, there was little sustained effort to pursue criminal activity, often leaving crime unpunished in rural areas—except in those instances in which it was in the interest of the lord to prosecute.

The night of August 4, 1789, unexpectedly put an end to the seigneurial regime, and the National Assembly established the justice of the peace to fill the vacuum created. Envisioned as the inverse of the seigneurial judge, the justice of the peace was to be a mediator who was familiar with the problems of rural inhabitants and imbued with a sense of fairness rather than an individual steeped in legal expertise.

Crubaugh shows that justices of the peace rendered verdicts far more expeditiously and at much lower cost than had seigneurial courts. In a case in a seigneurial tribunal in 1787, for example, court costs were forty-five livres; a nearly identical case heard before a justice of the peace in 1792 cost eight livres. Furthermore, a remarkably high number of cases before justices of the peace were resolved on the day that they were heard. The lower investment of time and reduced costs made justice more accessible, and Crubaugh argues that the low rate of appeals of decisions of justices of the peace reflected relative satisfaction with the verdicts. The justice of the peace also regularly served as a mediator and successfully deflected lawsuits in this manner; in Aunis and Saintonge, an average of approximately one-third of cases were resolved informally without litigation.

The justice of the peace had a lesser role in the realm of criminal law. He was vested with repressive powers, and these duties, Crubaugh notes, could conflict with his role as mediator, although he concludes that the evidence is ambiguous on whether criminal responsibilities of the justice of the peace subverted

the institution in the civil sphere. The primary task of the justice of the peace was to investigate a crime, but he could also issue an arrest warrant. He sent his findings to the public prosecutor, who ultimately decided whether to seek an indictment. The critical aspect of the justice of the peace in the criminal sphere was that the office was integrated into a coherent system of criminal justice, which was in sharp contrast to the overlapping jurisdictions that had characterized the Old Regime structure. Most important, it effectively did away with the disincentives to pursuing crime that had existed before 1789.

Crubaugh concludes convincingly that the justice of the peace, by introducing the notion of judicial officials "as providers of a crucial service rather than as exploiters of social tensions" (p. 225), succeeded in altering behavioral patterns in conflicts and led inhabitants to accept the authority of the state in the resolution of disputes. Indeed, there can be little doubt that, particularly through the justice of the peace, justice became more expeditious, more equitable, and less costly.

This book is a useful addition to the literature on law and society in southwestern France, a region already richly treated in other studies. Some may be put off by its pedantic tone or occasional infelicitous translations—for example, "passenger" should surely be rendered as "transient" (p. 91)—but readers will gain much from it.

During the past two decades, a major issue of debate on the French Revolution has been whether the Terror was implicit in the events of 1789. Crubaugh's praiseworthy study bolsters a point often overlooked in that debate: the substantive nature of the major reforms legislated by the National Assembly and the beneficial effects that they had. It is to be hoped that this volume will serve to redirect debate to the more tangible and meaningful aspects of the work of the Assembly.

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TAMARA L. WHITED, *Forests and Peasant Politics in Modern France*. (Yale Agrarian Studies Series.) New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 274. \$32.50.

In a study both well written and clearly argued, Tamara L. Whited adds significantly to a growing genre that treats ecological history as a complex of political, cultural, social, and economic interactions in which there are no heroes or villains but rather a range of confrontations among competing interests and competing discourses of knowledge. Anyone who has spent much time in the archives is familiar with the enormous volume of peasant protest and rural crime in nineteenth-century France, most of it in one way or another related to perceived violations of traditional use rights on common lands. Nowhere were these more numerous and virulent than in the mountains

and highlands, where the extent of commons was the greatest. Although upheavals such as the War of the Demoiselles (1829–1831) in the Pyrenees capture our imagination, it is in the quotidian conflicts between a state administration that perceived itself as progressive, reformist, and ecologically correct and the targeted populations who lived from the mountains—in short, the politics of reforestation—that the real story is found. It rightly occupies Whited's attention.

North Americans tend to think of the problem of reforestation as a state-mediated struggle between voracious industrial interests and those concerned about the delicate ecological balance that sustains the life of the planet, without giving much thought given to the people who actually live among the forests. If they do, most assume that the indigenous populations were somehow in harmony with the land, the innocent victims, like so many endangered species, of the wood and paper multinationals stealing their birthright. (New research now questions the existence of this cherished "ecological Indian.") However, very little land in Europe is "wild" either in imagination or in reality and indeed has not been so for many centuries. The "landscape" (a quite modern concept in any case, as recently argued by Donna Landry for England in *The Invention of the Countryside, 1671–1831* [2001]) virtually everywhere revealed the hand of human beings as they reshaped the natural environment to their purposes. Mountainous regions provided the greatest challenges and the most precarious livelihoods, and the narrow margin of survival often might lead inhabitants toward strategies that could become ecologically dangerous over time, if not to them directly, at least to those who lived below.

Whited's story picks up at the point in the later eighteenth century when agricultural productivity became a concern of state policy—the age of the physiocrats. In the administrative mind, France's treasure lay in its fertile plains. Mountains were cast as peripheral economically, their peoples marginal in every respect, including physically and morally. Never mind that literacy rates among them were often higher than the toilers of the hills and flatlands, never mind that their men provided seasonal labor without which the harvests and a thousand other agricultural and industrial tasks crucial to lowland and urban economies would not have been performed profitably. (Whited curiously has little to say about temporary migration, which did so much to shape the culture, and especially gender roles, of mountain people, and Abel Chatelain's great work on it does not appear in her bibliography.) To be sure, mountain agriculture endured precariously, as terraced arable produced paltry yields and livestock, the principal source of subsistence and revenue, paled by comparison to species down below. As viewed by the forest administration, whose budget and authority increased after the revolution, highlanders were more than useless; they were positively harmful to the destinies of the nation precisely because they were involved in agriculture at all. Pas-

tures near their hamlets and especially the high clearances for transhumant flocks denuded the slopes of precious leaves, needles, undergrowth, and mulch that might otherwise absorb precipitation, impede the torrents that devastated villages and bourgs of the higher valleys, and above all prevent the horrendous floods that the great river valleys of the plains seemed to be experiencing with increasing frequency in the nineteenth century. Thus, rather than a battle to limit the ecological depredations of the timber industry (the familiar American story), power-knowledge and its minions in nineteenth-century France went to war with the mountain peasantry. Whited notes that scientifically trained foresters—and this book is very much a contribution to the history of science with a Foucauldian bent—were probably wrong in their obsession with absorption and erosion, but imbued with the spirit that all ills had a cure, they could not bring themselves to sit by passively and study meteorology. Had they had a better sense of history, they might have realized that agro-silvo-pastoralism was hardly a new phenomenon and that the decline of forests and the high cost of wood had more to do with the needs of the military state, as would soon be rediscovered in the trenches of World War I, than with peasants tending their flocks. Nineteenth-century weather (as in the thirteenth and the seventeenth) was the culprit.

Most of the book, and its most original theme, chronicles in some detail the history of this peasant war in the nineteenth and (to a lesser degree) in the twentieth century. Plans for reforestation, for which the forest administration received growing popular support from romantic seekers of magnificent vistas, a burgeoning tourist industry promoting hunting, fishing, hiking, and (finally) skiing, and various other middle-class visionaries of a land “returned to nature,” detailed in successive revisions of the Forest Code, took aim mainly at communally owned property, thus pitting municipalities against the central state. There were plenty of revolts, lots of petty violence and simple crime, but the main avenue—and increasingly so during the Third Republic (after the “apprenticeship” of the Second)—was a generalized politics of inertia, fueled certainly by electoral political campaigns, but not having much to do with who won or lost. On a daily basis, people demonstrated, cajoled, negotiated, frightened, just said no, and the state bent. In her detailed analysis of these processes (James Scott’s “weapons of the weak”) as they transpired in the Ariège and Savoie departments, Whited demonstrates that alpine peasants, relegated by Karl Marx and Eugen Weber alike to the ranks of the most backward of the backward, used their intelligence to reshape the history of reforestation in France not just in their interest but, because of their local knowledge as it interacted with the scientific knowledge of the experts, in the general interest of the nation. This book joins a growing list of studies in France and elsewhere that take rural people seriously, showing how they neither

simply resisted nor adjusted to modernity, but, in the words of Marshall Sahlins, “indigenized” it.

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SOPHIA ROSENFELD. *A Revolution in Language: The Problem of Signs in Late Eighteenth-Century France*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 310. \$60.00.

This provocative book begins with the mid-eighteenth-century concern over the so-called “abuse of words.” Contemporary intellectuals, Sophia Rosenfeld writes, claimed that French as spoken at court and in Paris had lost its capacity to convey meaning crisply by 1750; one obscure writer compared French speakers to parrots who mouthed words without any sense of their significance. Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and others approached this problem by hypothesizing a lost moment in the early days of human history when people communicated via a *langage d'action*, or a communicative repertory that perfectly aligned simple gestures with the objects they were intended to represent. Rosenfeld carefully lays out contemporary arguments for and against the purity and efficacy of this imagined form of early communication; not all commentators were convinced that a gestural language, no matter how subtle, could express abstract, philosophical ideas.

The book really takes off, however, in the following two chapters, where Rosenfeld turns to pre-1789 experiments with gestural language, or “pantomime,” in the Parisian theater and in the teaching of the deaf. Not content to trace the history of these language debates solely through the texts of the canonical thinkers, she examines the innovations of the choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre, who argued for a new form of dance beginning in 1760. Noverre theorized a *ballet d'action* where dance would become an imitative art, capable of evoking profound passions through gesture and action. In other words, he put into practice onstage a gestural form of communication similar to that imagined in a bygone age by the philosophes. Pedagogical reformers before the revolution were also inspired by the myth of a lost, universal language. Their most striking experiment was conducted by the Abbé Charles-Michel de l'Épée, who created a sign language for deaf individuals that purported to instruct them in abstractions such as religion and civic duty. In this way, l'Épée's idiom moved beyond Noverre's concern with emotion to create a vocabulary capable of inspiring rational thought in individuals perceived as irrational. Taken together, these developments in theater and pedagogy allow Rosenfeld to demonstrate how French practitioners put enlightened thought into practice.

On their own, these first three chapters make a welcome interdisciplinary contribution to our understanding of the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment. Rosenfeld, however, has greater ambitions.

By the 1780s, she reports, intellectuals in a number of settings had taken up the question of language reform in tandem with that of political reform of the kingdom. It was a key feature of late Old Regime political culture, she argues, to conflate the abuse of words and the abuse of power; proposals to stabilize the meanings of spoken and gestural language were inseparable from reform of the polity as a whole. When the French created a National Assembly in 1789, it was almost a given that its deputies would soon begin a debate on language reform, a project informed by the experiments of Noverre and L'Épée, as well as the texts of Rousseau and others. Rosenfeld argues that the various projects for language reform mooted from 1789 to 1794 were closely associated with efforts to regenerate the nation. Once Maximilien Robespierre's faction fell on 9 Thermidor, however, political figures who doubled as linguistic theorists became pessimistic about the possibility of changing French linguistic practice; instead, they blamed the excesses of the Terror on the Jacobins' skill at obscuring the meaning of words while claiming to speak a purified language of revolutionary truth. By the end of the Directory, a loose amalgam of intellectuals known as "Ideologues" began to argue that the ideal of a perfectly transparent language, and implicitly a perfectly functioning political system, was unobtainable. After Napoleon Bonaparte came to power, thinkers no longer argued that it was possible to make all citizens linguistic equals; instead, one's place in the new order would now be determined, in part, by one's ability to decode the complex requirements of citizenship in the new state. The notion of an originary, egalitarian linguistic order, Rosenfeld writes, was once again confined to literature, the stage, and art after 1800, definitively uncoupled from any serious political vision.

Revisionist historians of the French Revolution, led by François Furet and Keith Baker, have argued for over two decades that the events from 1789 to 1794 are best understood as a form of symbolic politics contested through the medium of the spoken word. Until Rosenfeld's book, however, no one has attempted to explain in any convincing manner why the meanings and usage of words were so central to revolutionary political culture. Some readers may puzzle over her tendency to equate political culture exclusively with linguistic debate, at the expense of the festivals, visual images, songs, and other cultural practices that have recently found their historians. Others may wonder about the place of the printed word, a topic Rosenfeld omits from her discussion, in establishing genuine meaning and political authority during the revolution. These criticisms, however, do not lessen the importance of this well-researched and creatively argued book for those who claim that the revolution was, above all else, a misplaced and deadly struggle to determine who would speak for the nation.

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JON COWANS, *To Speak for the People: Public Opinion and the Problem of Legitimacy in the French Revolution*. New York: Routledge, 2001. Pp. 249. \$21.95.

Historians of political culture have been particularly attentive to the concept of public opinion and its function within the political language of prerevolutionary France. Informed by the work of Jürgen Habermas and Keith Baker, Jon Cowans extends the study of public opinion and its linguistic context into the revolutionary era itself. The author demonstrates the remarkable change in the concept of public opinion during the revolution by examining the language of speeches in the various assemblies, deliberations of the Jacobin Club in Paris, and commentary in assorted contemporary publications. The transformation of the Estates General into the National Assembly in June 1789 and the subsequent drafting of the Declaration of the Rights of Man led revolutionary leaders, according to Cowans, to associate public opinion with the sovereignty of the nation and the general will. Thus the Old Regime's notion of enlightened public opinion, which stood apart from the sovereign and judged his actions, was transformed into popular public opinion, which was equated with the sovereign authority of the nation. This conflation of opinion and sovereignty was largely responsible for the development of revolutionary attitudes regarding public opinion.

The elected deputies in the assemblies and the revolutionary publicists sought to determine public opinion through a wide variety of indicators including, at one time or another, the attitudes expressed in the *cahiers de doléances*, newspapers, political clubs, petitions, the assembly galleries, Parisian sectional meetings, elections, and popular uprisings. However, general agreement on a precise definition of public opinion or an assessment of its political vision could never be reached. Nothing resembling a valid evaluation of national opinion on particular issues was ever established. More problematic was the practice of all political factions from monarchists to Montagnards claiming the support of public opinion when it suited their purposes while alleging the manipulation or corruption of public opinion by malevolent parties when circumstances warranted. Cowans concludes that "to analyze the revolutionaries' uses of the term 'public opinion' can be hazardous," consisting as it does of "a cluster of ill-defined terms and neologisms intended to invoke the will of the sovereign people" (p. 191). This failure to establish a widely accepted understanding of the nature of public opinion ultimately prevented the revolutionaries from obtaining the legitimacy, derived from the support of public opinion, necessary to establish a permanent regime in France.

Although Cowans clearly demonstrates that the revolution altered the concept of public opinion, his analysis of the import and character of this change is not entirely convincing. After 1789, the revolutionary leaders in general understood public opinion to rest upon a broader base than society's enlightened elite.



and there can be little doubt that most accepted some kind of link between public opinion and the general will. But Cowans's assumption that public opinion was consistently equated with the sovereignty of the nation is not born out by the evidence that he provides. The assemblies' orators and various publicists displayed little fixed idea of the character of public opinion, which they frequently disparaged. In a manner similar to commentators before 1789, revolutionaries often portrayed public opinion as a reaction to events. On many occasions, public opinion, acting as an agent apart from established authority, offered a direct challenge to the sovereign power. In circumstances where the language or actions of some part of the populace contradicted or challenged the authority of the assembly, revolutionary leaders clearly described such activity as a manifestation of public opinion, although they refused to accept its legitimacy. When portraying public opinion as misguided or corrupted, orators like Maximilien Robespierre certainly did not equate it with the general will or the sovereign nation. Cowans's attempts to associate the constitutional issues of representation, the separation of powers, and electoral procedures with public opinion are even less persuasive, and his long digressions on problems with the various revolutionary constitutions obfuscate rather than clarify the role that public opinion itself played during the 1790s.

In the end, Cowans's insistence that revolutionary public opinion be consistently linked to national sovereignty limits the analytical possibilities latent in this topic. Based on the evidence he provides, the revolutionary orators and public commentators, like their Old Regime counterparts, continued to understand public opinion in certain circumstances to be a force separate from the sovereign power. When public opinion challenged revolutionary authority, it continued in pre-1789 fashion to function as a tribunal. By assuming that the revolutionaries understood public opinion to be the equivalent of national sovereignty, however, the author often remains blind to what these men actually were saying. More attention to the context in which the language of public opinion was employed and a deeper exploration of its use in specific circumstances would reveal a considerably more complete and nuanced understanding of its meaning during the revolution.

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ALAIN CORBIN. *The Life of an Unknown: The Rediscovered World of a Clog Maker in Nineteenth-Century France*. Translated by ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER. (European Perspectives.) New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 271. \$27.50.

"I am probably the first historian ever to devote years to the resurrection of an individual about whom I still know nothing," writes Alain Corbin in his preface. Corbin, first remarked for a compelling study of rural nineteenth-century Limousin, has specialized in unex-

pected topics ever since: smellscape and soundscapes, seashores, seascapes, prostitutes, and village cannibals. This time the venturer tackles a man without a history and barely a record of existence who, but for Corbin's intervention, would have vanished without a trace.

Other invisible men (in Ralph Ellison's sense) have made themselves visible: Agricol Perdiguier, the journeyman carpenter elected a representative of the people in 1848; Martin Nadaud, the migrant mason appointed prefect of his native Creuse in 1870, who died in 1889 still his department's deputy. Not to mention the true fiction of Emile Guillaumin's *Life of a Simple Man* (1904), which recounts the story of a sharecropper of the Allier, almost contemporary of Corbin's "unknown." Corbin might say that Perdiguier and Nadaud lost nonentity status when they went to town, learnt to read and write and to speak French; and that Guillaumin, although he lived like a peasant, really stood with literate and politicized *horsains*. Corbin, for his part, had sought a subject so ordinary as to be colorless, his footprints unnoticed in the sands of time, and has set out to recreate not a "life and times" but, from disparate evidence, to assemble a puzzle: the ordinary existence of a very ordinary man.

In the end, the unknown is scarcely fathomed, but his world is rediscovered as promised. The man is Louis-François Pinagot (1798–1876). His context is a hamlet (131 souls today) called Origny-le-Butin, not far from Bellême in the Orne, where Pinagot lived on the edge of a forest that furnished raw material for the clogs he carved. Only 114 acres overall, the diminutive commune had no chateau (hence no source of patronage), no market, no fair (although thirty-three annual fairs took place within fifteen miles). In 1831, the population consisted of fifty people living in thirteen households. That year's census missed the molecatcher but recorded a baker, two weavers, one gelder with a sideline as an exorcist, no inn, and no shops. A grocer appears in 1844; by 1848 a church, a cemetery, two inns, a bakery, and a tobacco shop. Also a cartwright, but no blacksmith or harness maker, which reflects a paucity of horses in an area known for them.

This was the bocage of the *Perche ornaise*, a humid, hilly, bosky land of high ubiquitous hedges; of apple trees that furnished the local tippie, cider; of moors, swamps, bogs, later drained and planted; and of great forests like that of Bellême nearby, good for poaching, invasive grazing, gathering of dead wood, herbs, leaves, and fern for stable litter. A humble society scraped a meager living: clog makers, bucket makers, hamper and basket makers, loggers, long sawyers, carters, haulers, and woodworkers marked by downward social mobility, yet versatile enough to avoid going hungry too often. Womenfolk helped by spinning or, later, by making gloves of leather or of net for the Paris market. Children were hired out as domestic servants or farm help. And both sexes labored in bog or field, on the family acre or at whatever job was going.

Between 1810, when young Louis-François went to

work, and the spring of 1856, famine struck Origny and its surroundings nineteen times, accelerating infanticidal proclivities and reducing helpless churls to begging, stealing, or starving. After 1856, Pinagot and his neighbors never experienced such horrors again. Railways now carried grain to where it might be lacking, and economic progress under the Second Empire trickled down to clog makers too. In 1858, the once-indigent Pinagot bought a tiny cottage boasting one door and one window. In 1871, his eldest son was elected to the municipal council. Locals continued to speak "crippled French," unintelligible to outsiders, but their offspring learned the national language. In 1819, of seventy-one children eligible for school, only eight boys and four girls attended. By the empire's end, a new school was in operation, and indigent children were admitted free. For Origny and for the Pinagots, things were looking up.

Corbin has used his quarry to do a splendid job. The book is rather dry, the "life" is not a life, the unknown remains unknown. Corbin has, however, put flesh on the bones of a small society and a corner of France that stand out more clearly thanks to his work.

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PAMELA PILBEAM, *French Socialists Before Marx: Workers, Women and the Social Question in France*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 259. Cloth \$70.00, paper \$29.95.

During the past generation, historians of nineteenth-century France have focused extensively on the social and cultural history of the republican and socialist left. There are new studies of the thought of socialist luminaries like Henri de Saint-Simon, Charles Fourier, and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, new analyses of the French workers in the cities and countryside, and pathbreaking studies of working-class culture. This scholarship has dismantled the Marxist paradigm that informed much of the earlier literature and has led to a widely held appreciation of the importance of "associative socialism" in the thought and activities of the French Left. It also has demonstrated that nineteenth-century French socialists varied widely in their reform proposals; "association" was a capacious ideal that was, to borrow a phrase of R. R. Palmer, not so much empty as overfull. The implication of this is that French socialism encompassed a variety of stances on central issues like property, revolution, work, and women. Socialist proposals ran the gamut from fantastic "utopian" grand schemes to minor practical reforms.

Pamela Pilbeam's new book, to its credit, relies extensively on this new scholarship, but it is curious to find it billed as "a fresh interpretation" that "rescues the early socialists from the mixture of faint praise and scorn that has characterized much of recent historiography." There is more than a little here of forcing an

open door. But, in spite of this inflated claim, the book offers a useful summary of many issues and, on some fronts, pushes the investigation along.

The book is organized thematically, which highlights the similarities and differences among socialists. "Through a thematic investigation," she writes, "it is apparent that socialists (and radicals) shared many basic ideas, including: the same initial starting point, the 1789 Revolution; a belief in the value of education; and the need to improve the legal and educational status of women, address contemporary employment problems through cooperative, not capitalist, enterprises, and above all, take concrete action to attack the social question. Many also had profound religious convictions" (p. 2). Pilbeam clearly recognizes the variety subsumed under the label "socialist." "Early socialists," she writes, "were more than daydreamers. Although some of them had their dreams and their utopian worlds continue to exercise a fascination, others were very down to earth. Many were not middle-class chatterers but artisans, whose socialism consisted of forming and belonging to mutual-aid groups, producer and retail cooperatives and radical clubs. They were passionate readers, writers and educators" (p. 198). This correctly captures the multiplicity of socialist views in France during the nineteenth century. Given this, it comes as no great surprise that Pilbeam presents some writers more sympathetically than others—she prefers practical reformers over "the prophets of Paris." More startling are the occasional contemporary references, as when, in her discussion of the escapist dream-world nature of Etienne Cabet's *Voyage en Icarie* (1842), she asks: "Was Cabet the Barbara Cartland of the 1840s?" (p. 129).

The most interesting chapters, in this reviewer's opinion, are those that avoid such anachronistic references and look for the commonalities of nineteenth-century stances on a particular issue. There is an engaging examination, for example, of the "New Woman" in a chapter that contains clear discussions of the contentious issues of divorce and suffrage reform. There is also a good discussion of the complexity of the issue of association and the "right to work" in 1848. Pilbeam makes the interesting point that, while there was clearly conservative paranoia about the strength of socialism in 1848, there was, even after the June Days, a majority in the Chamber that wished to complete a national survey of economic and social problems, and that voted to provide three million francs for loans to members of the national workshops wishing to form producers' cooperatives.

French socialists of the nineteenth century believed that it was necessary to rectify what they considered to be gross economic inequities. But what unified them even more was what Jean Maitron has termed "a native sensibility to injustice," which nurtured a moral, even missionary, temperament that confidently looked ahead to improvement. That is, French socialists were economic thinkers who operated within a cultural envelope that assumed moral concerns to be self-

evident and believed progress to be inevitable. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, we are more cynical about beliefs in human progress and more despondent about the effects of morally informed human efforts on the complex environmental and social problems that confront modern humanity. This book reminds us that earlier socialists were sustained by a stronger faith in humanity's ability to overcome economic selfishness and achieve fraternity.

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KATRIN SCHULTHEISS. *Bodies and Souls: Politics and the Professionalization of Nursing in France, 1880–1922*. (Harvard Historical Studies, number 139.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. vi, 248. \$49.95.

This useful study of professional nursing in France in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries makes a significant contribution to two important historical debates. The book explores the pervasive resistance to accepting women as authoritative professionals. Katrin Schultheiss analyzes the repeated struggles that led to the late and grudging recognition of nursing as a profession. She also demonstrates that this advance depended on an essentialist view of women. In the late nineteenth century, woman's entrée into a profession was linked to her "innate feminine virtues." Proponents and opponents of professionalizing nursing agreed that nurses must have "essential feminine" attributes. Professional standards were easily subordinated to expectations about the timeless "feminine."

Schultheiss offers a rich and detailed examination of lay nursing in France from 1880 to 1922. She places these developments in the complex context of laicization, professionalization, medical advances, and the feminization of work. Nursing was an intensely contested arena in which various actors vied for influence: anticlerical Radical politicians, clericals and their supporters, hospital doctors, the lay nonskilled hospital staff, the Red Cross and its volunteer "nurses," and nursing reformers. Until 1922, there was no uniform national standard for nursing. There was not even an agreement that nursing constituted a profession. Schultheiss presents three different nursing experiences, analyzing their promoters, opponents, and national implications.

The removal of the Catholic sisters and their replacement with lay nurses was a high priority for the Radical-led Paris municipal government. By the first decade of the twentieth century it had succeeded, at least in all hospitals administered by the Assistance Publique. Schultheiss stresses that support for laicization was not synonymous with support for professionalization. Radical politicians had little interest in creating a feminine profession, hospital doctors doubted the skill of lay nurses, and the existing lay staff were suspicious of change and poorly prepared for training. The nuns were gone, but questions persisted about the professional level of nursing care.

In Lyons, religious women continued to staff the municipal hospital. The hospital administration was entirely independent of the municipal council, and its conservative members insisted on maintaining the nursing sisters. These religious women were in a unique situation, being entirely subordinate to the lay hospital administration and not governed by a Catholic congregation. The administrators, some of whom called themselves republicans, fought assiduously to protect the sisters and their own power over them. Another factor in this defense of the status quo was the absence of adequately trained lay nurses. In the end, the conservative hospital administration succeeded and the sisters stayed.

The situation in Bordeaux was quite the opposite. There the enterprising Dr. Anna Hamilton established a professional training school for nurses within the private Protestant hospital. Hamilton fought a life-long struggle to bring the English model of nursing (à la Florence Nightingale) to France. She defined professional nursing as direct patient care, the complete feminization of the profession, and rigorous schooling. This type of nursing would attract respectable, middle-class young women. By 1914, eight schools on this model had been established, and graduates easily found placements. But this was limited progress and only possible in Bordeaux with the support of a sympathetic Radical mayor.

Most reformers considered the transformation of nursing into a middle-class feminine profession as essential. This placed them in opposition to the union organizers of working-class hospital workers. In the first decade of the twentieth century, militant syndicalists organized Paris hospital workers. These women and a considerable number of men were responsible for hospital general services—kitchen, laundry, maintenance. The unions' male leadership sharply criticized the reformers' call for feminization and they questioned the need for rigorous professionalization. These unions pledged no-strikes and were ephemeral, but they clearly expressed an alternate view of hospital organization and staffing.

The reformers were also critical of the affluent wartime volunteers of the Red Cross. Schultheiss's discussion of the "lady nurses" of World War I reinforces the view that the war was not simply an emancipatory experience for women. The Red Cross recruited approximately 100,000 affluent, sometimes aristocratic female volunteers. They received three months "training" and then were sent out to military hospitals. Schultheiss underscores that the powerful icon of the wartime nurse was not one of a skilled professional but rather one of the patriotic republican mother. The professionalism that French reformers had been struggling for was undermined by the assumption that any "real" woman could be a nurse.

Nurses were in great demand during the postwar period. With growing interest in social hygiene, infant survival, and birth rates, new nursing specialties emerged. By the 1920s there was a shortage of nurses.

Schultheiss concludes with the creation of the 1922 state diploma in nursing. In her view, the diploma symbolized the contradictions surrounding professional nursing and more generally women's position within the republic. The diploma required a two-year program of study but was not mandatory in order to practice. Reformers had successfully disconnected nursing from religious vocation and from manual domestic work. They had created an image of health care professionals, but one that remained bound to a traditional feminine ideal, an essentialist identity. Schultheiss perceptively presents this paradox as emblematic of the pervasive stalemate of "female citizenship" in the Third Republic.

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LISA TIERSTEN. *Marianne in the Market: Envisioning Consumer Society in Fin-de-Siècle France*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 321. \$45.00.

Lisa Tiersten's contribution to a growing literature on consumer culture examines the relationship between *fin de siècle* consumerism and the consolidation of the French republic. Marianne on postage stamps and in city halls emerged relatively early as a symbol of republican consensus: Marianne in the market, however, aroused far greater anxieties. The combination of a competitive market and a free society generated concerns that ranged from the stability of families to the decline of French taste. Convinced that women and shopping were a volatile and irrational combination governed by wayward desire, nineteenth-century observers feared that the distance between a liberal economy and a licentious consuming public was dangerously short. Tiersten assembles evidence from marketers, taste professionals, and social critics to explore how the Third Republic came to terms with the marketplace and the female consumer.

In the first section, Tiersten outlines the problem of the market as early Third Republic commentators understood it. First, consumerism fostered an egotistical individualism. The Parisian department store was the natural home of the selfish shopper, who was, inevitably, female. The department store primarily threatened the family, and only indirectly the republican polity: thus the Catholic right joined staunch republicans in bemoaning the stores' encouragement of social pathologies ranging from impulse buying to kleptomania. Second, mass consumerism put France's aesthetic patrimony in jeopardy. Democratic access to the market might mean declining standards and the end of a time-honored association between good taste and all things French. Particularly interesting in this context is Tiersten's discussion of debates within French advertising: could advertising be a worthy part of France's cultural heritage, producing commercial images of artistic value, or should publicists merely concentrate on selling products? In these first chap-

ters, Tiersten effectively summarizes arguments linking gender, consumerism, and citizenship: could the French republic survive a culture of vulgar and unrestrained luxury that spilled out of the market into bourgeois homes?

The market's response to these *fin de siècle* anxieties forms the core of the second, and more original, section of Tiersten's book. A host of marketers, taste professionals, journalists, and arts educators argued that Marianne was not at the mercy of market forces. With appropriate advice, she could be a rational shopper, and consumption could be, in Tiersten's phrase, "civilized." This rehabilitation of consumerism "aestheticize[d] the market" and "recast the chic Parisienne as a figure of taste and moral probity" (p. 90). A rhetoric of "chic" transformed behavior previously labeled egotistical or crass: eclecticism, the strong mark of individual taste, and a willingness to search every store in Paris for exactly the right item were all chic, and all came naturally to the Parisienne. Chic, moreover, was a democratic quality: advice literature overflowed with assertions that the inexpensive but original toilette or domestic interior far outshone the merely luxurious. What Tiersten calls "marketplace modernism"—consumers' appropriation of the modernist view that the artistic imagination transformed the quotidian into art—defused the threat of the consumer market by establishing taste as its discursive regulator. Shoppers governed by the aesthetic of chic were subject neither to the blandishments of unscrupulous advertisers nor to their own weak characters.

This book focuses on arguments conducted around, over, and about female consumers, who themselves rarely appear. Thus the final verdict on the relationship between marketplace modernism and female citizenship remains uncertain: it is difficult to identify exactly what opportunities for women were opened or foreclosed by the republicanization of the market. New ideologies valuing consumer choice enabled shoppers to reject the dictates of art nouveau that "divested the consumer of her aesthetic authority" (p. 178). Tiersten convincingly assures us that these aesthetic choices had political implications, but it is not clear what political capital a chic Parisienne might accrue. What consequences did the republicanization of the market have for its female denizens' relationship to the state? Tiersten implies that Frenchwomen were unable to convert aesthetic authority into improved political status, and she focuses on marketers' assertions that women had more in common with the beautiful objects they purchased than with the artists who created them. Republican taste experts may have maintained that female consumption really anchored women firmly in their domestic worlds, but France's new women of the *fin de siècle* almost certainly interpreted their consumer behavior in different terms. It seems likely that multiple discourses of a republican market emerged under the Third Republic.

Tiersten's book is a welcome addition to a scholarly literature that examines ideologies of competition,



gender, social organization, and consumerism as part of the process of industrialization and the creation of modern economies. Moving beyond production figures, this research situates economic developments in a more complex and satisfying story that integrates politics and society. Tiersten's account of the Third Republic's unease with the competitive market as the model for social and political order is a stimulating example of this genre.

CAROL E. HARRISON  
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BENJAMIN F. MARTIN. *France and the Après Guerre 1918–1924: Illusions and Disillusionment*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1999. Pp. xii, 278. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$22.50.

When the fighting stopped in 1918, the French knew the terrible price they had paid in blood for victory in World War I. It took them years more to discern the scale of the war's economic and social effects and to discover the difficulties of getting Germany to pay reparations. As Benjamin F. Martin shows in this artfully written book, the peacetime hopes of 1919 for restoring much of what France had been before the war gradually gave way to disillusionment. Martin argues that, by 1925, the shortcomings and errors of political leaders at home and abroad had further diminished France's standing as a great power. Martin regards these failures as betrayals, and two stand out: the unwillingness of the British and Americans to enforce the Versailles Treaty, and the refusal of French leaders to acknowledge the depth of the economic problems facing France and the sacrifices required to overcome them. Martin endorses the view of historian Jean-Baptiste Duroselle that, had Georges Clemenceau used his prestige in 1919 to push through tax hikes to help cover war debts and the costs of reconstruction, thereby bolstering the franc, France could have operated more independently from Britain and the United States. The failure to do so condemned France to the reparations impasse and what it spawned: antagonism with Britain, the Ruhr Occupation, and a falling franc. Martin regards the Dawes Plan and the return of American capital to Europe in 1924 as an all too fragile basis for stability. He closes on a note of bleak pessimism, describing the Locarno Treaty, the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact, the Young Plan, and the Poincaré franc as so many new illusions doomed to be shattered by 1940.

This story, of course, has been told before and in greater depth. To analyze the economics and diplomacy of the reparations controversy, Martin draws faithfully on the work of Marc Trachtenberg, Walter McDougall, and Stephen Schucker. What makes Martin's book original is his effort to put politicians and parliamentary debate back into the center of the narrative, as well as to write about the "centimes of daily life" alongside the "pricier events" of national and international politics. This focus on picturesque

details brings mixed results. Martin provides a superb account, for example, of how the collapse of Russian bonds after 1917 destroyed the savings of many rentiers and with it a way of life for the French middle class. But too much of Martin's "small change" centers on what appeared to be an unusually high incidence of suicide and crime, especially murders, cocaine peddling, and the fleeting appearance in 1922 of "*vitrioleurs*," attackers throwing vitriol on the fur coats of women walking in Paris. These vignettes make for wonderful reading but fail to shed enough light on the experience of most men and women to make this book a breakthrough in social history.

As political history, however, the book is of great value, especially for what it reveals about the Right. Clemenceau, Alexandre Millerand, Aristide Briand, and Raymond Poincaré appear in their full complexity, as flawed characters nursing longstanding personal rivalries, yet each at the top of his parliamentary game as they struggled to find a viable path to postwar recovery. By integrating the reparations story into an account of how these men held together a right-wing National Bloc coalition of competing factions, Martin shows how tightly party politics constrained them, and how adroitly Poincaré in particular still managed to maneuver. By 1923, however, even Poincaré found it impossible to govern from the political center, as was his preference, and to nurture a spirit of national unity, a new *union sacrée*, when he sent the French army into the Ruhr. France was settling into the politics of polarization that would shape the fate of the Third Republic right down to the defeat of 1940. A full accounting of why this happened would require more exploration of the revival of the Left than Martin undertakes here. Nor does he assess in depth the electoral landscape and interest group politics that governed politics beyond the walls of parliament. Still, by analyzing the full scope of the political challenge French leaders faced in the early 1920s, and by bringing into focus the often raucous debate on the floors of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, Martin has greatly enlarged our understanding of why politicians viewed their choices as they did. His vivid writing and skillful explanations of even the more recondite aspects of reparations policy make this book admirably accessible to a wide audience.

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FRANCINE MUEL-DREYFUS. *Vichy and the Eternal Feminine: A Contribution to a Political-Sociology of Gender*. Translated by KATHLEEN A. JOHNSON. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. 387. Cloth \$64.95, paper \$21.95.

Warning! Reading this book may cause you to experience a sense of time warp. The author, Francine Muel-Dreyfus, believes that she is describing the ideology of a regime that ended over fifty years ago (the Vichy government that ruled France during the Ger-

man Occupation in World War II), and she is, but contemporary readers in the United States may experience moments of uncanny recognition in what she describes. This is testimony to the book's relevance in the present, although the work is also a commanding study of a specific moment in the past.

The aim of Muel-Dreyfus's book is to show how social processes work to produce certain beliefs about gender, in this case the ideology that the gender differences between men and women are both natural and unchanging, an ideology that Muel-Dreyfus calls, borrowing from the discourses she analyzes, "the eternal feminine." She focuses on the period of France's National Revolution (as the Vichy government styled itself) because it serves as "a laboratory of ideas" in which one can observe "the processes for imposing certain symbolic representations of the male/female opposition, as well as the way these representations structure both perception and the practical and symbolic organization of social life" (p. 2).

The book is divided into three sections, each section comprising two or three chapters, and each chapter focusing on a different topic (such as attitudes of the church, the rhetoric of family as a political unit, debates about education). Muel-Dreyfus describes herself as a sociologist, but as her subtitle indicates, this is more a "political" sociology than the quantitative kind, more intellectual history than social science. To study gender relations is, for Muel-Dreyfus along with many others, to study power relations, so the point of the exercise is not merely to review the ways women (and men) were manipulated by the ideological rhetoric of a certain time, but to gain insight about how such processes of symbolic violence work in general.

The lessons to be learned from Muel-Dreyfus's analysis apply as much to the present as to the past. As I read this book, for example, a woman was on trial for killing her five children. Her husband believed that "Man is the breadwinner and woman is the homemaker. It's the way it's been for years." Despite the problem of interpreting "for years" (fifty years? a hundred? a thousand?), it is clear that Russell Yates is a firm believer in the "eternal feminine," and that the symbolic—and ensuing literal—violence of such ideology is every bit as evident today. In this belief system, femininity is an essence that escapes historical definition. Muel-Dreyfus studies various manifestations of the idea in a number of discourses (for example, the work of public intellectuals, the pronouncements of the church, and government policy). Her analysis shows how France's defeat in 1940 was blamed on women, just as the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, were blamed on feminists and gays (among others) by certain conservative forces within the United States. It is hard not to hear an echo of the general call to "protect marriage" (p. 73) and specific theories that women "need" marriage (p. 77) in President George W. Bush's recent pronouncements encouraging marriage for single mothers.

Thus, there are some striking parallels between

France in 1941 and the United States in 2002 that should give pause for thought, especially given the widespread sense today that the Vichy government was not just conservative, but downright evil. I don't mean to suggest that there are no important differences between then and now. Muel-Dreyfus's analysis of the confluence of ideas coming from intellectuals, the government, the church, the medical profession, and just about every social and cultural institution you care to name suggests that there was almost no rhetorical space to challenge the "eternal feminine," no other position possible except on the margins. It is hard to imagine that official governmental discourse would be so overtly classist, anti-Semitic, and antidemocratic today, but it is easier to see such patterns (and learn from them) in the past than to see the power relations that shape us now. As Muel-Dreyfus reminds us, however, the state always has a political stake in the construction of femininity, and such discourse is prone to resurfacing, particularly in moments of crisis. This is an important work of history and of women's studies, but also a work of cultural studies, since the "eternal feminine" is so obviously still with us.

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NICOLA COOPER. *France in Indochina: Colonial Encounters*. New York: Berg. 2001. Pp. ix, 240. \$19.50.

Nicola Cooper has presented an incisive, original, and valuable but also troubling analysis of French colonial discourse regarding Indochina, chiefly Vietnam, from the conquest to the present day. She examines the more salient documents or literary texts, appropriately keeping all her citations in French. She avoids most statements of French intellectuals and politicians, except occasionally for French Communists, and never considers any Vietnamese responses. In fact she rarely considers how the social, economic, and political realities in Indochina conformed to, or contradicted, the perceptions emanating from metropolitan France.

Half the book concerns the French "construction" of Indochina until the 1930s in which the colonial discourse emphasized *devoir*, *responsabilité*, and *générosité*, all part of France's *mission civilisatrice*. Not until after the Vietnamese nationalist uprising at Yen Bay (1930) did certain French writers, chiefly journalists (e.g. Andrée Viollis) who had travelled to Indochina, question the basic assumptions of humanitarianism and progressive development and advocate a number of reforms. Yet even these critics accepted most of the colonial rhetoric and never endorsed the demands of Vietnamese nationalists.

Cooper also examines a number of French histories, school texts, novels, architectural projects, and, above all, the Colonial Exhibition of 1931, stressing the symbolism in the reconstruction of the Cambodian temples at Angkor Wat. She carefully points out a number of ambiguities, contradictions, and paradoxes, particularly how the French were torn between a policy

of "assimilation" (i.e. trying to impose French culture) and one of "association" (i.e. accepting some of the values of indigenous cultures). She also deftly portrays the alternating "masculinizing" and "feminizing" images used to describe the colonial project.

However, Cooper makes a number of bland, uncritical, and unsupported statements, for example about how the French "industrialized" and "modernized" Indochina, built schools and hospitals, and gradually adopted more "humanitarian-minded" policies without examining the dismal realities behind these assumptions (pp. 10–11, 19). This is deeply troubling. Cooper says nothing about how the French built three times as many prisons as schools, how by 1939 only two percent of Vietnamese children were getting even an elementary education, how there were scarcely enough French doctors (139) to serve the 30,000 European colonists, or how tens of thousands of laborers died building railroads or working on rubber plantations. The list could go on. Nor does she delve into the nature of Vietnamese nationalism.

Cooper does consider a number of "counter-narratives" that reveal the "discomfort, unease or dissent" in seemingly procolonial texts. Her chosen writers (e.g. Marguerite Duras and Claude Farrère) portray the "disjunction between the colonial ideal and the reality of settler life in Indochina," increasingly "feminizing" the latter, as they describe colonial failure and disillusionment. Images of death and impotence proliferate, and the Franco-Indochinese "marriage" "becomes a fraught male/female, and often voyeuristic, sexual union" (p. 135). Cooper is at her best in dissecting this kind of colonial discourse, and I cannot do justice here to all her keen insights. Particularly interesting is her discussion of "indigenization" or "*encongayement*" (from the Vietnamese *con gai* for "concubine") to suggest the moral degeneration of the French imperial mission.

Finally, Cooper considers certain colonial images at the end of French rule and the persistence of a very troubling "residual colonial mentality" in postcolonial discourse. The chapter on Dien Bien Phu relies mostly on the accounts and photos of *Paris Match* with its ready comparisons to the heroism and martyrdom of Verdun, images of "fanatical yellow masses," and the use of nurse Geneviève Galard, the "Angel of Dien Bien Phu," to balance traditionally "masculinized" descriptions of the French presence.

Cooper then skips to the Vietnamese "boat people" of the late 1970s and their warm embrace in France, in striking contrast to the hostility that has greeted Maghrebian and black African immigrants. Residual images of the Indochinese (who constitute only a small part of the immigrant population) as "docile, placid, peaceful" peasants largely explain this anomaly. Viewing the Vietnamese as victims of the American war and then of communist rule, the French conveniently forgot the "negative and exploitative aspects" of their own rule in Indochina, something only certain French Communists wanted to recall. By the 1990s, amnesia

yielded to nostalgic, romanticized, and most ahistorical views of French Indochina, even in Pierre Schoendoerffer's semidocumentary films on the French war. France today also insists on including Vietnam in the francophone world, even though English is now clearly the preferred second language there.

Although Cooper seems to force her arguments somewhat at the end with selective "case histories," overall her analyses should provoke much fruitful discussion among advanced students of and specialists in literature, history, and francophone studies.

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DANIEL BOURGEOIS. *Das Geschäft mit Hitlerdeutschland: Schweizer Wirtschaft und Drittes Reich*. Translated by BIRGIT ALTHALER. Zurich: Rotpunktverlag, 2000. Pp. 297.

In recent years, the role of Switzerland and the Swiss in World War II has come under intense, often hostile scrutiny. In large part, it has been voices from outside Switzerland that have raised these charges, most powerfully in the form of the Eizenstat Report issued by the U.S. State Department in 1997. This report accused Switzerland of profiting from lucrative financial relations with Nazi Germany while helping to prolong the most costly war in human history. Criticism of Swiss policy has, however, never been confined to outsiders. In the 1950s and 1960s, a number of official commissions investigated particularly embarrassing issues, including the conduct of refugee policy. The late 1960s also saw the emergence of a revisionist brand of academic scholarship that challenged the comfortable myths of Switzerland's proud neutrality, liberalism, and humanitarianism. In 1997, the Federal Council created the Bergier Commission, a team of Swiss and Anglo-American experts, to provide a comprehensive evaluation of Switzerland's entanglement with Nazi Germany. Among the investigators who contributed to the Bergier Commission's work was Daniel Bourgeois, a French-Swiss historian attached to the federal archive in Bern. The work under review brings together a selection of his essays spanning almost three decades. They reveal Bourgeois to have been one of the pioneers who opened the path toward a more critical view of Swiss history.

According to Bourgeois, the susceptibility of Swiss elites to the fascist temptation was rooted in the trauma of 1917–1918. The Bolshevik revolution and the short-lived Swiss general strike of November 1918 fostered a virulent anticommunism among influential sections of Swiss society. In the 1930s, it was the anticommunist right that campaigned for Switzerland to distance itself from the League of Nations. In 1940–1941, at the height of Adolf Hitler's power, the same people demanded a thoroughgoing accommodation to the New European Order, even if this meant the sacrifice of Swiss liberty and neutrality. It was from within this group that calls were made to silence

Switzerland's overwhelmingly liberal press. It was also this group that organized the dispatch of a Swiss medical team to provide assistance for the German crusade on the Eastern Front. Bourgeois is thus determined to stress that collaboration had deep roots and came perilously close, during the early years of World War II, to tipping Switzerland into the Axis camp. However, as Bourgeois also makes clear, the pro-Nazi faction was never a majority within the Swiss elite, and its period of influence was short lived. By the end of 1941, the Federal government was well aware that the balance of military force had shifted decisively against Germany, and pro-German voices were silenced.

This does not, however, mean that Swiss collaboration ended with the frustration of Operation Barbarossa. The most important motive for Swiss-German cooperation was not ideology but cynical pragmatism. The Swiss and German economies were locked in a close mutual dependence. The Swiss were critically dependent on imports from Germany, particularly of coal. Germany was also Switzerland's major export market. Not surprisingly, economic necessity has always been the chief argument offered by those seeking to defend Swiss collaboration. By contrast, Bourgeois is at pains to argue that Germany needed Switzerland almost as much as the Swiss needed Germany. Switzerland provided Germany with key industrial imports. The Swiss central bank exchanged clean Swiss francs for tainted "Nazi gold" to the tune of a quarter of a billion dollars, thus allowing Germany to make important raw material purchases in other neutral countries. Finally, the Swiss Alpine passes were the vital artery connecting the economy of fascist Italy to Nazi Germany. Against the advocates of Swiss helplessness, Bourgeois, therefore, argues that the Swiss in fact had considerable room for maneuver. And yet, until the last months of the war, there was no determined effort to deny Swiss resources to the German war economy—far from it. In the spring of 1944, the sum of Swiss trade credits to Germany amounted to more than four times the total provided by all the other neutrals put together.

Swiss immigration was similarly dictated not by a deep ideological affinity with Nazism but by a combination of conventional anti-Semitism paired with a fear of the destabilizing consequences of mass immigration. Of course, Switzerland was not the only country that failed the Jews of Central Europe. But, as Bourgeois was among the first to prove, Switzerland has a special responsibility in two key respects. In 1938, it was Swiss bureaucrats who pressured the German police authorities into stamping a "J" into the passports of both German and Austrian Jews, thus enabling the seamless integration of Nazi racial categories into Swiss administrative practice. During World War II, Switzerland's role was unique both as the only reliable conduit for information about the Holocaust and as the only place of refuge for the Jews of Central Europe. And yet, as Bourgeois is able to document, the authorities clung doggedly to their policy of discrimi-

nation. Bourgeois endorses a figure of 24,400 for the number of people refused entry to or deported from Switzerland during World War II. The vast majority of these will have been Jews. The Bergier Commission has recently come to similar conclusions.

For readers of French and German, Bourgeois's essays will provide an excellent introduction to the self-critical mainstream of Swiss historiography. One can only hope that his work will soon benefit from an English translation.

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*La Suisse et les réfugiés à l'époque du national-socialisme*. Paris: Fayard, for the Commission indépendante d'experts Suisse—Seconde Guerre mondiale. 2000. pp. 471. FR140.00.

Switzerland's harsh treatment of Jewish refugees during the 1930s and World War II has long been a contentious issue, particularly in light of the nation's historic tradition of granting asylum to political refugees. In 1954, the Swiss Federal Council commissioned Carl Ludwig to investigate the question, and his publication (*Die Flüchtlingspolitik der Schweiz in den Jahren 1933 bis 1955: Bericht an den Bundesrat zuhanden der eidgenössischen Räte* [1957]) remains the authoritative text on the subject. While Ludwig focused primarily on government policy, wider research into the role of Swiss public opinion more generally inspired publications such as Alfred A. Hässler's *Das Boot ist voll: Die Schweiz und die Flüchtlinge 1933–1945* (1967), which film director Markus Imhoof subsequently turned into an award-winning film in 1980. In 1996, this issue assumed international significance when the Swiss parliament commissioned a team of independent historians, which was presided over by Jean-François Bergier and included among others Sybil Milton, Saul Friedländer, Harold James, and Georg Kries, to examine Switzerland's financial dealings with Nazi Germany. The commission's first task was to examine the question of whether Switzerland had served as a haven for Nazi gold during the war; this resulted in the publication *La Suisse et les transactions sur l'or pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale* (1998). Its members were also charged with investigating Swiss treatment of refugees from the 1930s to the post-World War II period. The result of their research is a major new synthesis, based on a wealth of new archival research and an extensive reading of the press, which will serve as the foundation for all further research on this topic.

Like its predecessors, this study devotes considerable attention to the two most controversial aspects of Swiss refugee policy: the complicity of the Swiss administration in the fall of 1938 with a Nazi decision to stamp the passports of all Jews with a "J," and the closing of the Swiss borders in August 1942 at the very moment when the Nazis were embarking on the mass deportations of Jews from France. The issue of the "J"



stamp has long been controversial, and some scholars have even contended that the Swiss, and especially Heinrich Rothmund, chief of the Federal Department of Justice and Police and principal architect of Swiss refugee policy throughout this period, were the first to suggest the use of this discriminatory insignia. Although the authors here acknowledge that there is no conclusive evidence to support this claim, aside from circumstantial evidence that Swiss police were already using a similar symbol to mark the naturalization dossiers of Jewish immigrants from 1936 on, they nevertheless point out that Swiss diplomats, in the wake of the Anschluss of March 1938 which brought an additional 5,500 to 6,500 refugees to Switzerland, began a desperate search for ways to keep further waves of Jewish refugees out, especially since these refugees were no longer being allowed to return to Germany or Austria. The Swiss now had two options: they could either have imposed a general visa requirement on all Germans, a move that would have obstructed bilateral trade and tourism and would have provoked German retaliation, or they could have tried to persuade the Germans to designate the passports of Jews in some special way, a move that did not threaten trade or tourism to the same degree but that risked making the Swiss complicit in the enforcement of Nazi racial legislation. Although Swiss officials, including Rothmund himself, initially expressed concern over the legal implications of accepting such a discriminatory policy, especially since it entailed discrimination against Swiss Jewish nationals living in Germany as well, the Swiss ultimately agreed to the German proposition to stamp all Jewish passports with a "J," and they simultaneously elicited Nazi assurances that German police would henceforth steer all bearers of these passports away from the Swiss frontier. This policy, which was implemented just weeks prior to Kristallnacht, meant that from now on only bearers of Swiss entry visas, which were now being doled out in an extremely parsimonious fashion, would be allowed to enter Switzerland legally. As for illegal refugees, a federal decree of October 17, 1939, mandated that they were to be mercilessly repelled at the border by Swiss police.

Even more controversial was Rothmund's decision of August 4, 1942—at the height of the deportations of foreign Jews from France—to close the borders to all civilian refugees, regardless of the fact that these refugees now faced almost certain death. As Walter Laqueur and others have shown, Swiss officials, as representatives of a neutral country with extensive diplomatic and commercial ties to Germany, were ideally situated to receive news of the Holocaust, and by August 1942 there was little doubt about the fate of the Jewish deportees. In the face of this catastrophe, public criticism of Rothmund's hardline policy began to mount, and even some government officials began to have second thoughts. Robert Jezler, Rothmund's chief deputy, argued in a report of July 30, 1942, that the policy of expelling all refugees who entered the

country illegally no longer made sense. But on August 13, Rothmund issued a circular reminding Swiss border police of their duty to expel all civilian refugees, since "[t]hose who have fled solely because of their race, the Jews for example, must not be considered political refugees" (p. 119). It was only in late 1942, and especially in 1943–44, due to a groundswell of public criticism, that the government began to send refugees to internment camps where they were accorded at least temporary asylum.

As to why the Swiss adhered to this hardline policy, the authors point to a number of factors. Economic considerations linked to the Depression played an important role. Although the Swiss had provided fairly generous asylum to Nansen refugees in the 1920s, the economic climate of the 1930's heightened fears of *Überfremdung* or an overpopulation of foreigners. Parliament passed legislation forbidding refugees from working as salaried employees, and business interests, eager to avoid competition from foreigners, successfully lobbied cantonal authorities to bar refugees who desired to establish businesses from acquiring residence permits. As a result of these restrictive policies, Switzerland's foreign population decreased from 10.4 percent in 1920 to only 5.2 percent in 1941. Security concerns, and especially the fear that the refugees constituted either Bolshevik or Nazi spies, also played a role.

But in addition to these factors, the authors take pains to stress the role of anti-Semitism as a determinant of refugee policy, and it is in this respect that the reputation of the Swiss will be most tarnished by their findings. In truth, the refugee policies of the Swiss in the 1930s, while harsh, were not terribly different from those of other Western European countries, and even during the war, one could still argue that Swiss policies were in line with those of the United States or Great Britain, both of which also refused to open their doors until late in the war notwithstanding their knowledge of the Holocaust. Where the Swiss differed, however, was in the blatant and pervasive expression of anti-Semitism by high-ranking government officials and in the incorporation of this anti-Semitic language into official documents. Moreover, no other Western country in the 1930s went as far as the Swiss in accepting the use of Nazi racial categories. While other countries, too, were eager to separate Jewish refugees from other German tourists or business travelers in 1938 and 1939, since they knew full well that these refugees were there to stay, their foreign ministries scrupulously avoided any overt anti-Semitic language in bilateral agreements with the Germans. Above all, they refused to accept any form of anti-Semitic discrimination that would have harmed the interests of their own Jewish nationals residing in Germany.

That such attitudes were accepted by the Swiss clearly had much to do with Rothmund's central role in the elaboration of refugee policies. Nevertheless, a major theme of this volume is that responsibility for Switzerland's callous treatment of Jewish refugees

cannot be placed on Rothmund alone. Rothmund's policies had widespread popular support, at least until the summer of 1942, and some government officials even exceeded his zeal. In negotiations over the "J" stamp in the fall of 1938, several Swiss diplomats in Germany and Austria were even more insistent than Rothmund in demanding special visas for Jews, and the army, which played an increasingly important role in refugee policy after 1940, fully concurred with Rothmund's hardline stance. Cantonal authorities, too, who retained considerable autonomy over the distribution of residence permits and the fixing of fees for these permits, frequently exhibited an extraordinary lack of sensitivity.

Despite this compelling evidence of widespread popular backing for Rothmund's policies, the authors' contention that all but a tiny minority shared these views is probably too harsh. For, as they show, there was strong criticism of the administration's policies at every step along the way. While some cantons, most notably Thurgau, Aargau and Zurich, adopted extremely restrictive policies, others, such as Basle-Land and Basle-Stadt, Neuchâtel, Schaffhausen and Graubünden, adopted extremely liberal refugee policies and spent considerable sums of money to provide food and shelter for the refugees. Moreover, a number of individual officials simply refused to abide by the hardline policy when it ran counter to their moral sensibilities. Paul Gruninger, the police commander of Sankt Gallen, for example, helped hundreds and perhaps thousands of Jewish refugees cross the border illegally in 1938–1939, a "crime" for which he was ultimately tried and sentenced. Finally, it was the enormous wave of public sympathy for the refugees, a "plebiscite of the heart" (p. 283), as the authors call it, which in the fall of 1942 impelled the government to reverse course. As a result of this public outcry, which was spearheaded by the churches, labor organizations, liberal and left-wing organs of the press, and a host of relief organizations, the Swiss ultimately took in 51,000 civilian refugees, of whom some 21,000 were Jews.

There are, of course, several issues that the authors might have explored at greater length. The role of the tiny Swiss Jewish community, which here is depicted in a highly favorable light, may have been more ambivalent than the authors suggest, particularly if the behavior of British or French Jewry provides any example. Moreover, a more systematic examination of the role of public opinion would have been useful. Which sectors of the public were most prone to embrace Rothmund's hardline policies, and more important, to what extent was his policy a response to popular pressure from below, especially from local chambers of commerce as well as other professional organizations, such as the syndicates representing lawyers and doctors? This study also would have been enhanced by a more in-depth analysis of why some cantons adopted hardline policies, while others adhered to a more generous approach.

These questions will certainly receive further treat-

ment in the future. For the moment, this rich and informative study will provide an indispensable tool, despite a good deal of repetitiousness and the regrettable absence of an index. Above all, the book suggests that although it may be true that large-scale rescue schemes were not feasible in 1943–1944, as William D. Rubinstein has argued in *The Myth of Rescue: Why the Democracies Could Not Have Saved More Jews from the Nazis* (1997), more modest efforts, such as those undertaken in Switzerland in 1943 and 1944, were nevertheless instrumental in saving thousands of lives. Whether more could have been done had the Swiss, along with other bystanders during the Holocaust, acted earlier and more decisively will undoubtedly remain a topic of vigorous debate.

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JEAN-CLAUDE FAVEZ. *The Red Cross and the Holocaust*. Edited and translated by JOHN and BERYL FLETCHER. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxxi, 353. \$39.95.

Jean-Claude Favez's study of the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) during World War II was first published in Lausanne in 1988, entitled *Une mission impossible*. A year later, a German translation appeared. Another ten years elapsed before this English edition was published. In the meanwhile, the traditional image of Swiss benevolent neutrality was seriously challenged, as acknowledged by the author in a specially written preface for the English version. In essence, his investigation, for which he had full access to the ICRC archives, seeks to analyze the policies adopted by this Swiss agency in tackling the highly contentious and dangerous issue of the Nazis' treatment or mistreatment of civilian prisoners, especially Jews, under their control throughout occupied Europe. For this edition, the opening chapters have been summarized and the material rearranged. But nothing of substance has been omitted, although some documents appear only in precis. A useful chronology and separate appendixes of the main documents make for easier reference. No special mention is made of the fact that in December 1996 the ICRC released microform copies of some 25,000 pages from its files, making these available for the first time to public view.

The ICRC is a purely Swiss agency but necessarily cooperates with its counterparts in the League of Red Cross Societies. During World War II, the German Red Cross was a thoroughly Nazified organization. Collaboration even on purely humanitarian tasks was foreseeably going to be difficult. The ICRC's mandate had always been to protect the sick and wounded on the battlefields and the prisoners of war in enemy hands. Strict neutrality was its watchword, but at the same time it showed a readiness to protest where the Geneva Conventions regulating the treatment of such prisoners was being flouted. The only effective sanc-

tions the ICRC possessed were the threat of exposure, and the fear of retaliation to prisoners in the other side's hands. But the fact that the Soviet Union had never signed these conventions provided the excuse for the Nazis to maltreat the vast numbers of Soviet prisoners of war taken after 1941, who were allowed to die in terrible conditions. The ICRC was powerless to intervene. Similarly, civilian populations, apart from enemy internees, were not covered by these conventions. Efforts to provide relief to civilian prisoners in concentration camps were regularly thwarted.

The debate analyzed by Favez is whether the ICRC could have done more to circumvent its self-imposed limits or to overcome the understandable reluctance to put in jeopardy its effective work for prisoners of war from the Western Allied countries. Years later, when the ICRC was criticized for its failure to take more energetic action on behalf, particularly, of the Jewish victims of Nazi fanaticism, it retreated into silence, closing its archives to independent scrutiny. Only continued pressure led to Favez being commissioned to write this account.

His findings are balanced and unlikely to be overthrown, even when all the archives are fully open. Certainly the ICRC leaders were slow to comprehend the scale of the Nazi anti-Semitic ferocity. But the often repeated claims that a more vigorous policy of protest would have saved more Jewish lives is based on wishful thinking or a failure to take seriously enough the risks to the whole ICRC operation in Nazi Europe. Favez gives a thorough description of how weighty these responsibilities were, how cautious the policy makers were obliged to be, and yet how some of their subordinates, especially in such capitals as Bucharest and Budapest, were able to get around the bureaucratic hurdles and successfully rescue Jews. As in the parallel case of Pope Pius XII, it is unlikely that Favez's excellent account will satisfy the victims' partisans. But he does not hide his own dismay that the German authorities proved to be so obdurate. Their ruthless and wanton destruction of millions of lives destroyed the moral barriers against the misuse of state power so carefully constructed by the ICRC and other similar agencies. However, Favez's careful description of what steps the ICRC was able to undertake, and the small but significant successes it achieved, refutes the accusation that nothing was done.

Favez's conclusion is that the ICRC was out of phase with the ideological struggles of the Nazi era. At a time when the institution and its ideals were thwarted, and its moral authority challenged, its responses were inadequate partly because of its Swiss character, and partly because of its conservatism. With hindsight, he believes, its priorities were mistaken. The ICRC should have spoken out.

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MAIKEN UMBACH. *Federalism and Enlightenment in Germany, 1740–1806*. Rio Grande, Ohio: Hambledon Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 232.

This book by Maiken Umbach is a ground-breaking study of the eighteenth-century origins of German federalism, its relationship to the Enlightenment and the Holy Roman Empire, and its implications for later German history. Federalism refers to a movement of small principalities that arose in opposition to autocratic Prussia and Austria and their rivalry for hegemony in Germany. In contrast to American-style federalism, however, with its drive toward ever greater centralization, German federalism called for diversity within unity, "in practical terms a federation between autonomous and highly diverse states" (p. 5). Within that movement, Umbach identifies what he calls "a progressive 'federal Enlightenment'" (p. 5) that sought to achieve its goals within a Holy Roman Empire reformed along the lines of Enlightenment ideals, especially the practical, experimental English version of enlightenment. Umbach sees his "federal Enlightenment" exemplified by the remarkable Prince Leopold III Friederich Franz, ruler of the small state of Anhalt-Dessau bordering Prussia, and his estate at Wörlitz, with its carefully planned buildings and gardens, as a metaphor for the federalist political ideal of diversity within unity. Indeed, some of the book's most insightful pages provide a theoretically informed interpretation of the visual culture of Wörlitz, notably the design and ideological implications of the English gardens and such structures as the Gothic House, the Palladian Villa, and the "Studiolo." "By studying the visual articulation of such ways of thinking about the state," Umbach conjectures, "we can begin to uncover a side of German history which has too often fallen victim to simplistic dichotomies of modern and anti-modern, nationalist and particularist" (p. 200).

Conditions favorable to Anhalt-Dessau becoming the center of enlightened federalism included its acceptance of the "enlightened" religion of Calvinism, the virtual absence of a feudal opposition (unlike its more famous neighboring small state of Weimar), the prince's liberal education, and his admiration for England (developed during many trips there between 1763 and 1785). Many German visitors, including the prince, were particularly attracted to the English landscape garden, which seemed to them to represent naturalness, individualism, and liberty, in contrast to the centralizing French Enlightenment favored by Frederick the Great of Prussia, as expressed by the terraced garden, overlooked by his royal castle, at Sans Souci. "To interpret the relationship between nature and art in such a garden," Umbach shows, "was also to define the relationship between territory and government" (p. 61).

The prince also took an interest in "modern" English techniques of farming, stockbreeding, and industry, all of which he sought to display at Wörlitz. Two of his boldest innovations were a new model school, the

Philanthropin, which emphasized practical education, experimentation, and the preparation of students for citizenship; and the so-called Chalcographie, a society founded to encourage commercial initiative and to contribute to the improvement of morality by improving taste. In the lively, ideologically charged controversy of the time between Volcanists and Neptunists as to how nature evolves, Prince Leopold sided with the Volcanists, who emphasized discontinuity and radical breaks, as against the Neptunists, notably J. W. von Goethe, who defended a gradualist view of natural change, with its conservative political bias. The prince differed from Goethe on other matters as well, mainly in his support for a federalism guaranteed by a revived empire and Fürstenbund, a loose union of independent political entities capable of resisting threats posed by the rise of absolutist national states. Indeed, Wörlitz was meant to encapsulate a vision of Germany that combined the centuries-old legal and institutional bases of the empire with the type of small-state patriotism championed by Justus Möser in his history of his native Osnabrück. Although "enlightened" federalism was but an ephemeral movement that lost out in the nineteenth century to the autocratic Prussian model of good governance, it was one of the few promising episodes in Germany's political past that, as Urnbach rightly perceives, "is best understood as a repository of cultural tropes which surfaced and resurfaced in debates about the nation at various decisive turning points in the rise of modern Germany" (p. 200).

This book is must reading for students of eighteenth-century Germany and the role of federalism in Germany's subsequent development. It might also interest readers concerned about economic globalization, political centralization, and cultural homogenization in our time.

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REBEKKA HABERMAS, *Frauen und Männer des Bürgertums: Eine Familiengeschichte (1750–1850)*. (Bürgertum; Beiträge zur Europäischen Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 14.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 2000. Pp. viii, 456.

Rebekka Habermas's microhistory of nineteenth-century German bourgeois families is a distinguished contribution to an already impressive body of recent scholarship on nineteenth-century civil society. Its importance lies in its solid presentation of two theses: that the social roles and identities of middle-class men and women cannot be explained without understanding the mutually constitutive nature of male and female gender; and, further, that bourgeois private and public life are too interwoven to be handled as discrete analytical categories. While these arguments may not be particularly new to Anglo-American readers, Habermas's meticulous research in showing how the everyday practices of husbands and wives of two

families shaped public and private bourgeois lives notably advances the historiography on civil society in Germany. Gender analysis has taken a decidedly subsidiary, if not peripheral, position in the historiography on civil society, and this study exposes the blind spots of prevailing models. This book ought to stimulate the same rethinking that Catherine Hall and Leonore Davidoff's *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (1987) did for anglophone historiography. Both persuasively demonstrate that the family was the principal site for shaping not only home life and women's lives but also men's attitudes and their socioeconomic roles in the larger reaches of public society.

The study examines two interconnected families from Nuremberg over two generations spanning the period 1750–1850, a century considered to be foundational for modern civil society. The work is divided into three large sections on work, sociability, and family, within which subsections are devoted to the gendering of women and men's everyday practices. The chief virtue of this organization is that Habermas can trace the development of the bourgeois family over a century while simultaneously analyzing the overlapping influences of gender formation for both men and women. Although a supporting cast of brothers and sisters enter into the story, the families of Paul Wolfgang and Margaret Merkel and Friedrich and Käthe Roth are the study's principal actors. Connecting the two families is Käthe Roth, the daughter of the Merckels. Her correspondence with her mother as well as both families' diaries, house inventories, dowry lists, book lists, marriage contracts, wills, and other materials enable Habermas to draw close generational comparisons between two households.

For Habermas both families are model representatives of their generations. Paul Wolfgang Merkel was a successful commercial merchant, an economically independent burgher who held a number of honorific offices and participated in the city's vibrant associational life. Friedrich Roth, by contrast, was a high-ranking financial official in Bavaria's civil service, president of the Lutheran consistory, and a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences, thus typifying the professional bourgeoisie. By choosing these two families, Habermas endorses the disputed viewpoint that a seamless continuity existed between the older urban bourgeoisie (*Stadtbürgertum*) of the Old Regime and the educated, professional classes of the mid and late nineteenth century (*Bildungsbürgertum*).

With deft use of historical-anthropological methods, Habermas crafts a patchwork narrative of varying experiences that collectively challenges some long-held assumptions about civil society and bourgeois culture. Three points stand out. First, she takes issue with the standard view of the middle-class work ethic, which posits an insatiable male drive for profit and, conversely, a decreasing importance in women's work. The meaning of work, she argues, changed for both sexes in similar ways. Both understood their activities



more for moral and civic improvement than for mere economic gain. Cooking, handwork, and the education of servants and children assumed moral, cultural, and religious dimensions that fashioned a female identity. No longer just an economic helpmeet, bourgeois women became coparticipants in the neohumanistic project of cultivating individual worth and virtues (*Bildung*)—a sensibility that later drove women to form charities and welfare societies outside the home. Men, Habermas notes, worked in the same direction, partaking in public activities that burnished social reputations but brought no remuneration. Second, the study underscores the importance of domestic sociability, which disrupts the neat dyad of public and private. Through social gatherings in the home, women gained access to information, social networks, and cultural movements. Domestic sociability, then, cut across the gender divisions of public life, thus undermining arguments that draw a direct correspondence between the categories of public and private with male and female spheres. Friedrich Roth participated actively in the domestic cultural dimensions of family life and, moreover, brought those domestic attitudes and ideals to bear in his public life. Finally, in spite of the book's emphasis on the new cultural enterprise of bourgeois family life, Habermas rejects the argument of an increased bourgeois emphasis on emotion and sentiment in the marriage. Her case study reveals that economic standing and social status were as important as ever.

As with all case studies, the question of typicality arises. Whether or not these families act as a fair proxy for Germany's evolving bourgeoisie, the study nonetheless succeeds in bringing alive the daily social, cultural, and economic practices that concretely constructed a bourgeois *habitus* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-centuries. In this regard, Habermas's study promotes two striking methodological advances. In bringing men and women's private and public lives under one analytical lens, she shows the shortcomings of merely looking at public lives. Further, the study suggests that microhistory, or *Alltagsgeschichte*, can often act as a necessary check against the overarching analytical abstractions of social scientific history. Habermas's excellent book provides arresting material for the ongoing discussion on civil society and should stimulate further research at the microhistorical level.

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UTE PLANERT. *Antifeminismus im Kaiserreich: Diskurs, soziale Formation und politische Mentalität*. (Kritische Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft, number 124.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1998. Pp. 447. DM 84.

The antifeminist movement that emerged in Wilhelmine Germany, Ute Planert argues, can be regarded as a "proto-fascist movement." Her study documents this claim through analysis of the publications

of the main pertinent organization—the Bund zur Bekämpfung der Frauenemanzipation (Union to Combat Female Emancipation)—as well as those of a wide range of other allied or sympathetic organizations such as male professional organizations. The publications she examines range from minor journals of professional organizations through the widely read *Preussische Jahrbücher*.

Planert tracks the lineage of antifeminism from its origins in the hegemonic notions of gender polarity that infused post-Enlightenment German middle-class society and institutions through its linkages with nationalism, anti-Semitism, and conservative Protestant orthodoxy in the 1890s. She carries her analysis into the Weimar era, when continuities in both ideology and personnel linked Wilhelmine antifeminism with *völkisch* nationalism and eventually fascism. She documents the ideological claims, organizational networks, and political resonances that linked racial hygiene, nationalism, and antifeminism during the Wilhelmine era, the wartime crisis, and in Weimar Germany.

Although the book includes one chapter that focuses on the organizational networks and tactics that formed the basis of movement activism, most of the text is devoted to analysis of publications. The book suffers from its relative lack of attention to the political and organizational dimensions of the argument; it rests heavily on Planert's reading of the periodicals that are the book's main sources—with, however, little discussion of the methodological questions that the use of such sources raise. Although Planert's study addresses very significant historical questions and brings important new evidence to bear on them, she engages little with important works of German women's and gender history that address many of the same questions. This narrowing of focus is not unusual in a dissertation, but it is a bit more surprising in a book that has been substantially revised for publication. For example, Planert's discussion of the connections between racial hygiene and antifeminism does not engage with Ann Taylor Allen's nuanced and controversial alternative views (see Allen, *Feminism and Motherhood in Germany, 1800–1914* [1991]). Nor do her readings of notions of women's special nature engage with Kathleen Canning's analyses of this phenomenon in *Languages of Labor and Gender: Female Factory Work in Germany, 1850–1914* (1996). Even closer in topic is Johanna Gehmacher's recent excellent book on a parallel subject: namely, the ideological and political trajectory of conservative women in Austria from *völkisch* nationalism into Nazism. For Gehmacher, too, conservative views on gender relations play a key analytic role (see Gehmacher, *Völkische Frauenbewegung: Deutschnationaler und nationalsozialistischer Geschlechterpolitik in Österreich* [1998]).

Obviously no scholar can be expected to be familiar with all of the work in so large and rapidly growing a field as European women's/gender history. In this case, however, there is reason to believe that the argument

presented would have been more nuanced and original had the author engaged more with these and other recent key works. As it stands, this study provides strong documentation for the author's main and very significant claim about the historical links in Germany between conservative nationalism and antifeminism.

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DETLEF SIEGFRIED. *Der Fliegerblick: Intellektuelle, Radikalismus und Flugzeugproduktion bei Junkers 1914 bis 1934*. (Historisches Forschungszentrum der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Reihe Politik- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte, number 58.) Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz. 2001. Pp. 335. DM 29.70.

Detlef Siegfried explores a fascinating intersection in German history. Although not on the map of most cultural and intellectual historians, the Junkers airplane factory in Dessau was the scene of remarkable political and intellectual activity, and while Siegfried's history is frustratingly long and somewhat undisciplined, it is a story that accents the extraordinary promiscuity of Weimar culture. As Robert Wohl, myself, and others have tried to argue, aviation represented an extremely alluring project of national unification and cultural revisionism that captured both the interest and commitment of intellectuals as well as the attention and imagination of Germany's citizens. Siegfried confirms this judgment in his analysis of how three young cultural radicals, active in the Communist and avant-garde scene in Kiel in 1918–1919, ended up joining Junkers' staff in the late 1920s to design, market, and manufacture airplanes and to promote the idea of flight. Although Siegfried follows the itineraries of Richard Blunck, Adolf Dethmann, and Friedrich Drömmmer far too closely, he demonstrates how left-wing cultural revolutionaries intersected at Junkers with a slightly older generation of militarized nationalists. Moreover, a broader, less personal association between Junkers and the Bauhaus indicates the common ground that the Left and the Right shared in designing German renewal. Against this background, Siegfried mobilizes an argument about technological utopia. While veterans of World War I always conceived of a remilitarization of Germany and hoped aviation would provide a "third dimension" to German national ambitions, and while the cultural revolutionaries of 1918–1919 thought more in terms of the social renewal that would come with clean lines and efficient order, Siegfried makes clear that there was considerable overlap between the two generations. With the texts of Ernst Jünger always close at hand, the leading members of Junkers' staff grabbed again and again at the example of the cool, disciplined, and willful aviator to realize their utopian intentions and believed fervently that technology would remodel the German people into a unified and capable nation.

Unfortunately, Siegfried does not get much further than insisting on utopia and suggesting the intercon-

nections between art, technology, and politics. There is little analysis of how space was imagined in liberating or militarily innovative ways. A great deal of time is spent on corporate politics, as Siegfried moves from one notecard to the next, but the larger political design is not explored in sufficient depth. Siegfried introduces the "vision of the aviator," or *Fliegerblick*, only to drop it with a few cursory remarks. Far too many paragraphs begin with yet another act by Blunck, Dethmann, and Drömmmer rather than with Siegfried's theses. It is striking that a book that stresses the visual, and emphasizes at such length the connection to the Bauhaus, interrupts the narrative with such uninteresting photographs, generally of the principals themselves. And yet the close attention to the corporate culture at Junkers, and to the collision of revolutionaries and nationalists, bureaucrats and visionaries, and the patriarchal if charismatic Hugo Junkers and his less-than-deferential admirers, makes it possible for Siegfried to show how the hybrid combinations of politics and art really worked. The Junkers corporation was a miniature version of the intellectual itineraries of Weimar as a whole: Communists, ex-Communists, *völkisch* Nazis and radical National Socialists, men obsequious to traditional military subcultures and more adventurous ex-aces, readers of Jünger and of Othmar Spann, and proponents of mass production and advocates of basic research. All sorts of shifting alliances and fronts characterized corporate politics until 1933, when the National Socialists forced the issue, distinguishing the veterans of the Freikorps battles from the ex-socialist revolutionaries of 1918–1919 whom they arrested and then drummed out of the business, and eventually wresting control from Junkers, who claimed an affinity with Adolf Hitler's spatial vision and national commitments but ultimately had little intellectual or aesthetic sympathy with the requirements of mobilization for total war. In the end, the story is about the vast field of experimentation in Weimar art and politics, and it is really worth telling, but here it is told without the regulating line, the focus, and discipline that Junkers and his followers in Dessau cherished so assiduously.

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BERND WIDDIG. *Culture and Inflation in Weimar Germany*. (Weimar and Now: German Cultural Criticism, number 26.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 277. \$45.00.

In a 1923 *Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung* article, Friedrich Kroner sardonically observed that "The rising dollar brings mockery and laughter: 'Cheaper butter! Instead of 1,600,000 marks, just 1,400,000 marks.' This is no joke; this is reality written seriously with a pencil, hung in the shop window, and seriously read" (p. 44). The oft-cited images of Germany's hyperinflation—wheelbarrows sagging under the weight of paper money, gaunt women lining up to buy groceries before prices

climb again that day, the incomprehensible cacophony of numbers—have defined the early years of the troubled Weimar Republic and left a legacy for Germany ever since. The now-classic and comprehensive discussion of these years is Gerald Feldman's *The Great Disorder: Politics, Economics, and Society in the German Inflation, 1914–1924* (1993). In his monumental work, Feldman cautioned against ascribing too many consequences, political, cultural, or even economic, to the 1923 hyperinflation and reminded readers that the inflationary course ebbed and flowed before the Great War and immediately after the cessation of hostilities.

Bernd Widdig's contribution to the literature is to situate the inflationary period of post-World War I Germany within a cultural framework. Although not exactly using the term, he describes the hyperinflation of 1923 as a type of *charivari*, the frenzy of carnival before Lent when established social and cultural mores are inverted and reversed or even suspended. Likewise, dubious activities such as gambling, prostitution, impulsive spending for the moment rather than deliberate saving for the future all came into play during the months preceding the mark's stabilization in late 1923 and 1924. Widdig discusses a variety of cultural signs in literature, film, and gender relations, relating these to the hyperinflation's impact on behavior. For example, he reflects on the concept of work—the identification of which transfigured and transformed earlier Wilhelmine bourgeois *mentalités* during this troubled time. He analyzes the career and reception of Hugo Stinnes, the fabulously wealthy yet enigmatic industrialist whose purchase of numerous companies foreshadowed the frequent mergers and acquisitions by U.S. and global traders in the 1980s and 1990s business world. Widdig characterizes the Fritz Lang classic films, *Dr. Mabuse, the Gambler* (1922) and *Metropolis* (1926), as emblems of inflation—Dr. Mabuse as an unpredictable, canny metaphor for money's devaluation and the image of Moloch, in *Metropolis*, as an all-devouring monster, eating innocents through its voracious appetite.

Widdig's overarching theme is inflation's process of erosion: the erosion of civil society, of personal relationships, of the security and optimism toward the future that can be seen in personal savings accounts, in deferred gratification of consumer items, in the respect for professions of the "intellect." All were emasculated during the frenzied months of the hyperinflation. In his epilogue, Widdig describes the writer Elias Canetti's linking of inflation to National Socialism through the Nazi's own inflation of numbers, from zero to millions. Many have noted Adolf Hitler's rise from local Bavarian obscurity to national notoriety during the height of the inflation—in November 1923, the month of the infamous Beer Hall Putsch. The Nazis often equated the economic instabilities of the war period and post-war period as belonging to the responsibilities of the Jewish "swindlers" and "parasitical capitalists." This trope was repeated endlessly even after the economic

picture brightened during the middle years of the Weimar Republic. While the Wall Street stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent depression had much more to do with National Socialism's rise than did the inflation, Widdig cautions that it is important to understand the cultural, not just the economic, significance of the inflation's relationship to the Germans' longing for security in a bewildering economic and political world. The Nazis capitalized on this longing with frequent references to Germany's not-too-distant past.

While Widdig's exploration of Weimar's economic difficulties relies on the researches of others, he brings a forceful and important message to his cultural analysis. He strongly suggests that Germany's hyperinflation was more than the erosion of money's value; it diminished the people's trust in others, in their government, and in longstanding institutions. The social and cultural consequences of such corrosion were long ranging and have affected policies from the 1920s through to the millennium. Widdig deftly demonstrates their complicated relationships in this readable and engaging account.

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ERIC A. JOHNSON. *Nazi Terror: The Gestapo, Jews, and Ordinary Germans*. New York: BasicBooks. 1999. Pp. xx, 636. \$35.00.

Ever since Christopher R. Browning's *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (1992), common German citizens have taken center stage in Holocaust studies. Browning's depressing argument that perfectly "ordinary men" became mass murderers garnered little attention outside the academy, however, until the publication of Daniel Jonah Goldhagen's best-selling *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (1995). Goldhagen's contention that a pervasive "eliminationist antisemitism" made it easy for "ordinary Germans" to become the willing executioners of European Jewry was rejected by most Holocaust scholars, but it captured the public's imagination. The subtitle of Eric A. Johnson's work plays off this fascination with nefarious everyday Germans, all the while contesting Goldhagen's conclusions.

In the context of reviewing past scholarship, Johnson stakes out his position on Nazi terror. He correctly points out that studies on the subject have vacillated between extremes. Whereas historians of the immediate postwar era took it for granted that Adolf Hitler's monolithic state controlled the German population through sheer terror, especially through the omnipresent and omnipotent Gestapo, the currently reigning perspective on Nazi terror emphasizes a less powerful and less pervasive Gestapo as well as a collaborationist German population. These Germans policed themselves and played active roles as perpetrators of the Holocaust. To Johnson, such a perspective requires

revision, because it underestimates the cruel effectiveness of the Gestapo, overemphasizes the role ordinary Germans played in the destructive process initiated by the Nazi leadership, and undervalues the dissent and resistance of many Germans.

This is a regional study focusing on three Rhineland communities—Cologne, Krefeld, and Bergheim—which the author believes are typical of other German communities of this size. Indeed, he is confident that Nazi terror manifested itself throughout Germany in the same fashion as in these communities. As in many local and regional studies, this assumption remains to be verified. The overriding reason for studying the Cologne area, however, is the relative abundance of surviving Gestapo case files and court records, which form the foundation of Johnson's analysis.

At the outset the author promises to confront many questions, and on one occasion (p. 9) he actually lists twenty-one of them. Unfortunately, the reader will look in vain for a comparable list of answers anywhere in this hefty work. Yet the main argument pursued is stated early. Johnson repeatedly emphasizes the selective nature of Nazi terror. He contends that the Gestapo often dismissed or ignored expressions of nonconformity and mild disobedience, but its efficient and ruthless terror constantly targeted selected enemies of the Nazi regime such as Communists and Jews. Since this selective application of terror left the majority of Germans untouched, the Nazi regime acquired legitimacy and even support from the populace. Relatively little attention is paid either to the amorphous atmosphere of intimidation that might have resulted from Gestapo terror, however selective, or to the terror that engulfed German society during the closing months of the war. These developments are not integrated into any sort of systematic assessment of terror but are simply lumped under the less-than-helpful rubric of "The Reign of Insanity at the End" (p. 346).

A long-winded narrative of almost 500 pages tries to demonstrate that most "ordinary Germans" were neither victims of Nazi terror nor major contributors to it. Their role was essentially peripheral and their participation in Nazi terror limited to the occasional denunciation of a neighbor and a deafening silence concerning the murder of Jews, of which they were informed to varying degrees. No ordinary Germans here enriched themselves at the expense of their Jewish compatriots, no ordinary Germans here stood at the edge of mass graves to which they had just consigned their helpless victims, and no ordinary Germans here lynched Allied bomber pilots. In contrast to Browning and Goldhagen, who at least agreed on the murderous capacity of "ordinary Germans," Johnson's work comes close to exonerating these same Germans.

Johnson also provides information concerning Gestapo personnel. In addition to establishing a detailed composite of the social origins and career paths of Gestapo personnel, the author feels obligated to speculate on the mentalities of these men. Thus, command-

ing officers were "career-oriented men without compassion," many of whom "were scared individuals with insecure identities" (p. 50). Johnson feebly connects their dilapidated psyches to that of Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the security police, who allegedly was haunted by his possible Jewish ancestry. Equally specious speculations are directed at rank-and-file Gestapo officers. Johnson vacillates between presenting members of the Gestapo as "banal"—as reasonably ordinary men, "of average size and build and with regular features," who "may have possessed somewhat higher than average intelligence" (as if this could ever be verified)—and as anything but ordinary (p. 67). This certainly should test readers' patience.

In the final analysis, this work promises more than it delivers. It is neither a comprehensive regional case study nor a systematic treatment of Nazi terror. Massive detail takes precedence over the concerns of current scholarship, such as the reciprocal relationship between murders occurring at the center and the periphery of National Socialism. Equally ignored are the connections between terror that issued from above and the terror practiced from below. Finally, eagerly embracing the concept of "ordinary Germans," Johnson never once questions the analytical utility of the term. After all, it was the Nazis who insisted that Jews were not "ordinary Germans."

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NICOLE REINHARDT, *Macht und Ohnmacht der Verflechtung: Rom und Bologna unter Paul V.* (Frühneuzeit-Forschungen, number 8.) Tübingen: Bibliotheca Academica Verlag, 2000. Pp. 481.

This work analyzes the complex political relations of Rome and Bologna during the pontificate of the Borghese Pope Paul V in the early seventeenth century. It examines how the pope tried to dominate the city through the creation of clients, and how the leading political groups, above all the senators, resisted papal absolutism. Bologna was the second city of the papal state in size and importance. After the defeat of the Bentivoglio *signori*, it was definitively incorporated into the state of the church in 1506 by Pope Julius II, who instituted a prestigious senate of forty members (later expanded to fifty). But the myth of Bolognese liberty persisted despite the narrow sphere within which the senate and other local authorities had room to maneuver. To a large extent, the myth was based on the *capitoli* of 1447, a document that spelled out a contractual relationship between Bologna and Pope Nicholas V. It granted the city considerable powers in administrative and financial matters and was used in subsequent centuries as proof of Bolognese autonomy.

Nicole Reinhardt builds on the work of her mentor, Wolfgang Reinhardt, whose studies of the rise of the Borghese, papal nepotism, and the early modern Ro-



man court are well known to historians. She narrows her focus to the years 1605–1621, the reign of Paul V, and asks a basic question: if, as proponents of modernization theories contend, the process of early modern state-building took place at the expense of local institutions and elites, how have these continued to play important political and social roles? Using recent anthropological and sociological approaches to the study of elites, the author looks at the seeming incompatibility between centralization and bureaucratization in the papal state and the persistence of significant social networks in Bolognese politics.

The book betrays its origin as a dissertation, especially in the lengthy introductory chapter (which nevertheless contains much useful information about local institutions). Chapter two, entitled “Personages and Institutions,” gives a detailed description of how the city was governed. The author discusses the papal legate to Bologna, the pope’s appointee who was empowered to make major political, legal, and economic decisions. These two chapters provide the sort of summary that is very helpful but usually hard to find in easily accessible form. In the third chapter, “The Scope of Politics,” we move to specific instances illustrating the exercise of papal power in Bolognese political affairs, and to a fuller discussion of attempts made by senators to increase their participation in decisions. In a nicely turned phrase, Reinhardt writes about the papal “Balanceakt zwischen Privilegienbestätigung und Privilegienverletzung,” the tightrope act by popes between confirming existing urban privileges and disregarding them (p.198). The senate clung to the theory of a mixed government established contractually by two parties, and to their self-image as preservers of Bolognese liberty. Pope Paul V was enough of a diplomat not to attack the myth dear to the city’s elite while proceeding with the politics of control.

Chapter four is the most original and new part of the book. Here, the author has subjected a myriad of local baptismal records to sophisticated network analysis and compiled detailed tables showing whom Bolognese elite families chose as godparents of their children. Some interesting facts emerge: through godparenthood, certain families were linked to princely houses like the Medici or Farnese, while others were connected to the legates or vice legates, and therefore to the papal rulers. Using insights of recent studies of networks and patronage relationships, the author shows how the city’s elite tried to assure sources of support for its progeny, and how great the striving for insertion into wider social groupings was. While papal patrons played a significant role in Bolognese society, the princely ones were much sought after; after all, the reigns of popes were ephemeral while those of princely dynasties had continuity, and princes were patrons across generations.

The final chapter discusses patterns of clientage, and presents an unexpected conclusion: in the period studied here, Bologna did not have the clout one

would expect of a major papal city. One reason was the paucity of Bolognese cardinals. There were few, at times even a single one, and no effective lobby for the city existed in Rome. While one can see patterns of clientage among the bureaucracy where Bolognese officials occupied a number of significant offices, there was no concerted effort on the part of city authorities to establish a powerbase in Rome. The popes did not face a united front in Bologna, and the senate was never able to offer an effective counterweight to the legates. Structures of patronage and clientage served individual families more or less well, but ultimately the elite was dependent on papal control of appointments. Despite the myth of Bolognese liberty, Bologna was governed by the papal prince.

This is a fine and carefully crafted study that transcends its Bolognese milieu by raising much-debated questions about the origins of absolutism. It should definitely be in the library of early modern *italianisti*.

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SIMONA NEGRUZZO. *Collegij a forma di Seminario: Il sistema di formazione teologica nello Stato di Milano in età spagnola*. Brescia: Editrice La Scuola. 2001. Pp. 535. €38.74.

The Council of Trent decreed that dioceses should establish seminaries to train secular priests, but only a handful of scattered studies have examined the implementation of the decree in Italy. Simona Negruzzo fills this need with a comprehensive examination of education for the secular priesthood in the state of Lombardy from the 1560s to the middle of the eighteenth century. The book is based on documents found in some forty-five diocesan and civic archives in Lombardy, the archives of religious orders in Rome, the Vatican Archive, Spanish records in Simancas, and a great number of printed primary and secondary sources.

What emerges is a complex reality. The fathers at Trent indicated the preferred path but not the means of implementation. Hence, dioceses, bishops, and towns followed different routes. Many took advantage of the newly founded schools of the religious orders of Catholic Reform. By the early seventeenth century, the Jesuits had schools in six Lombard towns, the Barnabites in eight, and the Somaschans in seven; Cremona and Pavia had schools of all three orders. All seem to have been involved in the training of future clergymen in greater or lesser degree.

As might be expected, Milan under Archbishop Charles Borromeo created the most complex and integrated system, one that remained essentially unchanged for two hundred years. Young men preparing for the priesthood lived in the Seminario Maggiore, the chief seminary in Milan; the Collegio Elvetico, the school that Borromeo established to train Swiss priests who would return to Switzerland in an effort to bring

the Swiss back to Catholicism; and a smaller seminary. They all took classes in the Jesuit Collegio Brera. Other priesthood candidates studied at the University of Pavia, where they lived in residences alongside students of law and medicine.

Some dioceses and towns imitated the Borromean model in so far as they were able. But smaller centers went their own way. For example, in Como a group of prominent and wealthy local citizens raised a considerable sum of money in order to persuade the Jesuits to come and establish a school that would teach both lay boys and future priests. The number of seminarians varied enormously from place to place. Milan had 387 seminarians in the Seminario Maggiore plus sixty in the Collegio Elvetico in 1658, while Vigevano had only a handful.

The relationship between seminaries and the schools of the new religious orders was often close. Seminarians commonly lived in residences but attended classes in the local Jesuit, Barnabite, or Somaschan school, which also educated novices from their own orders, other clergymen, and especially lay students. These schools taught everything from elementary Latin to Aristotelian philosophy and theology to students ranging in age from ten to their early twenties. The Jesuit *Ratio Studiorum* (1599), which also strongly influenced Barnabite and Somaschan schools, guided the curriculum in greater or lesser degree almost everywhere. The union of seminary and order school had benefits for both: the seminaries needed the excellent teachers and structured curriculum of the Catholic Reform orders, while the orders received benefices and privileges that helped support other religious activities. The links between seminaries and the schools of the Barnabites, Jesuits, and Somaschans were the most common element in Lombard education.

Some of the newest and most interesting information comes from lesser-known and smaller dioceses, such as Alessandria, Como, Cremona, Lodi, Tortona, and Vigevano, areas of more variety and experimentation. The lack of a unified system offered choice. The future priest could choose his path to the priesthood: religious order school, diocesan seminary, university, training outside of Lombardy, or the pre-Trent path of informal study of theology and cases of conscience with a local priest. Those intended for leadership roles often obtained doctorates of theology from the University of Pavia or from a university outside of the state. Of course, the multiple schools and roads to the priesthood created friction. For example, the faculty of theology of the University of Pavia protested the loss of its monopoly of the right to confer doctorates to the newly created faculty of theology of Milan and other bodies.

Negruzzo concludes that the fathers at Trent were wise to designate a path, rather than a unitary structure, because the latter would have failed in the face of the diverse conditions in Lombardy. The great strength of this book is its information on local foundations, enrollments, financial support, and vicissitudes. Miss-

ing, as the author acknowledges, are diaries or other personal material from the seminarians and priests. It would be interesting to know what they thought of their training. And a future study might follow the priests of Lombardy after ordination. Overall, this book is a worthy addition to a growing list of monographs (including the works of Flavio Rurale [1992], Xenio Toscani [1993], and Angelo Turchini [1996]) on education in Lombardy between 1500 and 1800.

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ELENA AGAROSI. *A Nation Collapses: The Italian Surrender of September 1943*. Translated by HARVEY FERGUSON II. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000. Pp. xi, 187. \$44.95.

In this compact study, Elena Agarossi challenges the myths promulgated by the Resistance with regard to the Italian surrender of 1943. These myths claim a clean break between the death of fascism with the collapse of the Italian army on September 8 and the birth of the Resistance. The reality, argues Agarossi, was much more complex and considerably less ideological, since there was a great deal of continuity between the fascist and postfascist periods. Many of the Resistance fighters were soldiers and officers from the disbanded army who took up arms against the Germans in order to restore national dignity, which had been betrayed by the political elite.

Agarossi studies the period between the fall of Benito Mussolini in July and the Italian armistice in September 1943, offering a well-rounded explanation of the behavior of the British and Americans, the Germans, and the Italian government of Marshal Badoglio. She uses British and American archives, which have rarely been consulted by Italian scholars, as correctives to the notoriously unreliable Italian archives for this period. At the same time, she has consulted newly released materials from the archives of the Italian Army General Staff and the Navy. Her research is impressive, and she meticulously compares the documentary record to indicate areas where the evidence is still inconclusive.

In their approach to Italy, the British and Americans were constrained by the priority that had been assigned to the cross-Channel invasion of France and could not allow diversion of resources to the Mediterranean. The invasion of Sicily in July 1943, with limited military resources, was designed to knock Mussolini out of the war, and, after his fall, the allies planned landings at Salerno in September, again with minimum manpower.

Prospects for a separate peace with Italy were restricted by the declaration of unconditional surrender and by the determination of Anthony Eden and the British Foreign Office to maintain a hard line. Eden hoped that Italy would collapse and force the Germans to occupy the whole peninsula, thereby putting a

serious strain on their resources. The invasion of Sicily saw the Italian army on the island disintegrate. After the fall of Mussolini, the Badoglio government approached the British and Americans for terms but was offered only unconditional surrender. What opened negotiations was the offer by General Castellano, on his own authority, to have Italy switch sides and join the British and Americans in the fight against Germany. This resulted in the signing of the armistice on September 3 and an agreement that the Italians would fight the Germans when the armistice was made public at the time of the Anglo-American landings on the Italian mainland. It was agreed that the Italians would defend Rome against the Germans and that the Americans would send an airborne regiment to help them.

In spite of these agreements and in fear of German retaliation, Badoglio kept his options open as long as he could, believing that the issue would be resolved when the British and Americans landed with preponderant forces. He did not inform his military leaders of the agreements that had been signed and, when General Maxwell Taylor arrived in Rome the day before the planned landings at Salerno, he found no preparations had been made for the defense of the capital and, consequently, cancelled the airborne landings.

The fact that Badoglio had made no preparations and issued no orders became evident when the Italian armistice was announced on September 8 and the Germans moved swiftly to capture Rome and northern Italy. At a crown council meeting, it was decided that Italians would not oppose the Germans and would not defend Rome, whereupon the king, Badoglio, and the senior military command fled Rome for the south, leaving no instructions for their subordinates. The Italian army was abandoned by its leadership. In some cases it surrendered to the Germans, in some it fought them, in still others, it disbanded and many went to the hills to make up the anti-German Resistance.

Agarossi concludes that the political class of Italy failed the Italian people by not providing leadership at this crucial moment. Consequently, the Italian people themselves had to decide how to respond to the German occupation. It was this devolution of decision making upon the people that made up the essence of the new Italy, not any preconceived ideological position.

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LUCIAN BOIA. *History and Myth in Romanian Consciousness*. Budapest and New York: Central European University Press. 2001. Pp. 285. Cloth \$49.95, paper \$21.95.

Lucian Boia is one of the leading authorities on Romanian historiography and was one of the relatively few Romanian historians to be active internationally before 1989, not only publishing abroad but also serving as secretary-general (1980–1983) and vice president (1983–1990) of the International Commis-

sion on the History of Historiography. Since 1989, he has been one of the pioneering demythologizers of the Romanian past. This important book has gone through several Romanian editions and printings. It is an extraordinarily interesting and provocative work, one that, not surprisingly, provoked a huge firestorm. As the author wryly notes, while contemporary Romanians have no problem with castigating the presidents of post-1989 Romania, most shy away from criticizing medieval Romanian princes and other historical heroes.

This excellent translation of the second Romanian edition begins with a discussion of the reaction to the book, including a tantalizingly brief discussion of the 1999 alternative textbook debate, which was partly influenced by Boia's work. Given the history-saturated nature of Romanian culture, Boia's efforts go far beyond the usual historians' playground and raise fundamental questions about Romanian society and civilization. The focus of this book is not on history as what happened (which the author believes cannot exist), but on history as a discourse about the past. This discourse, in Boia's view, inevitably becomes mythologized. Such myths are not necessarily untrue or true. Nor are all interpretations or adaptations myth: "Myth presupposes the extraction of essential truth . . . [and] has a profoundly symbolic meaning" (p. 29). Boia's purpose here is to identify the way in which myth emerged in Romanian historical discourse in the nineteenth century and has pervaded it since. However, he is careful to point out that his aim "is not to demolish historical mythology . . . We cannot live outside the imaginary. The life of any community is organized around certain historical mythical constellations. Every nation has its own historical mythology. Nothing is more revealing of a society's present and its chosen path into the future than the way in which it understands the burden of its past" (p. 30).

The opening chapter is a first-rate précis of Romanian historiographical development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that also provides a suitable framework for the remainder of the book. Romanian historiography was preoccupied from the outset with three great developmental issues: the formation of a national ideology, the challenge of modernization, and the relationship of Romanians to "others." These issues, in turn, were illustrated by the emergence of the national myth of Michael the Brave (as a symbol of Romanian unity); in the development of conflicting schools of agrarian history in which history was used to rationalize every ideological position on property rights; and, finally, in the coupling of the Daco-Romanian theory of Romanian origins with an emphasis on medieval Romania's role as defender of Christendom to create a new definition of Romania's place in Europe. (The "sacrifice" of the Romanians as a bulwark against the East also conveniently explained Romania's subsequent backwardness.)

The remainder of the book is topically organized and systematically describes and analyzes mythologies

related to Romanian origins (chapter two), to the Romanians' continuity on the territory of present-day Romania (chapter three), to the theme of unity among Romanians in disparate provinces and social classes (chapter four), to the image of foreigners in Romanian culture and civilization (chapter five), and to dynastic and leadership mythologies that culminated with the Communist cult of personality (chapter six). These chapters demonstrate Boia's superb command of the historiographical materials, and they are not reticent about naming names. The book concludes with a chapter about the development of Romanian historiography since 1989 (which, along with Romanian society, has become polarized between the nationalist/authoritarian and the European/democratic models) and a brief conclusion.

One might quibble with Boia's occasional references to the "mirage of objectivity" (p. 67) and other allusions to Hayden White's approach to "metahistory," but these are not essential to the basic thrust of this work. The emphasis on the mythologizers might give the nonspecialist the misleading impression that they were the only show in town; this, as the author stresses, is not the case. In the end, Boia's study, depressingly, shows just how many "soft" spots there are in Romanian historical discourse. The contemporary problem, he writes, is that Romanian culture has not "truly come out of the nineteenth century . . . We are too laden with frustrations and complexes, and hence with feelings both of inferiority and superiority . . . This explains our far from normal attitudes to the 'other' . . . Perhaps we can try, not to forget history, but to be a little less obsessed with it" (pp. 25–26).

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MARIANA HAUSLEITNER, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918–1944*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 111.) Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 2001. Pp. 497. DM 120.

Bukovina has attracted relatively little attention from scholars in the second half of the twentieth century. During the communist period, Romanians and Ukrainians shied away from the delicate issues that a thorough investigation of its history would raise, a reluctance that has persisted into the postcommunist years. Divided after World War II between Romania and Ukraine, Bukovina was hardly at the center of Cold War politics and thus failed to arouse much controversy or analysis. But Mariana Hausleitner has made a strong case that the province deserves better. In her pioneering monograph she examines fundamental problems of modern nation-building (and nation-destroying), basing her observations and conclusions on extensive research in relevant archives—notably in Czernowitz, Bucharest, and Bonn—and on a thorough acquaintance with the published sources and secondary literature.

Hausleitner's book is, in essence, about the destruction in the interwar period of a multicultural society that had formed in the course of the nineteenth century and had survived until World War I. Its undoing, as she presents it, took place in stages between 1918 and 1944, and she identifies the agent as nationalism. Her approach to the complexities is logical and straightforward.

Hausleitner introduces the reader to Bukovina by describing the province as it was before 1914 under Habsburg rule. She points to its ethnic diversity (Ukrainians, Romanians, Jews, Germans, Poles) and analyzes the emergence of separate, ethnic-based political organizations, the harbingers of future conflict. Yet, she concludes that a kind of Bukovinian *Ausgleich* prevailed, which enabled the ethnic communities to live in relative peace with one another and to develop their cultural life freely. Radical nationalism and aggressive anti-Semitism, she finds, were still largely absent.

Hausleitner dates the disintegration of multicultural Bukovina from its incorporation into Greater Romania at the end of World War I. It was then that Romanianization began, mainly under the direction of the National Liberal Party, the predominant political force in Romania for most of the 1920s. Hausleitner shows that the measures the party took in education, agrarian reform, and the colonization of Romanian settlers in Bukovina were part of its broader program to integrate the newly acquired provinces into a centralized Romanian nation-state. She argues that the Liberals were also bent on the modernization of the country, but she points out that their efforts at Romanianization impeded modernization by undermining advanced structures among the minorities. She lays much of the blame on Romanian nationalists in Bukovina, who were determined to make the Romanians the largest ethnic group again, as they had been before 1880. She rightly gives much attention to the Liberals' efforts in education, because they thought it crucial to the formation of a strong Romanian middle class that would replace Jews and Germans as economic and social leaders and thereby secure Romanian predominance.

Hausleitner looks at other aspects of politics and society, too. Counteracting the tendency in much Western writing on interwar Romania to dwell on radical nationalism and other extremist movements, she points to the attempts of National Peasant Party governments between 1928 and 1933 to reverse the policies of the Liberals and to reach an accommodation with the minorities. There was thus more to interwar public life than extremism, even though the case is hard to make for the 1930s. Yet perhaps here would be a good place to discuss at greater length the democratic tradition in Romanian politics and to examine the intense debate among Europeanists and traditionalists about national identity and models of development.

Hausleitner provides a detailed account of the last



decade of Bukovinian multiculturalism, beginning with the return of the Liberals to power in 1933 and ending with occupation of the province by the Soviet army in 1944. She shows how political extremism, exemplified by the Iron Guard and feeding off the effects of the Great Depression, culminated in the late 1930s in the formation of the fascist Octavian Goga government and the proclamation of a royal dictatorship by Carol II. Here she focuses on the reactions in Bukovina, and in admirable detail she describes the consolidation of nationalist elements among the Ukrainians and the inability of Jews, because of political divisions, to defend themselves against harsh government measures. Her discussion of how World War II brought about the final destruction of Bukovinian ethnic structures makes somber reading. Her description of one calamity after another is the most accurate account we have: Soviet deportations of Romanian "kulaks" and Jewish "capitalists" from northern Bukovina, the expulsion of Jews from rural communes and some cities by Romanian authorities in southern Bukovina, the evacuation of Germans to the Reich, and the killing of thousands of Jews and the massive deportation of almost all the rest to Bessarabia and Transnistria between 1941 and 1943.

In this carefully researched investigation, we have a striking case study of the pernicious effects of militant nationalism. Hausleitner argues her case persuasively, and the reader, confronted by the evidence she has assembled, will have additional reasons to deny a positive role to nationalism in Eastern Europe in the twentieth century.

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JAN T. GROSS. *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 261. \$19.95.

As nearly everyone must be aware by now, Jan T. Gross has touched off a fiery debate by showing that Poles were not simply victims during the Nazi occupation. In the town of Jedwabne, in the late summer of 1941, some participated, with some degree of willingness, in the murder of Jews alongside whom they had lived for generations. In the book's most quoted line, "half of the population of a small East European town murdered the other half" (p. 7). Drawing on eyewitness testimony (much of it from depositions taken by Polish prosecutors in 1949–1953), Gross argues that the extermination of some 1,600 Jews in Jedwabne requires a rethinking of the Holocaust in Poland, and of Polish-Jewish relations in World War II.

This is one historical controversy on which one can easily be informed: essentially an extended essay, not much longer than a *New Yorker* article, the book can be digested in one evening. This brevity is both one of its real strengths and a shortcoming as well. Much of the controversy has centered on Gross's evidence. First,

there is its reliability: can the testimony of survivors of a horrific slaughter, or testimony recorded for a Stalinist court, bear much weight? And, second, does the evidence show that Poles in Jedwabne took the initiative in forcing their Jewish neighbors into a barn that was then set alight? Or is the tale more familiar: murder orchestrated by Nazi officials, with the Poles as helpless accomplices? While it has to be said that Gross does not nail his case beyond question, such certainty would be an impossible task given the nature of the event and of the evidence. This reviewer finds the evidence quite convincing, especially as Gross himself is candid about source limitations. At any rate, these arguments have been exhaustively rehearsed elsewhere; here, I will focus on two issues that have received rather less attention, although they are additional reasons to read the book.

First, Gross's book has achieved its aim in Poland: there, educated society has largely accepted the challenge of rethinking the Holocaust. Within Poland, voices denying any Polish role in the Holocaust whatsoever, and instead attacking Gross and a putative Western Jewish conspiracy, are in a distinct minority. Before the book's publication in Polish (predating the English version, in 1999), most observers of Poland would not have been optimistic about the chances for rational discussion. Yet there it is, its tenor at least as mature as that of comparable discussions in, say, France. This success is in part thanks to a debate initiated fifteen years ago by the theologian Jan Błński, in his seminal essay, "A Poor Pole Looks at the Ghetto." But precisely because the book is short and easily accessible, the Jedwabne discussion has been substantive and constructive. (Much of the debate can be accessed at [www.pogranicze.sejny.pl/english/jedwabne](http://www.pogranicze.sejny.pl/english/jedwabne).) Gross contends that the histories of Poles and of Jews cannot be written separately, least of all during World War II. Thanks to his book, this truism has begun to take shape.

Much less noticed, in Poland and elsewhere, is a second argument Gross wishes to make. Almost as an aside, in a four-page chapter at the very end of the book, he proposes an "interesting hypothesis" (p. 164): collaborators with the Nazis were likely to become allies of the Communist Party, at the local level at least. This is a very elegant and subversive idea: in essence, having demonstrated that there were in fact such collaborators (for the most part ad hoc), Gross would further disable those who might be tempted to excuse participants in the slaughter (if not to celebrate them as fighters for a "pure" Poland) by associating extreme nationalists with the communists. His evidence is that several of those implicated in the Jedwabne massacre later worked for the police or the security forces. The irony is great, and Gross does not beat around the bush: rather than Jews being responsible for Communist power (the *Żydokomuna* myth beloved by extremists), it was actually anti-Semites, or "indigenous lumpenproletariat" (p. 167), who helped found People's Poland.

This is indeed a promising hypothesis, of as great importance as the discussion of the massacre itself, yet it left this reviewer frustrated. Gross has written before about the influence of the war era on the coming of communism to East-Central Europe; his essays on the social consequences of the war have been widely cited. Yet in the decade since he first sketched out such ideas, scholars have waited in vain for a full-fledged study. There is an important book to be written on this question, and Gross is well qualified to write it. It is a pity that in this regard, the book under review leaves one hanging; an opportunity to reshape the debate about the communist era has been missed.

This book poses provocative questions and stirs up debate; it does so, moreover, from a base of solid archival work and long scholarly familiarity with the tragedies of mid-century Poland. The impact it has made is evidence of its value.

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JOZO TOMASEVICH. *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: Occupation and Collaboration*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 842. \$69.50.

The first book of this study, *War and Revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941–1945: The Chetniks* (1975), revealed Jozo Tomasevich (1908–1994) to be a first-rate researcher, and even a quarter of a century after it first appeared, it is still the most complete and best book about the Chetniks to be published either abroad or in former Yugoslavia. Tomasevich combined the distanced objectivity of a scholar from another country with an active level of knowledge about a subject that can often be had only by a scholar from the land whose history is being studied.

The book under review is Tomasevich's second book of the series, almost completed before his death. His daughter Neda edited the whole text to make it stylistically consistent and easy to read. All the distinguishing features Tomasevich showed in writing the first volume are also expressed in this book, which describes how the occupying forces (Nazi Germany, fascist Italy, Hungary, Bulgaria) ruled some parts of Yugoslavia, and how their collaborators adapted under such circumstances. Tomasevich also describes the position of the churches during occupation and revolution, the destruction of the Jewish community in Yugoslavia, Axis exploitation of the Yugoslav economy, the economic consequences of war and exploitation, and some other subjects.

He devotes most of the text, almost half the book, to the Independent State of Croatia (Nezavisna Država Hrvatska, or NDH), and this is, without much doubt, its most valuable contribution. Just as in the case of the Chetniks, historians and other writers have taken very different stands about the Ustashes' NDH. Tomasevich writes about many issues that are still open today, and even if he does not solve them he lays down logical

foundations for their further study and analysis. An example is the case of Bleiburg in May 1945, when fleeing soldiers (predominantly Ustashes and Domobrans, but also Chetniks and Slovenian collaborators) and civilians reached the border between Austria and Yugoslavia and the British army handed them over to the Yugoslav army (the Partisans). Some of them were singled out, taken to prison, and legally tried, but many of the anonymous refugees were killed on the spot. The others were taken on death marches called the "Way of the Cross" to various parts of Yugoslavia, and only a minority were immediately released. A lot was written about this in émigré circles, often with much emotion. Communist historiography mentioned the events only at times but as a rule kept silent about the mass suffering of the prisoners (p. 756). Tomasevich's discussion of "alleged and true population losses" (p. 718–50) is interesting and important.

The book also has some shortcomings. The fact that the manuscript was completed in the early 1990s and could thus not take account of any works published later, newly published sources, or newly opened archives is a problem. This would not have changed its contents essentially but may have affected some details. Any new edition (either in English or in Croatian or Serbian) will have to contain an afterword that provides this information.

There are also cases of imprecision. Tomasevich writes that "seven Catholic priests were killed by the Ustashes for cooperating with the Partisans" (pp. 570–71), when in fact seventy-five Catholic priests in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina collaborated in the war on the side of the Partisans, and forty-three perished as Partisan collaborators. (See Č. Petešić, *Katoličko svećenstvo u NOB-u, 1941–1945* [1982], pp. 274–76.) He also writes that Italian forces burned down the village of Žrnovnica near Omiš in July 1943 (p. 137), but in fact this was Žrnovnica near Split (today a Split suburb).

Unfortunately, Tomasevich did not manage to accomplish his intention of writing a third book about the Partisans. Without it, his research remains incomplete, because the reader is left without information about the opposition to the occupying and collaborationist forces that Tomasevich describes and explained so completely and lucidly. Nevertheless, this book, together with its predecessor, is an invaluable foundation that no new research into World War II on the territory of former Yugoslavia will be able to bypass. It promises to remain for a long time to come.

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ORLANDO FIGES and BORIS KOLONITSKII. *Interpreting the Russian Revolution: The Language and Symbols of 1917*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999. Pp. 198. \$24.95.

In this stimulating study, Orlando Figes and Boris Kolonitskii, two distinguished historians of the Russian

Revolution, explore how language shaped, and was shaped by, the collapse of the Tsarist autocracy and the ensuing struggle for political power. They take an appropriately broad view of language, understood as "songs and texts, symbolic flags and emblems, pictures and monuments, banners and slogans, common speech and rumour, dress and body language, ritualized demonstrations by the crowd, parades and other ceremonies" (p. 1). With an eye for telling detail, they analyze evidence ranging from pornographic postcards depicting Grigory Rasputin's relationship to the empress, to Alexander Kerensky's fainting spells, to workers' songs (e.g. the "Marseillaise"). They suggest several provocative conclusions, some of which will not be new to readers of their work: that the February Revolution was a "struggle for control of the symbols of the state" (p. 187); that the revolution unleashed a struggle for power to control the "symbolic system of the revolutionary underground" and thereby "define the values of the new society" (p. 189); that "old mentalities" (p. 188), such as peasants' "monarchical psychology" (p. 72), shaped the revolutionary process; and that no political leader or party—not even V. I. Lenin and the Bolsheviks—controlled the meaning that political activists and ordinary Russians attributed to political discourse.

The rise and fall of the cult of Kerensky, who served as minister of justice, minister of war and the navy, prime minister and commander-in-chief, illustrates these themes. The authors attribute the cult to the "people's minister" himself, the propagandists of his cult, and the political culture of his audience" (p. 88). Or, rather, the political cultures of the "revolutionary underground" (p. 74) and the "peasant" (p. 148). The former's "cult of the fallen revolutionary hero" (p. 74) encouraged the cult of the revolutionary leader such as Kerensky. But his "non-partisan" (p. 80) politics also reflected the aspirations of ordinary Russians who had little experience in modern politics, a fleeting bond that he sought to solidify by adopting casual, "semi-military" (p. 82) dress. Exemplifying how peasant political culture shaped the revolutionary process, Kerensky became their anti-monarchical monarch, or, as one soldier put it, the "good tsar" who headed a "democratic republic" (p. 74). For ordinary Russians like this soldier, Kerensky embodied the "democratic" revolution that was February. But what many came to understand as "democracy" was not a republic based on a liberal concept of citizenship and the universal language of human rights, but an exclusionary, class-based political community seeking revenge of "the labouring people" on "privileged society" (p. 122). Because Kerensky became the object of a cult, he personified the Provisional Government's mistakes, such as the risky gamble of a June offensive in a war that soldiers increasingly saw as national betrayal, as being fought for British interests. After the failed offensive and ensuing political polarization, Kerensky, now the victim of political rumors like those that had helped to topple the Romanovs, personified the dem-

ocratic revolution's betrayal, a betrayal represented by his association with the domestic enemy: the "bourgeois, the foreign, the weak, the feminine, and 'the Jews'" (p. 92). And so Kerensky's authority proved as fragile as the seemingly eternal symbols of the Romanov dynasty, such as a stone head of Alexander II, that soldiers and workers destroyed with ease.

If Kerensky is the book's tragic hero, "political culture" is its analytical center. The concept appears in many versions: the "political culture of 1917" (p. 84), the "political culture of the [Bolshevik] party" (p. 101), "revolutionary political culture" (p. 103), "national political culture" (p. 127), the "new democratic political culture" (p. 137), "peasant political culture" (p. 148), and the "political culture of the left" (p. 158), among others. Although sometimes rendered synonymous with "mass political consciousness" (p. 84), the concept is never defined, despite the authors' erudite understanding of the "linguistic turn" in European history. They give no sense that political culture is itself a concept whose meaning and application has been contested. Some readers might conclude that here the concept seems to explain everything and therefore nothing.

This book is nonetheless an extremely valuable synthesis. Its provocative hypotheses and shrewd observations point the way for future research on 1917 and beyond. It also deserves to reach a broad audience of nonspecialists. They will find it fascinating to learn how the Russian story of the doomed struggle to define the language of revolution did, and did not, differ from the one they know best.

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HURUKI WADA. *Rossia kak problema Vsemirnoi istorii: Izbrannye trudy*. Edited by G. A. BORDIUGOV. Translated by FUMIAKI MORIA, I. S. DAVIDIAN, and V. E. MOLODIAKOVA. Moscow: AIRO-XX. 1999. Pp. 400.

This volume is a pleasure to review. Huruiki Wada is one of Japan's leading historians of Russia, and he has a lot to offer foreign and Russian scholars. He entered Tokyo University in 1956, the year in which Nikita Khrushchev denounced Joseph Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress, but like many scholars in Japan and elsewhere he was fascinated by the revolutions of 1917 and the revolutionary movement. He is the author of many monographs in Japanese, beginning with *Nikolai Russel* (1977), a two-volume study of a Russian activist who emigrated to Japan after the Russo-Japanese War and stayed. Wada followed this with *The World of Peasant Revolution: Esenin and Makhno* (1978). In addition to other works, more recently he has published two books about perestroika, one in 1987 and another in 1990; *Socialism as a Historical Phenomenon* (1992); and several studies of Korea, including one on the Korean War. Some of his essays have appeared in English and a list of his publications can be found in

*The New World of Russian History* (*Novyi mir istorii Rossii*) (2001), a tribute by friends and colleagues.

The essays in this collection range from the populist movement and the crisis of the old regime to the Soviet period, historiography, Soviet-Japanese relations, perestroika, and the transition from communism. Three quarters of the book concern revolutionary Russia, the 1930s, and perestroika. One quarter is devoted to Japan, Russia, and Korea. What links the essays together is Wada's interest in individuals and in the wider contexts in which Russian history has unfolded. Thus he emphasizes the lifelong experience of the former populists Lev Tikhomirov and Vera Figner in an essay on their last years. He shows Tikhomirov, who even as a revolutionary sought strong leadership for Russia, later as a conservative bemoaning the murder of P. A. Stolypin, Russia's would-be Otto von Bismarck, and then accepting the Bolshevik Revolution as an extension of the revolutionary movement and consigning his journals to Soviet repositories. He recounts contrarily how Figner remained loyal to her revolutionary ideals, endured the revolution and civil war, wrote her memoirs, and after 1917 worked with organizations aiding political prisoners. Similarly, two essays on perestroika concern not only cultural policy beginning in the thaw but also the experience of individual historians he has known. One of the historians he discusses is E. N. Burdzhakov, who was dismissed in 1957 as deputy editor of *Questions of History* (*Voprosy istorii*), the leading historical journal, after writing an article about the Bolsheviks' confusion after the February Revolution in 1917. Wada traces Burdzhakov's life from that of an established historian, to a persecuted anti-Stalinist whose works were banned, and finally to a martyr, who was vindicated in 1987, the year after his death. He begins the essay with a quote from V. I. Lenin writing off the heritage of the 1860s, the first perestroika, and traces the torturous progression to the second, which was blocked in the 1960s when Stalin's successors realized that the system he created could not be transformed without grave risks.

Wada also shows Russians deeply entangled in their own and world history. For example, instead of discussing Valentine Pikul's 1977 historical novel about Grigory Rasputin as a Soviet potboiler, he ferrets out the sources of the myths and stories Pikul used as well as the various political purposes to which they were applied. More generally, in an essay on Japan and the Soviet Union in the 1930s, he notes similarities between the two systems, and, in a study of Soviet antifascism, he explains how antifascism fit into the seemingly contradictory culture of Stalinism.

The final section of the book is devoted to Japan, Korea, and Russia. In "The Representation of Russia in Japan," an essay of broad scope, he describes the changing Japanese image of Russia from teacher in the eighteenth century with reference to Peter the Great, to that of an enemy in the late nineteenth, and finally, on a recent and hopeful note, to that of a neighbor.

The last two essays in the volume are more specific. Writing the history of Russia's Korean minority, he moves from the first settlements under Russian authority in the late nineteenth century, to the forced transfer of 180,000 Koreans from the Soviet Far East to Kazakhstan in 1937, in the wake of hostilities with Japan. Characteristically, he illuminates the tragedy by citing the experience of Soviet Koreans who joined the Communist Party in the period of the Civil War and became local leaders. Thus he describes the case of Afanasii A. Kim, who joined the party in 1920 at the age of twenty, rose to represent the entire Far Eastern Region at the Seventeenth Party Congress in 1934, was repressed in 1936, died in a camp in 1943, and was rehabilitated posthumously in 1989. In addition, he shows how closely the Japanese followed the case of the Koreans during the 1930s and in this way provides the international context for their persecution.

In his final essay, Wada reminds us that the change in Soviet policy toward Korea that led to the Korean War was accompanied by a parallel shift in Soviet policy toward Japan and toward the Japanese Communist Party, whose objective became revolution by armed force.

Scholars who read Russian will certainly welcome this collection.

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DAVID R. STONE. *Hammer and Rifle: The Militarization of the Soviet Union, 1926–1933*. (Modern War Studies.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2000. Pp. vii, 287. \$39.95.

According to David R. Stone, the chief components of the militarization of the Soviet Union were central economic planning, rearmament, and an increased grip of the military over government policy. The underlying doctrinal justification for militarization was the belief of its leaders that the USSR was engaged in a Manichean struggle between socialism and capitalism. This vision eliminated any prospect that a more pacifist approach might be contemplated. The results of this political and economic revolution were the creation of a better equipped Red Army and a greatly expanded defense sector underpinned by a more modern industrial base, all of which were subordinated to ruthless Communist Party control. Such, in its essentials, is the argument that Stone advances, resting his case on the careful interpretation of documents from military, economic, and party archives in Moscow.

Chapter one establishes the subordination of the Soviet military to the civilian authorities during the mid-1920s, against the background of disputes about the appropriate level of defense expenditure. Defense industry remained in a chaotic condition: official investigations revealed a sorry tale of delays in settling invoices, constant changes to military orders, and stockpiles of raw materials at defense enterprises—all, in fact, very reminiscent of tsarist times. The argument



in chapter two is that the “war scare” of 1927 served to marginalize Joseph Stalin’s opponents, not to transform the defense sector, where reorganization was already under way but “balanced” investment remained the watchword. Only the sustained campaign against the “enemy within” (a familiar episode, charted in chapter three with reference to defense industry) led to the decision to embark on “radical rearmament” (chapter four).

It must be admitted that tales of constant reorganization in the defense sector, as well as of plans that were eventually shelved, sometimes make for rather drab reading—until one realizes that the principals were playing for very high stakes, and that the structures that emerged in the years 1928–1932 proved remarkably durable. Chapter five, which examines the First Five-Year Plan, presents a picture of frenetic investment, coupled with continued complaints about “wrecking.” This chapter could usefully be assigned to graduate classes on Stalinist industrialization. In chapter six, the triumph of the Red Army over civilian agencies (primarily Vesenkha, the Supreme Council of National Economy) becomes complete: ambitious production targets were imposed on fearful and hard-pressed industrial managers, who adopted various evasive measures to protect themselves from the consequences of under-fulfillment of plan targets. A concluding chapter deals with the impact of the Manchurian crisis of 1931 on Soviet rearmament. Stone confirms that intolerable strains were imposed on the industrial sector and alludes (albeit somewhat lamely) to the negative consequences for the First Five-Year Plan as a whole.

Three aspects of the Soviet military revolution deserve to be picked out from the densely packed discussion. First, Stone argues that the Red Army threw its weight behind Stalin during the bitter power struggles of the late 1920s, because Stalin’s opponents on the right (chiefly Aleksei Rykov, the chair of Sovnarkom [Council of People’s Commissars]) were associated with the kind of fiscal prudence that hindered attempts to rearm and remold Soviet armed forces. Second, military leaders insisted on maximizing peacetime production of weaponry and other items while simultaneously striving to devote resources to the creation of an industrial defense capability. This dual commitment imposed an extraordinary defense burden on Soviet economy and society. Finally, although the Red Army came out on top in the fractious battles over resources, it proved to be much more difficult to translate the output of finished defense items into the more complex matter of full military preparedness. (Again, there are obvious parallels with tsarist defense efforts.) Stone concludes that Soviet rearmament in 1928–1932 lumbered the Red Army with large quantities of military materiel that proved obsolete at the outbreak of World War II. A more rational strategy would have been to prioritize the creation of additional capacity and to focus on improvements in the design of weaponry.

Many aspects of this story have been told before, most recently by Lennart Samuelson (*Soviet Defence Industry Planning: Tukhachevskii and Military-Industrial Mobilisation, 1926–1937* [1996]) and John Barber and Mark Harrison (eds., *The Soviet Defence-Industry Complex from Stalin to Khrushchev* [2000]), who cover similar ground. However, by skillfully interweaving political, economic, military, and diplomatic history, Stone provides a valuable complement to these specialist works.

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J. ERIC DUSKIN, *Stalinist Reconstruction and the Confirmation of a New Elite, 1945–1953*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. viii, 195.

The postwar years are perhaps the most neglected period in twentieth-century Russian history. The post-Stalin 1950s and 1960s saw the birth of “Soviet studies” and the production of a wealth of books and articles by political scientists, economists, and sociologists on all aspects of the Cold War Soviet Union. The revolution, the economic transformation of the Five Year Plans, the prewar purges, and World War II have also been the subject of much work by historians. The years 1945–1953 fell between these two well-studied periods. While not a totally new frontier, this era is one on which research is still relatively rare. Despite the lack of attention, however, 1945–1953 was certainly an important time. It comprised nearly a decade of Stalinist power, in which significant social and economic changes took place. These years were part of Russia’s remarkable recovery from the war and its emergence as the second superpower. The USSR of these years arguably had less to do with the USSR of the 1930s than it did with the USSR under Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev. The era of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s cannot be understood without this formative period. These years were, as J. Eric Duskin stresses, a time of confirmation (i.e. of regularization and consolidation).

This is a study of limited length, 118 pages without the introduction and conclusion. The first of four chapters is in fact a description of the industrial labor force rather than a discussion of any kind of elite. Inevitably, then, the book falls rather short of its broad title. It is about the technical intelligentsia, or what the Soviets called “engineering-technical personnel” (*inzhenerno-tekhnicheskie rabotniki*, or ITRs). More specifically it is about ITRs in factories (i.e. managers and other technical staff), and arguably the term “elite” is a misnomer here. Many higher-level leaders of the USSR, the actual elite, came out of the ITR group, as is suggested at several points. It is a pity, then, that more was not said about their impact in the 1960s and 1970s. Although Duskin does attempt to broaden the discussion, in at least one case he falls into error: it is not the case that “few of the men who had led the army

that defeated Hitler . . . had had formal training in military academies" (p. 131).

The thrust of what Duskin does argue is that *praktiki* (unschooled promoted workers) played a smaller role in plant management in the postwar years than they had in the 1930s, and that they were in the process of being replaced by better-educated people. The Stakhanovite movement, which had made the bench-worker the center of the industrializing movement in the 1930s, was diminished in the postwar years. The Stakhanovites were given only a training role. The author neatly ties this in with a contrast between "rationalist" and "voluntarist" wings of the party leadership, which he identifies with, respectively, Nikolai Voznesenskii and Andrei Zhdanov. Unfortunately this argument can only be taken so far, as it is clear that the disgrace (and death) of Voznesenskii had little effect on cadres policy. The explanation for the general change in plant management is surely that the completion of the formal training of a large number of ITRs meant that it was now possible to do without the *praktiki*. The argument about professionalization has been made at a general level by other scholars, such as Vera Dunham and Moshe Lewin, and Duskin's contribution is to provide some practical examples.

The study is based primarily on published sources, but more details might have been provided about the files used from the archives that were consulted, the Russian State Economic Archives (RGAE) and the Central State Archive of St. Petersburg (TsGASP). There is only one major archivally based case study, of the Moscow textile industry. From this, plausible conclusions are drawn, but not ground-breaking ones. On the basis of 2,000–3,000 ITRs in eighteen Moscow textile plants, the author concludes that the prevalence of the *praktiki* was falling nationally. This may be true, but the evidence presented here is insufficient to prove it.

Although of limited scope, this well-written book provides a useful introduction to aspects of the industrial sociology of the USSR in the formative postwar period, and it develops its empirical findings within a broad context.

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#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

GIL J. STEIN. *Rethinking World-Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 1999. Pp. xv, 206. \$40.00.

For over a decade, archaeologists concerned with the earliest urban cities in the Near East have been puzzling over what is called the "Uruk Expansion." Uruk is not only the name given to the largest and the best known of Mesopotamia's earliest literate communities, it is also the name that defines an entire chronological period, from *ca.* 4000 to 3000 B.C.

Within the latter half of this period, there were remarkable developments. Writing was invented, standardized units of measure were developed, and cylinder seals were used, much as the signet ring in later times, for securing property and as a mark of individual witness. The above devices are best viewed as the invention of a technological complex devoted to social control. All, most particularly writing, were invented and used by a central authority as tools to monitor the production, consumption, and redistribution of both labor and commodities. The monitoring of these activities was undertaken by scribes, forming an administrative bureaucracy that resided in monumental structures known also to serve as temples. By 3500 B.C. the city of Uruk was the largest in Mesopotamia, covering approximately 600 acres and having a population of perhaps 25,000. Other cities of slightly lesser size also existed within an evolving settlement pattern of dominant city states surrounded by politically subordinated towns and villages.

Around 3600 B.C. an extraordinary process (series of events?) began. It is referred to as the "Uruk Expansion," and it is the subject of this book. The Uruk peoples of southern Mesopotamia, believed to be Sumerian from the language of their texts, began to colonize distant places. Gil J. Stein refers to this as an Uruk diaspora in which colonies were established in regions far distant from the Uruk homeland. The size of the colonies varied from a few hundred, residing within a foreign community, to a few thousand in towns of their own construction. The nature and function of these colonies, their relationship with indigenous cultures, the cause(s) of the diaspora, and the reasons for the later abandonment of the colonies are vigorously debated. Stein's book is a welcomed addition to that debate.

In an attempt to understand the Uruk Expansion, two models have dominated the literature. The first deals with World Systems and takes its lead from the works of Immanuel Wallerstein. In this view, Uruk colonies represented a trade-diaspora in order to control trade routes and to exploit the local resources of distant regions. Guillermo Algaze's view is that an integrated system of economic exploitation was undertaken by a dominant group that effectively colonized and subordinated local cultures to serve the interests of imperial expansion. Stein offers a nuanced perspective that takes into consideration differences in military, productive, and transport costs as well as demographic and ecological conditions. Specifically, he states that "Under conditions of technological and demographic parity between two regions at different levels of sociocultural complexity, the power of the more developed ('core') region to control its 'periphery' will decay with distance" (p. 62). This in turn will have important consequences; namely, the further the distance from the core, the less the control over trade and all other matters pertaining to the sociocultural world of the indigenous communities.

A considerable body of the work is devoted to

elucidating this premise. The author has spent almost a decade excavating the site of Hacenebi in southeastern Turkey. Hacenebi was clearly affected by the Uruk Expansion, and Stein uses data recovered from his own excavations to unravel the nature of the Mesopotamian impact on the Anatolian frontier. His analysis is a model study in the use of archaeological data to test significant historical processes in the absence of written texts. His conclusion supports both trade-diasporas and distant-parity relationships "as two complementary models in that they look at the same network from different perspectives" (p. 172).

This book is an outstanding achievement that adds to our understanding of the processes that brought forth the world's first urban literate complexity. The Mesopotamian world had its own understanding of this matter. In the most famous of Mesopotamian epics, written centuries after the Uruk Expansion but perhaps recalling its nature, Gilgamesh, who is credited with building the walls around Uruk, travels from that city to the barbarian lands of the distant north. He comments on the backwardness of the region and even disparages the ignorance of cities. Gilgamesh meets with the beastly Humbaba, a northern caricature of an uncivilized being, half-human half-beast. They confront each other in a horrendous wrestling match in which Gilgamesh defeats Humbaba. Gilgamesh then takes Humbaba to Uruk and offers him a gift that Humbaba gratefully accepts: the gift of civilization. Stein's book is another kind of gift; it attempts to understand the nature of the gift of Gilgamesh. It is a most successful attempt!

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PAUL WHEATLEY. *The Places Where Men Pray Together: Cities in Islamic Lands Seventh through the Tenth Centuries*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xviii, 572. \$65.00.

The irreversible transformation, in the seventh century, of North Africa and of most of western Asia into an Islamic world has never been satisfactorily explained, and probably never will be. But it is possible to describe the individual changes that occurred and to sketch the processes that led to these changes and their implications.

Such is the aim of this ambitious, posthumously published book by a distinguished geographer mostly known, until now, for his work on East Asia. After many years of practicing Chinese, Paul Wheatley learned Arabic to complete his overview of Asian urbanism. This book is a masterpiece of scholarship with 243 pages of appendixes, indexes, bibliographies in a dozen languages, glossaries, and notes. Many of the latter are minor studies on technical terms or problems and individual cities not discussed in the body of the book. In fact, there almost is a need for a separate table of contents for the notes, as few would guess that note 70 for chapter one contains a most

perceptive commentary on and critique of Patricia Crone's brilliant analyses of Mecca before Islam. These notes and the huge critical apparatus of the book give it the slightly old-fashioned allure of truly dedicated scholarship backed by thousands of carefully annotated cards. It inspires confidence, in the way history books used to do, and, in most ways, this confidence is justified.

The subject of the book is the urbanization and urban structure of the early Islamic world, a feature of the new culture that was the subject of many essays a couple of generations ago, but that has been replaced in more recent years by ideological, religious, and social topics. The originality of Wheatley's approach to the subject is that he mixes together two ways of looking at it: the general theory of a "central place" adjusted to the limits of medieval data and a very remarkable Arabic treatise from the tenth century, al-Maqdisi's *Best Divisions for the Knowledge of Regions*, a description of the Islamic world according to provinces. For each province, al-Maqdisi developed a hierarchy of cities ranging from major metropolises to simple settlements and identified the necessary functions present in each category. Wheatley transformed al-Maqdisi's descriptions into a pattern that would identify the forms of an Islamic urban system.

Chapters four to fourteen are descriptions of thirteen regions with the identification in each one of marketing and service centers, transportation foci, industrial and craft centers, fortified settlements, and religious establishments. These are all excellent summaries with rich references to archaeological and other data discussed in wonderfully learned notes. There are a few sketch maps, but the visual apparatus is, on the whole, weak and not very informative. This is particularly striking if it is compared to the magnificent plans, drawings, and photographs in a recent and equally heavy two-volume work by another respected geographer, Eugen Wirth's *Die orientalische Stadt im islamischen Vorderasien und Nordafrika* (2000). Dealing, as he did, with an earlier period, Wheatley could not easily use images of contemporary sites, but elaborate maps were possible and all sorts of extrapolations can be imagined from the evidence of today. As a result, these immensely useful chapters are somewhat dry and mechanical.

The third section of the book is the most original one. It deals with what Wheatley calls the "Urban Fabric." He means clusters of characteristics that define three areas: an "arena for the interplay . . . of tensions in the disposition of volumes and spaces," or the ways in which institutions, families, or corporations fit with each other; a "promotion of a characteristic style of life," which can be called urban; and a hierarchy of societal mechanisms that affect the urban center itself as well as its various extensions through connecting roads and common institutions. There follow analyses of the mosque, market-related spaces, manufacturing of textiles, protection through fortresses, and other architectural types. Finally, Wheat-

ley returns to his notion of the city as an "institution of institutions" and illustrates it through the survey of a selection of cities (remarkable essays on Baghdad and Cairo, pp. 270–85). Excellent though they are, these essays suffer from the limitations of available data, so that much is said about secondary places like Anjar and Aqabah, about which much is preserved, but nothing about Aleppo, which was more important.

The book is a bit repetitive and certainly not easy to use, but it is deeply rewarding, in spite of its slightly fundamentalist title.

In his concluding chapter, Wheatley falls back on the old-fashioned position that the two-thousand-odd Muslim urban settlements that can be identified by the tenth century required and created an "environment maximally conducive to the service of God by endowing every aspect of life with religious significance" (p. 329). This was done through the creation of a cohesive "hierarchy" of functions and institutions that may have had regional peculiarities, but that tended to be composed of the same elements everywhere. Thus a new form was created in new or traditional spaces, a form that served to house a new culture and to make it flourish. The contents of this culture are not Wheatley's concern, except for occasional details, but the originality of the setting is clear.

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ABRAHAM DAVID. *To Come to the Land: Immigration and Settlement in Sixteenth-Century Eretz-Israel*. Translated by DENA ORDAN. (Judaic Studies Series.) Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 306. \$49.95.

This book by Abraham David consists of four more or less equal parts: an introduction that surveys the history of the Jews in Ottoman Palestine during the sixteenth century; a chapter devoted to the Jewish community in Jerusalem; a chapter dealing with the Jewish community in Safed; and a kind of appendix dedicated to brief biographies of rabbis in Palestine at the time. The text of all these, however, constitutes only slightly over half the book; the rest is made up of extensive notes based on a wide variety of sources.

The work centers on a period of transition in the history of the Middle East, Palestine, and the Jewish world, especially its Sephardic communities. It was in the second decade of the sixteenth century that the Ottoman armies drove southward and conquered the Arab heartlands of the Levant and Egypt. Later they advanced to take over North Africa, stopping on the borders of present-day Morocco. Thus the entire region came under Ottoman domination for the coming four centuries, its economy was integrated into the vast economy of the empire, and a fairly uniform administrative, military, and legal system came to prevail throughout the Arab lands. These developments ushered in a century of growth and prosperity, as the

Ottoman government maintained security, facilitated trade, and introduced reasonable rates of taxation. During that period, the Ottomans studied the economic and political infrastructure that had obtained in the region and adjusted imperial administrative practices to maximize revenue and control—without, however, committing too large forces that would have brought the government into friction with the local population and drained the empire's resources.

At the same time, the Jewish world was coping with the effects of the expulsion of the Jews from the Iberian peninsula at the close of the fifteenth century. Large numbers of exiles, or refugees, entered the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth century, settling in urban centers along the route, with the encouragement of the highest authorities in the realm. As David points out, a certain number of them reached Palestine and gradually took the leadership—both temporal and spiritual—of all the communities in that relatively unimportant Ottoman province. This was most noticeable in the two largest and most vibrant cities, Jerusalem and Safed. Based on a large variety of sources, the author describes the wide range of economic activities that the Jews engaged in, showing that there was no field from which they were absent. He also examines the attitude of the Ottoman authorities to the Jews and dwells on communal life and organization, as upon the cultural activities led by an impressive list of scholarly luminaries, many of them Sephardic. David also addresses the rivalry that emerged between the rapidly growing community of Safed and the well-established one in Jerusalem.

The great strength of this book is in the wealth of information it provides; its great weakness is the absence of interpretation and contextualization. In a way, this work can be described as a "mine of facts," culled from archival, communal, legal, and other sources; put together in an orderly fashion; classified and catalogued into a reasonable inventory. But David seems totally oblivious to the discourse in Ottoman history, either the older, Orientalist one, or the newer, revisionist one. A great deal of excellent work has been done in recent years on the history of the Arab provinces in the Ottoman Empire, and Palestine has been fortunate to have its fair share in that literature. Although he refers to some of the works, notably those by Amnon Cohen, the author ignores others, especially those written from an Ottomanist perspective either on Palestine or on other Arab provinces. With respect to the evaluations printed on the jacket of the book, this reviewer feels that David has put before us a rather descriptive work, which almost completely lacks any analytical dimension. There is certainly room for such works, which make available to English readers material that has hitherto been accessible only in Hebrew; but this is indeed only a first step, and other scholars can now utilize this useful beginning in order to provide a historical interpretation that will bring the history of sixteenth-century Palestine into the Ottomanist discourse.



There is also an irritating flaw in terminology that could easily have been avoided. Throughout the book, starting with the subtitle, the translator chose—most probably with the author's approval—to use the term "Eretz-Israel" to describe the Ottoman province of Palestine in the sixteenth century. In European languages, the territory, controlled by the state of Israel since 1948, is invariably referred to as Palestine. In Hebrew, the same territory is called *Eretz Yisrael*, whereas in Arabic the appellation is *Filastin* (at times pronounced *Filistin* or *Falastin*), and *Filistin* in Ottoman Turkish. Any violation of this rather simple convention automatically politicizes the issue: if, for example, one says in Hebrew *Filastin*, s/he indicates a pro-Palestinian stance in present-day politics; if one uses *Eretz Yisrael* in English, s/he signals to the addressees a pro-Israeli position. All this is better avoided when writing about a relatively neutral topic such as the history of the Jewish communities in sixteenth-century Palestine. Hence the choice made here is unfortunate and objectionable on scholarly, not on political, grounds. The specific rendering used here, "Eretz-Israel," is an even less appropriate combination of Hebrew and English, which has been naturalized among extreme right-wing circles in the United States; it does not belong in this work, where it occurs hundreds of times.

Another curious technical point is the classification of sources adopted by David. He divides his sources into three categories: Hebrew sources, Christian sources, and Muslim sources (p. 5). Leaving aside for a moment this mixture of linguistic and religious categories, and assuming the author meant Jewish rather than Hebrew sources, this is not a welcome classification in a historical, rather than a theological, work. Sources need to be classified according to their type: Ottoman central state archives, Ottoman local state archives, European state archives, court records, Jewish communal archives, legal treatises, responsa, travel accounts, private family papers, archaeological findings, and so on. This is not merely a semantic classification but one that enables scholars to evaluate and place those texts (or other types of evidence) in their social, political, cultural, and economic contexts. Lack of contextualization is perhaps one of the main problems with David's work. A direct result of this lack of methodological awareness is to be found in the curious phrase that points to "the subjective and prejudicial nature of much of this [the Christian] material." Presumably, David believes that Jewish or Muslim materials—if we follow his own classification—are "objective," or somehow free of any bias, as if this is either possible or even desirable.

In sum, this book provides a valuable description of the main facets of Jewish communal life in sixteenth-century Palestine, with special emphasis on Jerusalem and Safed. Students and scholars can derive a great deal of information from it, but they will have to await

a historical interpretation that engages with current trends in Ottomanist scholarship.

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EUGENE L. ROGAN. *Frontiers of the Ottoman State, Transjordan 1850–1921*. (Cambridge Middle East Studies, number 12.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xiv, 274. \$64.95.

This book shows the workings of nineteenth-century Ottoman centralization in a portion of the empire south of the provincial capital of Damascus. In outline this administrative history is known; Eugene L. Rogan adds the details.

Although the territory had nominally been part of the Ottoman Empire since the Ottoman conquest of Damascus and Cairo in 1516–1517, it had never been closely administered, in part owing to its scant population and resources and in part owing to Ottoman methods of indirect control. The peoples east of the Jordan River and between Damascus in the north and Medina in the south experienced the benefits and the restrictions of Ottoman control only once a year, during the Muslim pilgrimage season. To secure the safety of pilgrims, the Ottomans paid off potential raiders and, if payment did not work, attempted to punish them. There was also an annual spike in trade with the influx of Muslim pilgrims.

This annual cycle of state presence and absence south of Damascus began to change in the nineteenth century. From north to south, from Mediterranean coast to eastern desert, Ottoman control extended gradually on a permanent basis, aided by new means of communication, steam ships, telegraphs, and railroads and by a more effective soldiery. The Ottoman reform called the *Tanzimat* that began in 1839 enunciated the principle of the equality of rights and duties between every Ottoman male subject and the state. In other words, it signaled a turn from subjecthood to citizenship for the peoples of the empire. In 1864, the law of the *vilayets* (provincial administration law) established equality of administration in the various provinces of the empire. All provinces were to be similar in structure and, like individuals, were to shoulder the same burdens of centralized government and enjoy the same benefits of security. From 1864 on, the advance of direct Ottoman administrative control south of Damascus appeared to be inexorable. Britain's occupation of Egypt in 1882 stimulated Istanbul to increase its profile even further southward. By 1893, a governing structure had been imposed in new administrative districts south of Damascus extending toward the Red Sea. These changes fit the pattern of Ottoman rule of the period; as the empire lost control over its western and northern provinces in North Africa and the Balkans, it consolidated its hold in eastern Anatolia, the Fertile Crescent, and northern and western Arabia.

Along with a more pervasive Ottoman presence came increased security, more trade, greater agricul-

tural productivity, and a rise in population. In the areas of social and economic change, we can see through Rogan's work that life in the territories south of Damascus was being transformed in ways similar to changes further north and west earlier in the nineteenth century. The balance between economies and lifestyles based on herding and animal husbandry and economies based on agriculture and settlement was shifting in favor of the latter. Merchants established new outposts. Railroads made it feasible and profitable to trade bulk goods like grain at a time when the Middle East was being drawn into a world market. A greater European presence, and especially the arrival of Catholic and Protestant missionaries, tended to exaggerate and politicize confessional tensions.

Rogan's book is full of information about a little-known corner of the Ottoman Empire. There are problems, however, with the author's conceptualization of his subject. First, the territory south of Damascus constituted an Ottoman frontier only in an administrative sense. There is no cultural or geographical difference that marks out this territory as a whole or the people who lived in it from those around them. Second, the author's constant use of a twentieth-century term, Transjordan, to define his focus will give the unwary reader, or the politically motivated reader, a false sense of the geographical, cultural, and political coherence of the place and its separateness prior to the twentieth century. This lends the eventual creation of Transjordan as a state an aura of inevitability that distorts the historical record; the present-mindedness of the author's usage erases the otherness of the past. This is a hazard for all historians of the Middle East prior to the twentieth century. But other authors, most recently Beshara Doumani and Ussama Makdisi, have managed to write about discrete portions of the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century—Jabal Nablus and Mount Lebanon respectively—without giving the impression of inevitability to the emergence of Palestinian nationalism or to the creation of Lebanon in the twentieth. (See Beshara Doumani, *Rediscovering Palestine: Merchants and Peasants in Jabal Nablus, 1700–1900* [1995]), and Ussama Makdisi, *The Culture of Sectarianism: Community, History, and Violence in Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Lebanon* [2000]). Finally, while the state came to the lands south of Damascus in the guise of a centralized Ottoman administration in the nineteenth century, the territory that became Transjordan was not itself a state until the twentieth century. There is no getting around the fact that the state of Transjordan was a result of early twentieth-century British interests in the Middle East or that the specificity of Transjordan's identity was attendant on the creation of twentieth-century borders.

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EYAL ZISSER, *Lebanon: The Challenge of Independence*. New York: I. B. Tauris. 2000. pp. xiii, 297. \$59.50.

In the preface to this solid account of independent Lebanon's first presidential regime, Eyal Zisser distinguishes between "deterministic" historians who see Lebanon's political trajectory (and its disastrous civil war) as shaped by the problematic origins of the modern state of "Greater Lebanon," and those who give more latitude to agency and contingency and who view the state as fundamentally sound. While this study touches only lightly on the historiographical debates over contemporary Lebanon, Zisser cautiously aligns himself with the latter position. He then goes on to offer a meticulous analysis of personalities and elite politics during the regime of independent Lebanon's first president, Bishara al-Khuri, from 1943 to 1952. Al-Khuri, indeed, is the central focus of the book, which draws heavily on British and French archives, Lebanese newspapers, and memoirs. The absence of on-the-ground field work in Lebanon may account for a certain antiseptic distance to the narrative, and a thinness in the depiction of the personalities of Khuri and other Lebanese politicians.

Bishara al-Khuri, a Maronite Christian, is probably best remembered for having co-authored with Riad al-Sulh, a Sunni Muslim, Lebanon's informal "National Pact" of 1943. The pact institutionalized a sectarian power-sharing formula originally put in place by the French when they created the "State of Greater Lebanon" out of parts of former Ottoman Syria in 1920. It also called for Lebanon to strike a balance in its foreign policies between the (Christian) West and the (Muslim) Arab East. As a relatively centrist Maronite politician, Khuri was able to heal, temporarily at least, the rift between Lebanon's Christians and Muslims that the creation of Greater Lebanon had exacerbated. This was no small achievement, and Zisser recognizes it as such (p. 51). Khuri's role, along with many others in the Lebanese elite, in achieving Lebanon's independence from France (with a lot of help from the British) is also nicely described.

Zisser is fair minded and lucid in his depiction of Khuri's mastery of the game of coalition-building that led to his domination of Lebanese politics throughout the 1940s. He ably tells how Khuri, at the peak of his influence in the 1947 parliamentary elections, began to overreach, engineering a second term for himself by getting Parliament to circumvent the Constitution's single-term limit. By 1948 and 1949, the Palestine war and upheavals in Syria were creating instability in Lebanon and weakening a president whose ambition was already beginning to generate domestic opposition. Lebanon's execution of the leader of the Syrian Social National Party in 1949 helped widen the already growing rift between Khuri and his erstwhile nation-building partner, Sulh. Ultimately the defection of virtually the entire Sunni establishment and the formation of an opposition front that was able to claim a mass following forced Khuri's resignation in 1952, even though he still commanded a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. Zisser is at pains to point out that this so-called "rosewater revolution" was in fact

carried out legally, "within the system." Nevertheless, it signalled that all was not well in the system: elite cohesion, a requisite for successful "consociational democracy," was fraying, and popular forces outside the country's sectarian, quasifeudal, and business elite were straining it. Clearly, Khuri proved unequal to the task of dealing with these challenges. The question remains whether any Lebanese politician would have been able to handle them. Zisser's answer is not entirely clear.

Zisser is surely right to argue that Lebanon's first decade of independence, somewhat neglected in the literature, is "of major importance for the understanding of the country's subsequent history" (p. xi). His book therefore is a welcome addition to the history of this period. If it fails to offer any sharp new interpretations, that is because the author is careful—perhaps too careful—to go beyond his narrative of the "game" of elite politics in Lebanon. Zisser faithfully records the minuet of the notables and offers a fine-grained interpretation of coalition formation and personal rivalries set in the formal institutional context of a parliamentary electoral system dominated by a strong presidency. Lebanon's political "drama" (perhaps too strong a term) is played out against a distant backdrop of historic sectarian divisions and contemporary upheavals—socioeconomic, ideological and regional. But it lacks the exciting plot found in neighboring places like Egypt, Syria, or Palestine-Israel; and as for the *dramatis personae*, President al-Khuri certainly pales by comparison with strong leaders like Gamal Abdel Nasser or David Ben-Gurion.

But perhaps it was the president's very "dullness" that helps account for Lebanon's relative stability during these formative years: in the end, writes Zisser, "It was precisely by clinging to the old system that Khuri succeeded in consolidating newly independent Lebanon" (p. 243). Zisser's depiction of the Lebanese notables reminds one of W.S. Gilbert's comment on British politicians: "The House of Peers, throughout the war/Did nothing in particular/And did it very well/Yet Britain set the world ablaze/In good King George's glorious days" The only problem is that Lebanon eventually set itself ablaze. The author, to his credit, asks whether Khuri "missed his chance of shaping a thoroughly novel Lebanese polity, one that would have withstood the shocks of 1958 and 1975" (p. 242). While sympathetic to this argument, he seems finally to lean toward the conclusion that Khuri, with all his flaws, was—in a very modest way—a nation-builder: "the political structure of Lebanon was more solid at the conclusion of Khuri's incumbency than at its outset" (p. 243). One wishes that Zisser had written a longer, more robust, and sharper conclusion. He leaves us wondering whether, after all, Lebanon's political fate wasn't "predetermined" by sociocultural "realities."

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SIMON C. SMITH. *Kuwait 1950–1965 : Britain, the al-Sabah and Oil*. (British Academy Postdoctoral Fellowship Monograph.) New York: Oxford University Press: published for the British Academy. 1999. Pp. 167.

Simon C. Smith has written a workmanlike diplomatic history of a crucial period in Anglo-Kuwaiti relations, taking the story from the Suez crisis of 1956 through the declaration of Kuwaiti independence in June 1961, Iraq's threat to annex Kuwait a week later, and into the beginnings of Kuwait's attempts to carve out a unique role for itself within the Arab world.

Like the other Persian Gulf states, Kuwait owes its survival as an independent entity to the vagaries of nineteenth-century geopolitics, especially to the treaties Britain signed with various rulers during that period. As well as ensuring the survival of the individual states, the treaties were also fundamental in maintaining particular ruling families in power, not only against challenges from potentially rapacious neighbors (the Ottomans, the Iranians, and later the Saudis) but also against challenges to their legitimacy from within. In Kuwait, these internal challenges were in evidence quite early: that is, before oil became the main dynamo of the economy. Thus Sheik Ahmad I (1921–1950), the predecessor of Sheik 'Abdullah III (with whom the book is principally concerned), had been obliged to give in to demands for a (quasi) representative council in 1938, partly in the face of an early Iraqi claim that Kuwait was part of Iraq, and partly because members of the Kuwaiti upper and middle classes were chafing against Ahmad's irritating parsimony with state funds, which he considered his own property. In accepting the council, he was also responding to pressure from the British political resident, who saw the dangers that such autocratic rule would pose for the future both of the family and of the British connection. Sheik 'Abdullah, then in his forties, actually became president of the council.

One of the peculiar intricacies of Kuwaiti politics, with which, quite reasonably, Smith is not especially concerned, is the disruptive potential, within quite a large ruling family, of the succession, which has passed (not quite) alternately between the male descendants of Jabir ibn Mubarak (r. 1915–1917) and of his brother Salim ibn Mubarak (r. 1917–1921). Thus, Ahmad and 'Abdullah were the sons respectively of Jabir and Salim; Muhammad Jabir, the present ruler, is a grandson of Jabir, while his predecessor (in this instance, his own father), who died in 1977, was a son of Jabir, and his own successor, his cousin Sa'd, is a grandson of Salim. This "system" has produced large opportunities for factionalism and cronyism, since it takes some time for an individual ruler to nominate an heir apparent, and it has also meant that a good deal of attention has had to be given to placating members or branches of the family who are not in power.

Smith charts the various adjustments that had to take place in Anglo-Kuwaiti relations as the sheer magnitude of Kuwait's oil wealth, and oil reserves,

gradually became apparent. First, it was clear that the rulers' own credibility (in this case, 'Abdullah's) would be dangerously compromised if Kuwait's dependence on Britain could not be rearranged—at the very least, as far as outside appearances were concerned. This was particularly urgent after the Suez fiasco and the embarrassing revelations of the extent of Anglo-French-Israeli complicity. Second, Smith capably unravels the complex issue of Kuwait's sterling balances. In 1953, Kuwait provided fifty-eight percent of Britain's oil needs (p. 135) for which Britain, along with Kuwait's other clients, paid in sterling. Thus Britain simultaneously welcomed Kuwait's investments and feared the consequences of a possible run on sterling if the Kuwaitis were ever to withdraw them. In fact, especially after the threat from Iraq in 1961, it became clear that it would be prudent for Kuwait to make it known that investment funds would be made available to its more penurious neighbors (among whom Iraq could scarcely be said to feature). This led to the creation of the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic development in 1962, and a long-lasting "gentlemen's agreement" that a large part of Kuwait's investments would continue to be held in sterling.

In sum, this is a useful and well-written account of the redefinition of a relationship that long continued, and in a somewhat altered sense continues, to be quite beneficial to both of the parties concerned. It would be interesting to hear the Kuwaiti side, since, of course, we only hear the voices of that part of the cast through the mediation of British official accounts. Perhaps the book's main achievement is to show that, at least in that part of the region which became most important to its interests, Britain's moment in the Middle East did not quite come to an end in 1956.

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HENRY S. BRADSHER. *Afghan Communism and Soviet Intervention*. New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xviii, 443. \$17.95.

Henry S. Bradsher is not an academic historian, but he is eminently qualified to write on the rise of Communism in Afghanistan and its eventual demise. A journalist by profession, Bradsher was the bureau chief for the Associated Press in New Delhi (1959–1964) and Moscow (1964–1968). He was thereafter a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C. where he wrote his first book on Afghanistan. The book under review supercedes Bradsher's *Afghanistan and the Soviet Union*, which was published in 1983, and updated in 1985. This book is a rewritten version of events in the earlier book and contains description of the final period through Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan in 1989 and the collapse of Communist rule in 1992.

It should be kept in mind that the Afghan monarchy had established close links with the Soviet Union, which eventually paved the way for the leftist revolu-

tion that occurred in 1978 and culminated in the Soviet intervention in December 1979. Bradsher has given a remarkably detailed description of the formation of the Communist movement in Afghanistan, its bifurcation into two factions (parties?), "invitation" to the Soviet Union, and, finally, an assessment of its future in Afghanistan. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) came to power thirteen years after its formation in 1966 and never described itself as the Communist Party, although it is true that the USSR had fostered its development since its infancy.

Bradsher highlights three views of Afghanistan's possible future development espoused by three groups that had emerged in 1958: businessmen and technocrats who were dominant until 1978 and were supported by Sardar Daoud Khan and King Zahir Shah; "westernized" and educated elite with traditional Islamic orientations who eventually established the Jamiat-i-Islami in 1958; and the Communists, who operated clandestinely but surfaced on the political scene during the decade of democracy (1963–1973). Of these three groups, the Communists triumphed, at an enormous cost of destruction of their fellow countrymen, with the onset of the Soviet intervention.

The PDPA initiated its formation in Nur Muhammad Taraki's home in January 1965 where Babrak Karmal assumed the second position of leadership. No two more disparate personalities could have been yoked together in one movement. Karmal hailed, maintains Bradsher, from "Afghanistan's aristocracy as the son of a royal general," and wanted to work within the royal system to expand Marxist influence. Karmal was twice elected to the Afghan Parliament during the decade of democracy. Taraki, on the other hand, Bradsher points out, "wanted to gain supporters from a position of opposition." Taraki was a Pashtun; however, Bradsher gives a very interesting, yet peculiar, description of Karmal's ethnic identity, saying that "Karmal was Kashmire, but appearing essentially Tajik and claiming Pashtun ancestry."

Almost a year before the overthrow of the Daoud regime in April 1978, the two factions of the PDPA (the Parchami—with Karmal as their leader—and the Khalq—with Taraki and Hafeezullah Amin as their leaders) had restored "unity." Within two months after the takeover of Afghanistan by the PDPA, the facade of unity disappeared, and Karmal and his associates were posted as ambassadors abroad. Karmal, however, returned to Kabul in December 1979, when the Soviet Union intervened.

Bradsher points out that the statistical information about the PDPA members is dubious and, in any case, Communism in Afghanistan was limited to a fairly small number of persons. Moreover, the PDPA was unable "to replace the throne as a symbol of national unity for the country's disparate ethnic, tribal and linguistic groups" and was not able to eliminate dissensions within its own ranks. Rightly, Bradsher predicts that Soviet Marxist-Leninism will [not] win wide-



spread acceptance in a land of ruggedly unvanquished people.

The last chapter of the book discusses the Muja-hideen's victory, their internal conflicts, and the downfall of Muhammed Najibullah. The book does not discuss the rise of the Taliban.

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DONALD CRUMMEY. *Land and Society in the Christian Kingdom of Ethiopia: From the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Century*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 373. \$60.00.

Donald Crummey has spent twenty years diligently uncovering manuscripts from churches and monasteries in northern Ethiopia, aided by student assistants and colleagues from Addis Ababa University. These manuscripts were systematically catalogued and micro-filmed thanks to a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Manuscripts from scattered European libraries were also added to the body of documentation for this study.

Crummey's concern is with Ethiopian *gult*, administrative (as opposed to proprietary) rights over land granted by the state to aristocrats and to the church, and as well with the means by which the state used *gult* to build, legitimize, and strengthen its hold on power. Crummey examines the competition (class struggle in his mind) between aristocrats and the state as the former sought to transform *gult* into *rist* (i.e. rights of inheritance or ownership allowing transfer of land between individuals or generations). Such effort was particularly evident during times when the state was weak (as in eighteenth-century Ethiopia); at other times, emperors sought through marriage or military action to reassert imperial control over land. Competition was also reflected in grants of *gult* to the church. Given traditionally strong church-state relations in Ethiopia, such grants not only provided sustenance for the church itself but also cemented the emperor's relations with local populations. At the same time, individuals might endeavor to transfer their land to the church for safekeeping or to achieve divine reward. Grants to the church could reflect imperial preferment of various churches, particularly at times when the church itself was rent by theological divisions. Emperor Tewodros (mid-nineteenth century) jeopardized his base of power by seeking to limit church lands in order to garner more economic resources for recentralizing and reinvigorating the state.

The land grants that Crummey examines are recorded by clerics in the margins of sacred texts. The great majority are land grants to various churches, either from state or individual sources. Using this material is problematic (as Crummey informs us), since many of the individuals referenced are not in historical memory and since language and terminology have evolved. Crummey is impeccable in his analysis and presentation of the documents. He periodizes

each and discusses what they purport to tell us about changes in land tenure over time. He places them in historical context (shedding occasional new insight), relating them to both regional and church politics.

Crummey struggles to make optimal use of his source materials but in the end derives less than he has led us to expect. The book appears to be more about church-state relations than about state and society (as reflected in the book's title), and fuller exertions in that direction might have been more fruitful. Certainly the fact that the state and individuals manipulated land for their own political and social purposes is no great revelation, although some of the specific episodes highlighted are of interest. Crummey is honest in pointing out that his documents relate primarily to the church, but that transfers of land to the military were even more important in the overall scheme of Ethiopian society. He asserts that the patterns would be similar; Crummey may be right, but the reader must wonder. And on a comparative basis, scholars with interest in land tenure elsewhere in Africa or in European feudalism are left largely to draw their own comparisons.

For those of us who have struggled with understanding Ethiopian land tenure in the modern period, one can certainly appreciate Crummey's painstaking efforts. His work is useful in that he provides an evolutionary glimpse into how nineteenth-century land tenure systems emerged, particularly as relates to land measurement and commoditization. In the final analysis, although he attempts to glean more than is justifiable from his material, his is a useful exercise. These documents need examination to see of what value they might be, but certainly not all research is as productive as one might wish. Crummey should be praised for his role in bringing this material to light and in helping to preserve it for future generations of scholars, who, equipped with new contexts, paradigms, and tools, might find more uses for it.

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RAHMA BOURQIA and SUSAN GILSON MILLER, editors. *In the Shadow of the Sultan: Culture, Power, and Politics in Morocco*. (Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, number 31.) Cambridge: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies; distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1999. Pp. xi, 331. \$19.95.

The world has been much preoccupied of late with culture, power, and politics in Islamic societies. Due to its astounding longevity, the Moroccan state in its premodern and modern forms invites scholarly scrutiny as well as reflection. Royal authority of one sort or another has been wielded by a succession of sultan-kings since the early ninth century, a phenomenon almost without equal in world history; needless to say, that authority has also been contested in myriad ways over those centuries. The twelve essays in this volume edited by Rahma Bourqia and Susan Gilson Miller

tackle the problem of legitimacy by seeking out the "connections between state power and the individual." Not that the Moroccan monarchy has been neglected by political theorists—far from it, although the political economy model has generally prevailed. In contrast, however, to the political scientist's top-down approach, each essay isolates point of critical intersection between culture writ large and manifestations of political authority. Power as performed and symbolized during Morocco's long dynastic history has also excited the anthropologists, notably Clifford C. Geertz. In Geertz's scheme of things, the country's political life has been dominated by a "combustible" or "extravagant" charismatic authority articulated by the ideology of *baraka* and embodied by the figure of the saint or holy man; this type of authority, so the argument goes, renders the Morocco state intrinsically different from the Weberian model of the traditional but rational state. Not so, reply the volume's contributors. Historically political authority also resided in the notion of just rule, which a particular ruler might, or might not, personify; the laws and ethical norms giving expression to that notion existed above and beyond the office of sultan and were confirmed in popular perceptions, rituals, beliefs, and praxis. And since colonial scholarship continues to inform thinking on the Moroccan state—often wrongly conflated with Morocco's history—that literature is subjected to revision as well.

A project of this historical sweep and complexity could only succeed through trans-disciplinary collaboration as well as trans-atlantic cooperation with leading Moroccan scholars. The papers are arranged in four chronological subgroupings ample enough to accommodate diverse perspectives while not losing the thread of historical disjunctures as well as continuities. The two pieces in "Antecedents" investigate medieval political systems beginning with the Almoravids. Mohamed Kably argues that, until roughly the fifteenth century, the "arsenal of legitimizing means" at the disposal of, and deployed by, Moroccan dynasties represented an "embarrassment of riches" which narrowed considerably by the time of the Sa'di dynasty and the early sixteenth century. He thus demonstrates the historical movement of the ideology and practice of sharifianism which has too frequently been cast as a monolithic, unchanging set of religio-political principles undergirding the sultan-ruler's legitimacy. In "Speaking to Princes," Abdelfattah Kilito explores the relationship between princes and scholars in terms of the discursive power wielded by the men of learning; speech as well as silence were used to admonish even the most redoubtable rulers who might be moved to tears when confronted with a serious moral lapse.

Part two, "Peripheries," is mainly devoted to the pre-colonial and colonial eras. Miller and Daniel J. Schroeter employ relations between Moroccan rulers and Moroccan Jews to argue that apparently marginal groups had a hand in the construction of legitimacy. Also in this section, Mohamed El Mansour follows the

historical trajectory of the notion of *hurm* (sacred protection; sanctuary) in its dynamic relationships to central authority, religious groups, and ordinary people as well as its erosion due to modernity and colonialism.

Part three, "Centers," deals with the postcolonial and contemporary periods. In Abdellah Hammoudi's view, the concept of *dar al-mulk* or "the house of power" has been reinvigorated by the current political system in concert with the establishment of modern authoritarianism; the social elements that link modern state power with the older "house of power" are the gift, the favor, and a kind of proximity that mimics kinship. Elaine Combs-Schilling investigates the performance of monarchy and the staging of the nation by comparing celebrations held in 1593 and in 1993 of the Prophet's birthday, always organized by, and around, the reigning monarch. The 1993 event widened "central performative space" to include women for the first time, which can be read as a new staging of what the nation means. Gary S. Gregg employs the life histories of ordinary Moroccan youth as an entry point into the psychological dimensions of political culture, particularly the issues of authority, autonomy, and loyalty.

Youth and the future lead into the final section, part four, "Prospects," which interrogates the present with an eye to what lies ahead. Bourqai analyzes the cultural legacy of power in relationship to Islamist appeals to disaffected social groups; Henry Munson, Jr., looks at the collective demand for true democratization during the rigged 1993 elections which fostered deep and abiding discontents. Finally, Susan E. Waltz suggests that political activity on the margins of the political game, such as repression and human rights agitation, represents a more valuable vantage point for understanding legitimacy than the conventional monarchy-centered approach.

This work is not intended to be a definite statement on the question of legitimacy, rather it seeks to uncover stable as well as mobile or unstable points of cultural reference and imbrication between power and society in the past and present. From here future research can take up the challenge offered by the contributions in this important collection.

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#### SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

LUISE WHITE. *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa*. (Studies on the History of Society and Culture, number 37.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 352. Cloth \$50.00, paper \$19.95.

Here is a book at one and the same time fascinating and slightly frustrating. It is fascinating by its topic and the long quest it involves, as the first research on the subject began in the early 1970s and has lasted for nearly thirty years. Beside an abundant bibliography,

Luise White collected 130 interviews between the early 1970s and the early 1990s. It is frustrating for the same reasons: most chapters were written separately, from 1990 to 1997, and first published in varied periodicals. They all deal with the same topic in areas of central and eastern Africa: southern Uganda, eastern Congo, northern Zambia (plus a special study of the phenomenon in Nairobi and another in Kampala). The periods chosen vary: most of them deal with the interwar period or a shorter time during the interwar period, except for Kampala, which is studied in the 1950s.

Despite a strong introduction, on "Blood and Words: Writing History with (and about) Vampire Stories," the book does not completely avoid forms of an apparent disorder, when a common thematic is scattered through case studies, both convincing and well thought out but sometimes slightly repetitive as far as theory is concerned. The topic is highly original. It is an attempt to root cultural realities into politics and economy. People in the areas studied (but probably people elsewhere, too) told and still tell horrible stories of bloodsucking white men, specifically firemen, doctors, game rangers, and even butchers or priests. What is striking is the repetitive format of these stories of bloodsucking and injections, while the meaning and use of them is different according to the area and the colonization (noticeably similar rumors were found in the Belgian Congo and British colonies). The phenomenon is varied enough to be summarized by the word "vampires," which is used to translate several terms in local languages according to the manner in which people interpret the affair (i.e. this translation for the local term of *banyama* was adopted by colonial officers in Northern Rhodesia as early as 1931). White is cautious enough to minimize the use of this imported word, justified by the fact—so she asserts—that the concept only appeared with colonialism, and more usually in the 1920s (even if such tales may be found in Uganda thirty years before the organization of full-time firemen).

As a matter of fact, White discusses the hypothesis that connects these stories with frequent beliefs predating the colonial period, noticeably with earlier versions born as early as the sixteenth century and the slave trade. She argues that these modern rumors were coeval to new political processes and clearly related to colonialism. Can we be so sure that no connection existed? Is it enough to rely on her informers, most of them asserting that white vampires began to expand just after the end of World War I, between 1918 and 1925? It is interesting to note that this emergence came with the flourishing of black independent churches during the same period. But at the same time, it reveals how the basic beliefs of the Christian faith were difficult for many. Some people had a literal interpretation of the Catholic Mass: transubstantiation, for the popular Bembas of the 1930s, meant that Catholic priests ate flesh and drank blood, not that bread and wine became flesh and blood (pp. 191–92). The intolerable treatment imposed on the people

justified these beliefs. According to the author, this was "modern" and urban belief, little or not at all related to the expansion of witchcraft that also revealed other reactions, more connected to the ideological and rural heritage of the people.

One may not be completely convinced by White's assertions and interpretations of these well-shared beliefs and rumors. But we cannot but admire her use of oral history and her attempt really to understand the world through the eyes of the colonized. Despite the difficulty of deciphering and interpreting testimonies from missionaries or colonial officers, the result sounds credible, thanks to the patience of her meticulous observations and oral investigations. White catches and analyzes cultural facts that are difficult to locate and to date. My only criticism might be that she should have used more comparative history. She quotes and uses Jean-Noël Kapferer, *Rumors: Uses, Interpretations, and Images* (1990), and Alain Corbin, *The Village of Cannibals: Rage and Murder in France, 1870* (1992). She might have added a book the title of which was very close to her own subtitle: *De la rumeur à l'histoire* by Alfred Sauvy and Anita Hirsch (1985). White does not look elsewhere in Africa, comparing what she personally observed to other locations and authors; using a few remarkable studies on similar topics, such as *Le cadavre: De la biologie à l'anthropologie* (1980) by the well-known francophone sociologist Louis-Vincent Thomas; or comparing what she has studied with the recent reemergence in South Africa of the zombi phenomenon. This is definitely a book that has to be read, discussed, and thought upon.

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JEAN ALLMAN and VICTORIA TASHJIAN. *"I Will Not Eat Stone": A Women's History of Colonial Asante*. (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2000. Pp. xlv, 255. Cloth \$65.00, paper \$24.95.

The title of Jean Allman and Victoria Tashjian's study of early colonial Asante signals the spirit of the book. The entire expression, "If I am divorced, I will not eat stone" (p. xlv, n. 33), hints at an uneasy dialogue between husbands and wives in the chaotic early decades of the twentieth century. This ongoing debate concerned women's claims to maintenance, their control of the fruits of their labor in the emerging cocoa economy, the threat women's trade presented to male dominance, and the potential of colonial judicial structures to provide women with unexpected venues for action. Women emerge as pugnacious defenders of their own interests in a time of "gender chaos." It is a marvelous title for a marvelous book.

Allman and Tashjian reveal striking convergences in research conducted separately from different points of departure. Focusing on mothering and childrearing in Allman's case, and marriage in Tashjian's, the authors independently used intimate lenses to view tremendous economic and social changes in a historically

matrilineal region. Both drew on court documents and oral interviews with women of the first colonized generation. Their work confirms a now-familiar gendered chronology of the colonial period in Africa: prior to 1930, women seized upon opportunities and challenged emerging restrictions within a rapidly changing political economy. From the 1930s on, the colonial state and elders (largely male) struggled to impose controls over the prevailing "gender chaos," redefining customary expectations and consolidating "traditional" male authority.

The history of cocoa production, they demonstrate, is inevitably also a history of marriage. The authors make exemplary use of court cases to explore this confused period and the many ironies to which it gave rise, not the least of which was that men's rights to their children were enhanced at the very same time that their obligations to maintain those children declined. Women in the increasingly monetized cocoa economy were expected to provide far more labor for their husbands' farms than earlier generations of women. The conception of marriage as a rather fluid process defined by families constantly assessing a man's attentiveness to his wife and offspring gave way to a narrow, legalistic understanding of marriage defined by the colonial courts. As men's incentives to provide well for the family were substantially reduced, the role and understanding of children changed as well. The subordinate categories of "slave" and "pawn" were subsumed under the categories of "wife" and "child," "as the power of the husband/father was remade in ways that eerily mirrored the authority of the nineteenth-century Asante pawn-holder" (p. 222). Fatherhood shifted from being a "transactional relationship to a status imbued with inalienable rights" (p. 97), while children came to regard themselves as the natural heirs to their fathers' wealth.

The resultant challenge to matriliney originated not with Christianity and missions but rather with the increasingly individuated quality of cocoa production in frontier areas far from a woman's kin. Growing demands on women's labor and income in an era of declining male provision for the household encouraged women to take up trade, which afforded them better control of the fruits of their hard work. Although divorce could free up a woman to control her own labor, it jeopardized her claim to the conjugal cocoa farms. Women opting out of marriage prompted moral panic among local authorities, who launched periodic round-ups of "spinsters" to encourage them (not very successfully) to marry. Missions also attempted to shape women into proper Christian wives through domestic education. However, Asante women received and interpreted such instruction very much in their own terms.

The genius of this book is that it poses questions derived from relatively recent ethnographic and sociological work on Ghana and applies those questions to the intellectual "deadzone" of Ghana's historiography—the underexplored conceptual and temporal

space between the precolonial Asante kingdom and the world of the Gold Coast Colony. This accessible and refreshingly optimistic book focusing on women's agency in the early colonial period invites a rethinking of the chronology and locus of Asante history and a renewed attention to some surprisingly broad patterns in colonial-era gender relations across an extremely diverse continent. Its one shortcoming, in my view, is that coauthorship has given rise to some unevenness in the writing: one senses seams and layers of revision that have not been entirely smoothed over. Perhaps this is just as well, for the daring of drawing disparate sets of data together to tell one resonant tale about the early colonial period should never be entirely lost upon the reader.

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J. D. Y. PEEL, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*. (African Systems of Thought.) Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2000. Pp. xi. 420. \$49.95.

J. D. Y. Peel has written widely on the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria; this is his third book on this well-studied ethnic group. It is the product of years of archival research at the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) in England. Peel uses CMS missionaries' "annual letters" and journals—"the pride of the archive"—to examine and to analyze "the nature and consequences of the CMS intervention in Yoruba history" in the nineteenth century (p. 44). These journals, as the author correctly notes, provide sociological and historical information about nineteenth-century Yoruba society, as well as accounts of CMS evangelical work among the Yoruba. In his analysis, therefore, he adopts an anthropological and historical approach to craft a very readable piece of work on the transformation of nineteenth-century Yoruba society. In the process, he highlights the role CMS African agents, most of whom were Yoruba, played in the religious and social transformation of nineteenth-century Yoruba society. After all, about fifty-five percent of the journal accounts emanate from them. This acknowledgement of the African factor is certainly a welcome departure from the hitherto obsessive focus on European missionaries as the sole architects of change in Africa.

The first chapter discusses the nature and intrinsic values of missionaries' "annual letters" and journals. The author however warns that they should be read in context, and with caution. "These journals need to be read . . . as sources of information about the world which produced them [,] and as narratives which are of intrinsic value . . . [However] the real challenge is to allow for the effects of the missionaries' selective interest in what they saw, the rubrics governing their reportage, and the psychological, even ontological, assumptions that lay behind them. The most far-reaching of these was a syndrome of values which marked the outlook of evangelical missionaries on



'other cultures'" (pp. 11, 12). As one who has used these sources, I certainly concur, and strongly recommend them to those involved in the historical reconstruction of Christian missions' operations.

Subsequent chapters deal with familiar issues: warfare and the transformation of Yoruba society in the nineteenth century; Christian missionary evangelism in this "age of confusion"; Yoruba responses to Christianity and Islam; and the persistence of African (Yoruba) traditional religious beliefs and practices. Of interest is the discussion of Yoruba conversion to Islam and Christianity, as the two world religions vied for power and influence among the Yoruba. Scholars of missions in Africa have often asked, why did Africans convert to Christianity? Explanations not only vary; they are quite complex. In the Yoruba case, Peel seems to have shed his earlier views and now attributes Yoruba acceptance of Islam or Christianity partly to pragmatism. Thus, for example, Yoruba chiefs "in search for power" welcomed missionaries (pp. 126–32, 216–17), while the masses, including even archreligious traditionalists (*balalawos* and *orisha* priests), ostensibly converted because of expectations of better life. Using individual case histories grounded on missionaries' letters and journals, Peel examines the interplay of motivations and conversion. In the main, Yoruba "pragmatic search for personal *alafia* [well being] . . . most often came to the fore in initial Yoruba inquiries of Christianity" (p. 227). It is indeed striking that "nearly half a century of missionary effort [1842–1890] had [only] succeeded in converting roughly 1 percent" of the Yoruba population (p. 242). But then, British colonialism "made the difference," meaning that eventual mass movement toward Christianity occurred in the colonial era, again because of "the realization that the good things of life depended so much on the mastery of European knowledge (in which Christianity is included)" (p. 243).

Chapter ten, "The Making of the Yoruba," is perhaps the most eye-catching section of the book, and, in my view, the most contentious. In it, the author discusses the development of Yoruba ethnic consciousness and contends that the Yoruba actually began to know themselves as a distinctive people in the nineteenth century through their encounter with the Christian missions (pp. 310–12). By then, too, they had become receptive to "the modernizing values introduced by the missionaries" (p. 45). Thus, in "Looking Back" (chapter eleven), Peel once again employs life histories (e.g. Wole Soyinka and others) to confirm the impact of Christianity on the overall Yoruba cultural and nationalist agenda (p. 317).

While specialists may debate and/or question Peel's claims that the Yoruba owe their concept of nationality, or ethnicity, to the Christian missions, his book is nonetheless a worthwhile contribution to Africanist and Yoruba scholarship.

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OLUFEMI VAUGHAN. *Nigerian Chiefs: Traditional Power in Modern Politics, 1890s-1990s*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, number 7.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press, 2000. Pp. xiv, 293. \$79.00.

The recent surge of interest in the importance of traditional forms of political leadership in Africa is deeply bound up with the continent's elusive quest for the goals of stable democracy and good governance. In this competent study, mainly of the Yoruba region of southwestern Nigeria, Olufemi Vaughan argues persuasively that the continuing importance of chieftaincy has to be seen in a long-run historical perspective, not just in purely presentist terms, as "the invention of tradition." Only thus can we grasp the fluid interaction of "traditional" values and practices and the struggle of communities for access to the resources of the Nigerian state that makes chieftaincy a topic for the political historian and not just the anthropologist.

The book takes the form of a fairly conventional political history, beginning with the way that British power was grafted onto the given political forms of the Yoruba: city-states, some of them populous towns, headed by petty kings (*oba*) and councils of chiefs. The youthful educated elite, which spearheaded the nationalist movement, attacked this "indirect rule" because it excluded them from local power, and it seemed in the 1950s that an elected representative democracy might eventually displace chiefs altogether. But nationalist politicians, having made it clear that they were the new masters, still treated *oba* and chiefs as useful sources of support and began to take honorific chiefly titles themselves. It was not just that chiefs retained value in the eyes of ordinary Nigerians as the symbols of their communities, but that state-oriented politics built on, and did not displace, existing communal values. Chieftaincy is inimical to modern democracy not because it is not representative, but because of the particular way that it is: particularistic, in that chiefs are qualified by their birth membership of the communities they represent; and personalist, in that their constituents, whether individual or collective, seek advantage from them through the exploitation of personal ties. As a result, chieftaincy helped shape the ethno-clientelist pattern of politics that has prevailed in postindependence Nigeria.

Whereas in his colonial history Vaughan follows a fairly well-marked trail, in the second half of the book, which covers the period since the first military coup of 1966, he breaks new ground and presents a more trenchant analysis. Throughout he is a trusty guide through the labyrinth of changing Nigerian regimes and Yoruba political factions. Military rule was an opportunity for chiefs, since, being imposed by force, it required mediation with civil society, which they could offer. Although chiefs sat well within what Vaughan calls the "neotraditional corporatism" of military rule, their power was limited by the expectation (especially among some civilian officials) that as "fathers" of their

communities, they should be above politics, part of its ornamental rather than its useful side. But chiefly resilience showed up clearly in the late 1970s when the military sought to facilitate national development through a series of highly statist measures, most notably the Land Use Decree (1978). By tradition, Yoruba *oba* were "owners of the land," so they at first strenuously opposed a decree that vested ownership of all land in the state. Slapped down by the military governors, they rapidly reversed their stance. But when it came to implementation, *oba* found their way back onto land allocation committees, and in close alliance with officials, local notables, and army officers, they recouped most of their position. When Nigeria returned to civilian rule between 1979 and 1983, renewed conflict along ethnic and communal lines ensured that traditional rulers, as symbols of their communities, remained a powerful force. Chieftaincy disputes—especially over family claims on titles, and over the order of precedence and symbolic prerogatives of the titles themselves—were of widespread interest. In the 1980s, the struggle for ceremonial primacy between Yorubaland's two leading *oba*, the Oni of Ife and the Alafin of Oyo, expressed and accentuated the fundamental cleavage that has run through Yoruba politics since the 1950s, between a mainstream tradition descending from the principal Yoruba nationalist leader, Obafemi Awolowo and his Action Group party (with its later reincarnations), and a minor tradition opposed to it, which paradoxically has tended to get support in the Yoruba metropolis, Ibadan. The return of the military in 1983 again brought advantages to the chiefs, and though formally marginalized in state institutions, the major traditional rulers "remained critical factors in the political and economic calculus of the dominant ethno-regional blocs" (p. 216). Vaughan has given us a valuable addition to the near-contemporary history of Nigeria.

J. D. Y. PEEL

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SAUL DUBOW, editor. *Science and Society in Southern Africa*. (Studies in Imperialism.) New York: Manchester University Press; distributed by St. Martin's, New York. 2000. Pp. x, 241. \$74.95.

Under the general editorship of John M. MacKenzie, Manchester University Press has published an extensive and distinguished series of works on British imperialism that for the most part have focused on culture and empire. This work fits that mold. Nine scholars with variegated interests and of varying status and expertise who contributed to a conference held in 1998 at Sussex University are featured. They all make extensive use of state archives and/or private collections. The editor, Saul Dubow, who has written extensively on racism in South Africa, attempts to deflect possible criticism by validating a grab bag of approaches and subjects a number of which have mar-

ginally to do with theoretical and applied science and everything to do with "the social and political context in which science operates" (p. 1).

William Storey, drawing on extensive research on Mauritius, considers the contretemps among local planters and British and French researchers in efforts to improve sugar cane production on the island in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He discovers politics and personalities were more evident than science-based propagation in determining cane varieties selected. Jocelyn Alexander considers the tug of war between a group of new technocrats and established officials in the Native Affairs Department over the imposition of land tenure and animal husbandry reforms in colonial Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) in the 1950s. The former were bent on modernization, which the latter, who persisted in accommodating traditional authorities, perceived as disruptive of the African socioeconomic order.

Seven other essays deal with South Africa and range from the late nineteenth century into the apartheid period (1948–1994). Several themes resonate. First is the significant role religion played in the callings and perspectives of several scientists. In an exceedingly well researched analysis, Patrick Harries, who has published impressively on the culture and identity of African migrant mine labor, probes the work of the Swiss missionary Henri-Alexandre Junod. Junod did field work in both Mozambique and the Transvaal in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and turned from entomology and botany to anthropology to craft a sensitive if paternalistic perspective on African society. A second theme underpinning these essays sees experts or professionals in positions of power and authority judged on the extent to which they accepted or departed from white colonial racist outlooks while identifying with or departing from current attitudes in the metropole. Dubow, for example, compares the workings of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science in 1905 and 1929 to show how its mentality metamorphosed from a dependent colonial to a more independent national outlook. Susanne Klausen studies the Race Welfare Society, founded in 1930 by a group of eugenicists committed to improving South Africa's white population through such means as birth control clinics. By the early 1940s, its leadership had been liberalized and its mandate expanded to provide a few clinics for African, Asian, and Coloured women.

Third, there is a conscious effort to position what is written within a postcolonial perspective, considering colonizers' impositions upon and constructs created about the colonized. From this perspective we can deduce two assessments of the colonizer: that of constructive paternalist, and that of destructive racist. In the first instance, Shula Marks considers the contributions to social medicine of several selfless and sensitive medical doctors, especially George Gale, who was in the Department of Public Health from 1939–1952. Crude racism is highlighted by Keith Shear, who

reveals an elaborate breeding effort by South African police to produce dogs adept at running down black criminals. Deborah Posel probes the use of elaborate statistical analyses by those who constructed the apartheid state. Their "mania for measurement" is shown to be a technique of control as well as justification for white domination. Dawn Nell also picks up on the theme of quantification in observing livestock and crop enumeration to improve productivity in the Cape during the late nineteenth century. These initiatives led to stereotyping that distinguished between modernizing English agriculturists and "backward" Afrikaners or Africans.

Some omissions require comment. Diamond and gold mining were pervasive undertakings in the shaping of South African society. But surprisingly, the science and technology that underpinned mining as

well as industrialization are not the subject of an essay and are only very occasionally mentioned in the book. In constructing history for post-apartheid South Africa, the need to privilege the African experience seems evident. These essays, however, make little attempt to do so. This lacuna is perhaps understandable as their authors, especially those who did most of their work in the apartheid era, may experience some difficulty in making this transition. Moreover, since their subject matter was overwhelmingly constructed and used by the colonizer, finding the voices of the colonized is not essential. However, previous work by contributors like Harries and Marks reveals their masterful understanding of the colonized and equips them to undertake such critical studies.

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## Film Reviews

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ATANARJUAU THE FAST RUNNER. Produced by Paul Apak Angilirq; directed by Zacharias Kunuk; screenplay by Paul Apak Angilirq. 2001; color; 172 minutes. Distributed by Lot 47 Films.

From the white sunlight glancing off ice to the true blues of northern waterways to the surprising color bursts of an arctic summer, *Atanarjuat the Fast Runner* takes its viewers to a place few have ever imagined, let alone seen. So overwhelmingly new are the sights, sounds, and experiences presented in this Inuit epic that the film appears to have taken even critics by surprise. Jim Hoberman reacted with nearly messianic zeal: "This three hour movie is engrossing from first image to last, so devoid of stereotype and cosmic in its vision it could suggest the rebirth of cinema" (*Village Voice*, March 20, 2002: 26). While crediting *Atanarjuat* with the rebirth of cinema constitutes gross hyperbole, the film nonetheless represents something of a landmark.

In the first place, the production company, Igloolik Isuma Productions Inc, proudly claims distinction as Canada's first Inuit independent production company. Its founding shareholders include *Atanarjuat*'s producer, Paul Apak Angilirq, and its director, Zacharias Kunuk. On its website, Isuma identifies its mission: "to produce independent community-based media to preserve and enhance Inuit culture and language, and to create jobs and needed economic development in Igloolik and Nunavut [two native communities]" ([http://isuma.ca/about\\_us/index.html](http://isuma.ca/about_us/index.html)). By employing some sixty Igloolik Inuit and bringing over \$1.5 million into the Igloolik economy, *Atanarjuat* has jump-started a new local film industry while marking its place in cinematic history as the first Aboriginal-language (Inuktitut) Canadian feature film.

*Atanarjuat* also embodies Isuma's commitment to cultural preservation in its cinematic vision and is thus noteworthy in yet another sense. The translation of a local legend to film presents a director with a number of options, from historical reconstruction to contemporary adaptation. Given the company's investment in the preservation of Inuit culture, it should come as no surprise that Kunuk opted for the former. Thus, not only did the filmmakers record a number of oral versions of the legend before scripting the film, but

Kunuk insisted on reproducing everything from igloo building to women's facial tattoos to caribou skin clothing with scrupulous accuracy. Part of Kunuk's motivation lay in showing the Inuit community what it had lost. Thus, although *Atanarjuat* relates a millennia-old local legend, the film presents many aspects of Inuit culture as related by living elders and, somewhat ironically, as recorded in the journals of Admiral William Parry's British naval expedition to Igloolik in 1822–1823. While such a move could, in the hands of an awkward or simply less visionary director, produce a film rife with anachronism, Kunuk has managed something altogether different. Lacking obvious temporal markers, such as titles, or datable material objects, such as the products of contact, the narrative floats freely in a culturally specific but temporally disengaged space. The film thus invites admiration for its "timeless" or "universal" qualities while remaining historically and culturally grounded.

Named for its title character, *Atanarjuat* relates a local legend of blood feud that ultimately warns against privileging individual aspirations over the interests and the integrity of the community. The film begins in the murky past, at the dawn of the first millennium. An unknown shaman, Tungajuaq (Abraham Ulayuruluk), enters Igloolik, "place of houses," lays down a curse, and throws the community into discord. The camp leader, Kumaglak (Apayata Kotierk), is murdered. His son Sauri (Eugene Ipkanak) becomes the new leader and subjects Tulimaq (Felix Alaralak), Kumaglak's favorite, to ridicule and mistreatment. This sequence of events is barely glimpsed in the shadowy interior, and most of the major players remain cloaked in heavy winter skins. As a result, the narrative begins on a dark, mystic, and rather confusing note. This confusion is compounded as the film flashes forward to the effects of this curse on the next generation. Certain details remain virtually unexplained, but the ensuing conflict between Okī (Peter-Henry Amatsiaq), Sauri's son, and the brothers Amaqjuaq "the Strong One" (Pakkak Innushuk) and Atanarjuat (Natar Ungalaaq) "the Fast One," sons of Tulimaq, unfolds slowly and deliberately.

Clocking in at nearly three hours, *Atanarjuat* can justifiably be called an epic, and Kunuk and Norman Cohn, director of photography, have fully exploited the



magnificent landscape, employing it to mirror the sheer scope of the film. At times the play between the changing seasons and the rhythms of Inuit life—caribou hunts in the summer, celebrations held in enormous, gorgeous communal igloos, the hunting and transport of seals via kayak and dog sled—virtually writes its own narrative. And as these rhythms are placed in tandem with plot turns founded on seduction, betrayal, revenge, and murder, the film does indeed approach Hoberman's description of its vision as "cosmic."

Not surprisingly, because Kunuk has devoted much effort to the accurate reproduction of cultural detail for the benefit of the Inuit community, *Atanarjuat* does not lack ethnographic interest. But, much to the credit of Kunuk and company, aspects of Inuit culture that might strike its audience as alien are offered without apology. Although the narrative does unfold slowly, thus allowing for character development and the weaving of a complex plot, *Atanarjuat* holds to its roots in traditional legend. As a result, while the details are complex, the story itself—and the characters—are fundamentally simple and of recognizable type.

Kunuk and his actors present the legend of *Atanarjuat* with such earnest sincerity that the film ultimately escapes being either an ethnographic curiosity piece or a melodrama in caribou skin. But if there is a problem with *Atanarjuat*, it lies here: in the honest attempt to avoid the pitfalls of exoticism and other overtly subjective engagements with the material. In presenting the legend of *Atanarjuat* without apology, Kunuk and company consequently naturalize everything they present. Thus, while the invasive presence of a documentarian's gaze is absent, it is never clear whether the values and attitudes expressed by the characters are native, to what century they date, whether or not they are specific to this community, or whether they fit the demands of legend. For example, Oki stands out from the other characters by virtue of being more darkly complected. Is this a coincidence? Does dark skin traditionally imply a "dark" character? Or does this mark the unacknowledged adoption of non-Inuit ideas about race, color, and character?

A different but equally vexed matter is the film's relation to representations of gender. The Igloodik community, as depicted in *Atanarjuat*, maintains a strict gender hierarchy. The film fails to question this balance of power and in fact validates it through the governing trope of nostalgia. Here, one can obviously attribute such a lack of critical self-consciousness to the company's commitment to cultural authenticity. At the same time, this division seeps from content into form. *Atanarjuat* contains a fair share of nudity, the most noteworthy occurring as *Atanarjuat* flees his pursuers by running naked across the ice. But while heroism and mythic athleticism mark his bare-footed sprint, the display of nude or semi-nude female bodies—specifically that of Puja (Lucy Tulugarjuk), Oki's sister and *Atanarjuat*'s second wife—is sexualized.

More troubling than the film's own slippages in the

politics of gender and race, however, is the overwhelmingly exoticist character of viewer and critical responses to the film. *Atanarjuat* certainly makes cinematic history for all of the reasons mentioned above, and it does shimmer with the colors and textures of the Arctic, but none of this constitutes a reinvention of film. Yet the film's critical success—it won, among other awards, the Camera d'Or at Cannes in 2001—has insured eager anticipation for Kunuk's next project, which will focus on the arrival of missionaries and fur traders in the nineteenth century, thus securing Isuma's continued growth.

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THROUGH THE CONSUL'S EYE. Produced by Tanguera Films; directed by Jorge Amat; written by Jorge Amat and Gerard Guicheteau. Black and white; 1999; 50 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

This documentary, directed by French filmmaker Jorge Amat, is largely based on the still photographs and film footage taken by a French diplomat named Auguste François in China a century ago. As such, the film offers some rare images of Chinese life from a bygone era. François, the "consul" of the title, was stationed in China between 1896 and 1905. As an avid photographer, and access to one of the first movie cameras (lent to him by the famous Lumière brothers), François shot numerous still pictures and movie scenes of local scenery, people, customs, and events, materials augmented by the diplomat's letters, diary entries, and notes. By skillfully manipulating these materials, Amat has produced a visual collage, while structuring his documentary's narrative around François's adventure in China. Viewers should be aware, however, that, despite the claim in the publicity literature for this documentary, some of the materials in the film are not from François's original footage; for instance, the paintings associated with the Boxer Uprising in China at the turn of the twentieth century and the passage purported to be about the Opium War derive from other sources.

One of the most striking features of the documentary is the absence of the "interior." All the shots (both still and motion pictures) were taken outdoors: at markets place, in the street, or in courtyards. There is not even a glimpse of the Chinese world behind the façade of buildings. It is safe to assume that the primitive cinematographic technology of the early days of the medium must have been one of the reasons for François to avoid shooting interiors (although that excuse would no longer hold for still photography in the period), but the result underscores the superficiality of his representation of China. In contrast to other documentary classics, such as *Nanook of the North* (1922), François seemed quite content with what was immediately visible to him and did not make any effort at penetrating beneath the surface of his subject.

Granted, his footage seen here was produced two

decades before *Nanook of the North*, when motion picture was still a novelty, but the weakness of François's work has more to do with his viewpoint and taste than with technology. The parade of dragon dancers, beggars, and flea pickers in François's photographs and film footage strikes one as more in keeping with an Orientalist's obsession with the exotic than with an anthropological or ethnographical interest in an indigenous culture. It is also apparent that many of the filmed activities have been staged for him. It is unlikely that a Chinese judge would have actually conducted his court proceedings in the open courtyard, using hastily assembled make-shift tables and chairs, and with guards standing on one side to avoid obstructing the camera's view. Similarly, the flea pickers, the dancer, the butchers, and the monkey trainer all demonstrate a clear awareness of François's camera. Such staged shots and conscious posing undermines the aura of authenticity Amat's documentary aims to instill.

The narrative voiceover in *Through the Consul's Eye* seeks to portray François as sympathetic with the Chinese and out of line with the ethnocentric views of contemporaneous European colonialists, arguing that he made efforts to understand Chinese language, culture, and society. François's own photographs, film footage, diaries, and notes, however, betray a perspective identical with that of other colonialists. For instance, in one filmed scene, a group of Chinese beggars line up for a bowl of soup from François's kitchen. While there is nothing particularly sinister about offering relief to this hungry crowd for the purpose of filming them, to have each of these beggars go down on his knees as they pass before the camera en route to receiving their food reveals a sick psychology that took pleasure in human misery and humiliation. At a fundamental level, François shared the colonialists' view of the culture of the colonized. His remarks about China as a country resisting change, its people not interested in looking to science for solutions to their problems, are very much in tune with stereotypical European images of China during his time. That view has since been discredited by serious scholars in the West.

The episode in the documentary about François curing sick Chinese, with photographic evidence of his "magic" power, smacks of narcissism. As Joseph Kraft has observed, China provided an opportunity for many colonialists to strike self-adoring poses ("America's China Myth" [1972], quoted in T. Christopher Jespersen, *American Images of China 1931-1949* [1996]). *Through the Consul's Eye* preserves many of those moments. François passed away in 1935, and it is perhaps unreasonable to expect him to transcend his time and his own bias. But it is disappointing that Amat has failed to present François's materials more critically and judiciously, demonstrating an awareness of contemporary reflections on colonialism among Western academics.

There is no question that François's photographs and film footage are valuable to historians and people

interested in Chinese architecture, fashion, ethnic issues, and folk tradition at the turn of the twentieth century. But because Amat seems unfamiliar with Chinese history, he is unable to place these materials in an appropriate context. Ultimately, by taking an uncritical biographical approach and placing François at the center of the narrative, *Through the Consul's Eye* actually reduces the historical significance of François's work rather than elevating it.

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**BAND OF BROTHERS.** Produced by Tom Hanks and Stephen Spielberg; directed by Phil Alden Robinson (part 1, *Currahee*), Richard Loncraine (part 2, *Day of Days*), Mikael Salomon (part 3, *Carentan*, and part 10, *Points*), David Nutter (part 4, *Replacements*), Tom Hanks (part 5, *Crossroads*), David Leland (part 6, *Bastogne*), David Frankel (part 7, *The Breaking Point*, and part 9, *Why We Fight*), and Tony To (part 8, *The Patrol*); screenplay by Erik Jendresen and Tom Hanks (part 1), John Orloff (part 2), E. Max Frye (part 3), Graham Yost and Bruce C. McKenna (part 4), Erik Jendresen (part 5), Bruce C. McKenna (part 6), Graham Yost (part 7), Erik Bork and Bruce C. McKenna (part 8), John Orloff (part 9), and Erik Jendresen and Erik Bork (part 10). 2001. color; 500 minutes. Distributed by Home Box Office (HBO).

In 1992, Stephen Ambrose published *Band of Brothers*, a highly readable volume of World War II microhistory: an account of the career of E for Easy Company, 506th Regiment, 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army, from training in Georgia in 1942 through its role in D-Day, to the end of the war, when members captured Hitler's "Eagle's Nest" in Berchtesgaden. The narrative included an anecdote about a certain Private Fritz Niland, who was removed from combat shortly after D-day because he had lost three brothers in action. The story became the nucleus around which Stephen Spielberg created his swirling pyrotechnic war fable, *Saving Private Ryan* (1998). The success of that film, and Tom Brokaw's book *The Greatest Generation* (1998) revealed a massive popular interest in the World War II era, hence preparing the way for a wave of World War II projects including, by a neat circularity a ten-part miniseries adaptation of *Band of Brothers* for HBO.

The series was the brain child of the star and director of *Saving Private Ryan*, Tom Hanks and Stephen Spielberg, who share the credit as producers; Hanks also cowrote one episode and directed another. The result is stunning. In terms of historical verisimilitude, *Band of Brothers* far surpasses *Saving Private Ryan*, and it represents one of the great dramatic achievements of the medium of television to date.

*Band of Brothers* has two major advantages over other recent filmic treatments of World War II. First, it has the space to explore complex issues, including

aspects of the war that many filmmakers have preferred to dodge, such as the shooting of prisoners in cold blood, errors at all levels of command, death from friendly fire, looting, mental breakdowns, and alcoholism. Second, *Band of Brothers* is based on a historical account, and its scripts were developed in consultation not only with Ambrose but also with survivors of Easy Company. The link to reality is emphasized by the style of the series, and above all by opening each episode with original members of Easy Company recalling to camera the events to be depicted.

For all the historical references and authentic style in films like *Saving Private Ryan* and *Pearl Harbor* (2001), their source texts are, at heart, not historical but cinematic: the fondly remembered films of the 1940s. The new wave of World War II films have primarily been genre pieces intended to apply the new technology of CGI to a familiar territory in exactly the same way as it was used in *Titanic* (1997) or *Gladiator* (2000). Not so *Band of Brothers*. Successive episodes repeatedly avoid the hackneyed conventions of the war-film genre. Characters emerge from the narrative gradually rather than through the expected generic events or conversations. There are no exaggerated regional politics in the make-up of the company, no soliloquizing in letters home, and few moments of convenient narrative closure. The result creates the welcome sensation of events speaking for themselves, without a scriptwriter's heavy-handed moralizing, propagandizing, or sentimentality.

Like Ambrose's book, the series carries a central message of the essential ordinariness of the soldiers who served in Easy Company and the extraordinariness of their achievements. At the heart of this message is the physical depiction of combat. The battle scenes are vivid and frequently hard to watch. Some have textbook clarity, as with the sequence in the D-day episode (part 2, *Day of Days*) during which Lt. Richard Winters (Damien Lewis) leads the capture of a series of enemy guns. Another sequence (in part 6, *Bastogne*) portrays the shattering relentlessness of the Battle of the Bulge as Easy Company holds the line against a German counterattack. The full consequences of violence are shown: death, mutilation, and mental strain. Movingly depicted incidents include the hysterical blindness of Pvt. Albert Blithe (Marc Warren) in (part 3, *Carentan*), the mental breakdown of Lt. Buck Compton (Neal McDonough) in (part 7, *The Breaking Point*), and the sobering indication of the human cost of the D-Day invasion in the uncollected laundry parcels seen neatly stacked and awaiting men who will not return (part 3, *Carentan*).

Although the soldiers seldom discuss the politics of the war, vividly depicts the liberation of the Landsburg concentration camp (part 9, *Why We Fight*). The camp is explored in more detail here than in the twenty-five

lines it received in Ambrose's book. As the title of the episode suggests, it serves as a justification for the war effort. *Band of Brothers*, however, does not shrink from presenting the confusion within 1940s American culture over issues of race. Specifically, the first episode makes it clear that the tension surrounding the first commander of Easy Company, the martinet Captain Herbert Sobel (David Schwimmer), was sometimes expressed in anti-Semitic language. For comparative purposes, it is worth noting that, in *The Thin Red Line* (1998), a character who was Jewish in the 1963 novel by James Jones became Greek in the film, presumably just to avoid this sort of dissonance.

The key to the book and the series is the implicit claim about the specialness of the relationships created by the combat experience. William Ambrose took his title from Shakespeare's *Henry V*, the title character of which rallies his troops for the Battle of Agincourt by proclaiming his army to be a "band of brothers." There is plenty of evidence in Ambrose's text and the on-screen testimony of veterans that this is exactly how the men of Easy Company felt, but the fact that those soldiers believed this about each other should not obscure the harder questions about the nature of war, and specifically wars outside the European theater of World War II.

Shakespeare crafted his Agincourt speech as patriotic propaganda, and the notion of armies as a "band of brothers" has long been a potent recruiting sergeant for young men seeking to find a place and an identity, whether their army's cause is for good or ill. *Band of Brothers* holds within it both a powerful antiwar message, but it also perpetuates a potent prosoldiering story, without a fixed morality. Here, as in *Casablanca* (1942), war can be the "start of a beautiful friendship." The film's potential to create a message that has meaning beyond its historical context was especially evident in the political context in which the series aired.

*Band of Brothers* premiered in the United States on September 9, 2001, just days before the outbreak of a new war. It became a major feature of the television culture on both sides of the Atlantic during the "War on Terrorism" in the months that followed. In October 2001, President George W. Bush addressed the 101st Airborne (wearing a regimental jacket) and spoke of Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge as the "kind of man he would like to share a fox-hole with." One wonders whether the rousing allusions were to the men and events of 1944 and 1945, or to the previous night's television viewing. It was a reminder, if ever one were needed, that war and its representations can never be separated.

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## Collected Essays

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These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

### COMPARATIVE/WORLD

MICHEL TUCHSCHERER, editor. *Le commerce du café avant l'ère des plantations coloniales: Espaces, réseaux, sociétés (XV<sup>e</sup>-XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle)*. (Cahier des annals islamologiques, number 20.) Cairo, Egypt: Insitut Français D'Archéologie Orientale. 2001. Pp. vii, 410. FR 230.

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The following books were recently received in the *AHR* office. Books listed here do not include works scheduled for review.

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- BERGER, RONALD J. *Fathoming the Holocaust: A Social Problems Approach*. (Social Problems and Social Issues.) New York: Aldine de Gruyter. 2002. Pp. xii, 238. Cloth \$53.95, paper \$22.95.
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- PEATTIE, MARK R. *Sunburst: The Rise of Japanese Naval Air Power 1909–1941*. Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2001. Pp. xxi, 364. \$36.95.
- PEREZ, LOUIS G. *Daily Life in Early Modern Japan*. (The Greenwood Press "Daily Life through History" Series.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2002. Pp. xviii, 358. \$49.95.
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# Communications

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*A communication will be considered only if it relates to an article or review published in this journal; publication is solely at the editor's discretion. The AHA disclaims responsibility for statements, either of fact or opinion, made by the writers. Letters may not exceed seven hundred words for reviews and one thousand words for articles. They should be submitted in duplicate, typed double-spaced with wide margins, and headed "To the Editor."*

## ARTICLES

### TO THE EDITOR:

Although Thomas Bender is one of my favorite scholars, I respectfully disagree with his thesis in "Strategies of Narrative Synthesis in American History" [*AHR* 107 (February 2002): 129–53]. Bender maintains that there is no strategy suited to a narrative synthesis in American History. The strategy that he misses resides in the tension between truth and politics, between what one regards as true and what one regards as "politically correct."

A definition of terms explains the truth-versus-politics tension. Truth is congruence between two types of reality: the one mental, particular, and subjective reality and the other extra-mental, transcendent, and objective reality. The resulting tension allows for disagreement among different perceptions.

Politics is the exercise of power by any agency, e.g., church and state or group and individual. Power politics can and often does determine why people agree and disagree. Power politics, in other words, can and often does determine what people proclaim externally as true. Narrating how people relate to the tension between truth and politics is conducive to refining the hidden values of Western Civilization and of the United States.

The hallmark and grace of Western Civilization rests in prioritizing truth in and of itself, independently from external political considerations. Western universities, including those in the Americas, exemplify this prioritization. Pursuing truth in the face of counter-

vailing politics is what the West has enshrined as academic freedom.

Briefly following Bender's outline, the tension between truth and politics can be found permeating all of culture from work to leisure, whether "Peoples, Economy, Politics, Things Material, Things Spiritual." Refining the relationship between truth and perceptions of truth, a cultural approach to history can integrate otherwise isolated topics and enable narrative explanations.

Prioritizing truth over politics also extends to how the West perceives other traditions. Western Civilization values diversity for the sake of the different aspects of the relationship between truth and politics that diversity reveals. Western Civilization does not value diversity for the sake of diversity. Bender's examples from Indonesia and the Sonoran highlands of Arizona illustrate the point.

RAYMOND J. JIRAN, RETIRED  
*Thomas Nelson Community College*

Thomas Bender does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### TO THE EDITOR:

My book *Pirates, Privateers, and Rebel Raiders of the Carolina Coast* (2000) has been widely reviewed and well received in scholarly journals and the popular press with one glaring exception, Robert J. Schneller, Jr.'s review in the December 2001 issue of the *American Historical Review* [106, no. 5: 1806]. The reviewer's preconception of what he terms "pop history" appears to have kept him from looking past the "comic-book-like" dust jacket and the first two chapters. The effective and inviting dust-jacket design has heretofore elicited only favorable commentary. In the setting of brief biographical sketches, which are not intended to be definitive but are designed to whet the appetite for more, there is considerably more delving into "motivations, relationships, and personalities" and much

more new material than the reviewer reported from his perusal. The chapters on pirates draw on my firsthand experience in the archaeological work at Beaufort Inlet and incorporate recent scholarship that has eroded the stereotypes.

The issue, however, is not so much the review as one's view of history. Although Schneller acknowledges that the research is thorough, he states that "argument and analysis are absent." While there is a place in the canon for polemics that pass for history, there should also be a place for soundly researched and meaningful narrative that engages the reader and imparts understanding of his past. If we in the profession continue to produce history that is interesting only to our colleagues in the particular subfield, then we are in danger of becoming irrelevant to the citizenry, constituents of our public institutions.

Some of the specific criticisms and apparent contradictions that Schneller cites are baffling and distorted when quoted out of context. Pirate scholars are aware of the pitfalls of Captain Johnson's 1724 work and the uncritical use of it in the past; however, sometimes Johnson is the only source available, and in the instance cited, the story about his wife seemed in character and appropriate. Furthermore, there is no contradiction about Blackbeard's alleged post-pardon piracy. Whatever actions he committed late in 1718, he always had sanction from the colony's admiralty court.

Regarding the reviewer's comments on the Civil War material, the South's limited maritime experience and resources are evident in the "mosquito" gunboat coastal defense fleets that were cobbled together in the first year from available vessels. Commodore Josiah Tattnall described his fleet as "those d—d old tubs" and threatened to sink them himself, but the Union navy soon obliged him by easily brushing his fleet aside at Port Royal. Confederate vessels routinely were poorly built, had design defects, and were underpowered with a variety of engines salvaged from sunken vessels and even from sawmills. The most effective blockade runners and nearly all of the cruisers were foreign built. Most Civil War scholars disagree with Schneller's assertion that it was a "myth that the South lacked a 'heavy industrial infrastructure.'" Although the Confederacy accomplished amazing results from a naval arms industry created in the desperation of a war for survival, the exceptional Tredegar Iron Works, for all of its achievements, did not constitute an antebellum heavy industrial infrastructure. Only the reviewer surmises what the Gosport Navy Yard in Norfolk, an achievement of the U.S. government and its navy, has to do with pre-war Southern industrial development.

This book is indeed in the "bookstores all along the Carolina coast," as well as in bookstores across the country. Contrary to the reviewer's belief, it is also on the shelves of many scholars, who have them-

selves thoroughly enjoyed reading "real-life sea tales . . . about flesh-and-blood historic characters" (p. xi).

LINDLEY S. BUTLER

*North Carolina Maritime History Council*

Robert J. Schneller does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

TO THE EDITOR:

In his review of my *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720–1888* [AHR 107 (February 2002): 258–59], Douglas Libby asserts that there are serious flaws in the basic arguments and methodologies used in the book. He contends that I ignore regional variations in slave demography, despite the lengthy textual analyses of numerous statistical tables and figures documenting changes in local economies and in the demographic characteristics of the slave and free populations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Libby observes that the book "lacks originality." The presentation of a nuanced analysis of the largest slave database ever constructed for the Americas consisting of detailed demographic data on over 110,000 slaves derived entirely from manuscript sources apparently went unnoticed. This database was constructed from archival sources in three distinct geographical and socioeconomic areas precisely because of the academic debates on regional slave demography in the extant literature. Additionally, the book presents and analyzes a whole series of new economic data from manuscript archival sources never examined or presented by historians.

The supposed flaws in my arguments and methodologies seem to revolve around Libby's contention that the 1831–1832 nominal population lists demonstrate different results on the percentage of Africans found in the slave population of exactly *one* Minas district. The example given is the 1831 data for Diamantina (administratively different from, and not, the Diamond District as Libby states), which indicate that 51 percent of all slaves were Africans, compared with my data, which reveal that 37.5 percent of all slaves were Africans between 1830 and 1834.

First, the 51 percent African figure was derived from Clotilde Paiva's doctoral dissertation "População e Economia nas Minas Gerais do Século XIX" (University of São Paulo, 1996)—page 210, appendix 2, table 1—which is based on the nominal lists for 1831. Paiva computerized these materials and graciously provided me with the raw data files. In this statistical table, Paiva emphatically notes that the sample for Diamantina was based on 2,757 slaves and that data for 6,381 slaves, or 67 percent of all slaves, was missing. Libby forgot to mention this fact. Conclusions on the African slave trade to Minas based on a sample of incomplete data on less than 3,000 slaves in one locale in one year are questionable.

Second, Libby does not take into consideration the age structure of the sample. If Africans were older, they would have been imported in a previous period. Third, there are serious problems with the coding of the 1831 data set itself, which I have carefully analyzed separately. It is not certain if the word *preto*, which means black in Portuguese, was in fact taken for "African." If it was, the African origin data are entirely erroneous, since color and origin are not synonymous. It also ought to be noted that only 5 percent of the total Minas Gerais slave population lived in the Comarca do Serro, where Diamantina is located, according to the 1833 census, also computerized and made available by Paiva.

With respect to the data I present, Libby read the wrong table (D.4). The inventory-derived data for Diamantina (Table D.3) indicate a constantly falling ratio of African to Brazilian-born slaves from the 1790s, when some 89 percent of all slaves in the sample were African-born, to the 1830s, when their portion had fallen dramatically to 34 percent (not 37.5 percent).

Libby has chosen one static piece of highly questionable data as the sole evidence for my supposed argumentative and methodological flaws. He has not considered other critical data on the demography of slavery in this region and throughout the rest of the province, especially the dramatically growing population of young children and the constant decline in the sex ratio. I might add that the dimensions and timing of the very small-scale slave trade to Diamantina are specifically discussed in the text (pp. 112–13).

In this regard, Libby mentions, without documenting it, a source indicating that 45 percent of Africans exported from Rio between 1818 and 1831 went to Minas. Even if true, this may be entirely meaningless, depending on the volume of the trade. Regardless, I note in the book quite emphatically (pp. 144–46) a small-scale trade in African slaves to Minas during the 1820s. This, however, was dwarfed statistically by the numbers of slaves born in the province.

Finally, Libby accuses me of a "lack of attention to . . . sources," since for him I have not extracted enough information from the over 10,000 postmortem inventories examined. In fact, as I make crystal clear in the introduction, my intent was to focus on specific variables in the voluminous sources consulted, and to leave a whole series of issues, themes, and data out of this study. I spelled out clearly what this book set out to do and the topics it would and would not address.

Rather than recognizing any of this, Libby has chosen to make unsubstantiated claims, as well as distortions of the material presented in, and even outside of, the book.

LAIRD W. BERGAD  
City University of New York

Douglas Cole Libby does not wish to reply.

THE EDITORS

## FILM REVIEWS

TO THE EDITOR:

In the December 2001 issue, Andrew Stein (p. 1915) writes that the marquis de Sade was arrested on December 8, 1793, "less than one month after the beheading of Marie-Antoinette." Since the latter was executed on October 16, my math says it was nearly two months *after*.

BERNARD SINSHEIMER  
Boulogne, France

ANDREW STEIN REPLIES:

I would like to thank Bernard Sinsheimer for his response to my review. Of course, he is absolutely correct about the math. My essay should have said: the marquis de Sade was arrested a little over a month following the beheading of Marie-Antoinette rather than that the marquis de Sade was arrested less than one month . . .

ANDREW STEIN  
University of the Arts,  
Philadelphia

## ERRATUM

Due to an editing error, in Barbara Mennel's review of *Love Story* (directed by Catrine Clay [AHR 107 (February 2002): 320–21]), the name of the film's distributor was given as Zeitgeist Film. *Love Story* is actually distributed by Women Make Movies. We apologize for the error.

THE EDITORS



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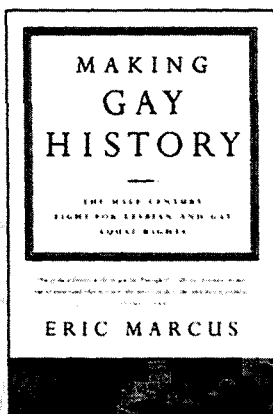
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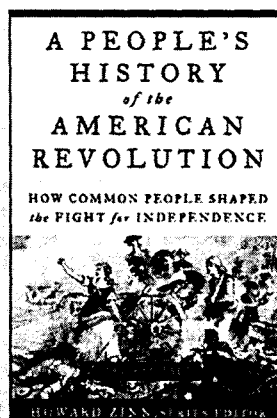
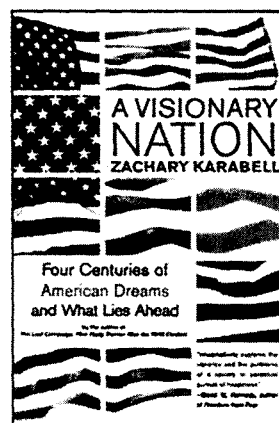
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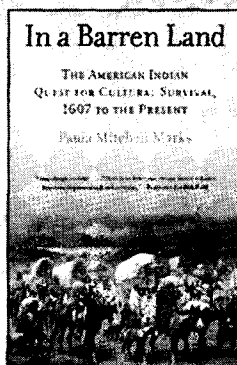
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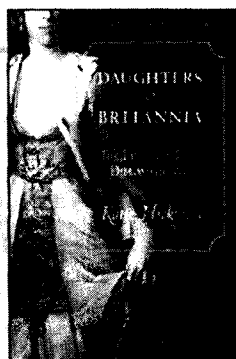
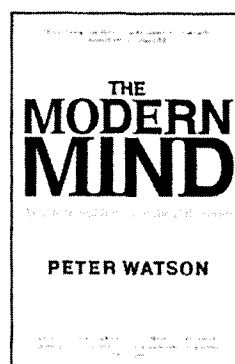
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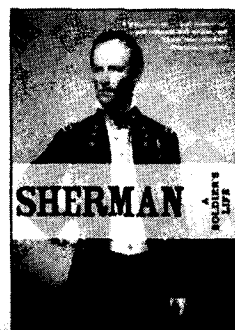
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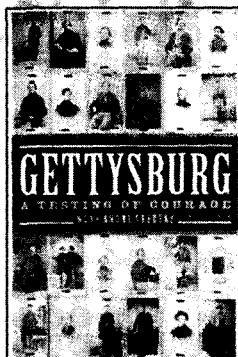
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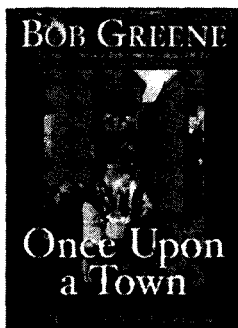
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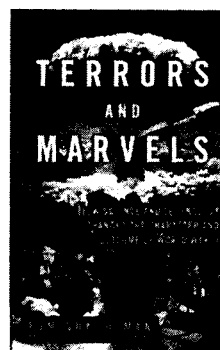
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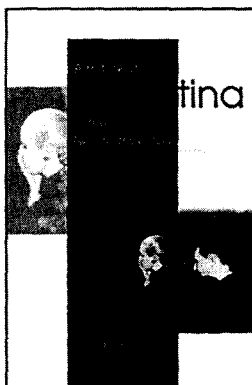
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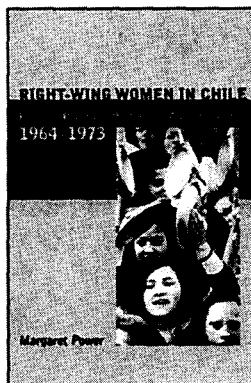
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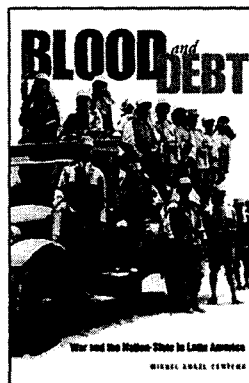
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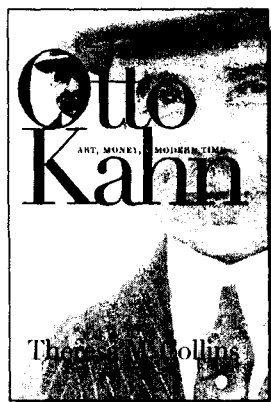
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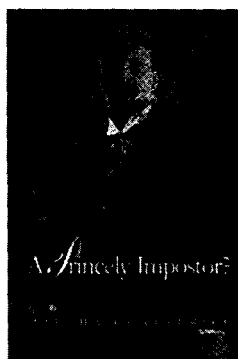
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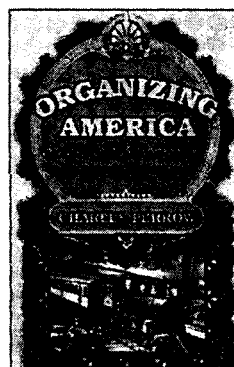
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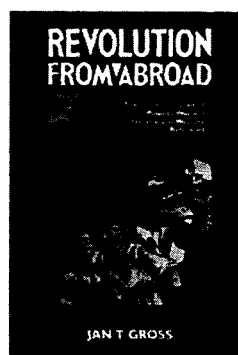
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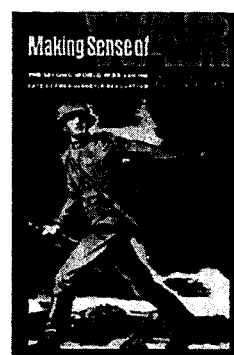
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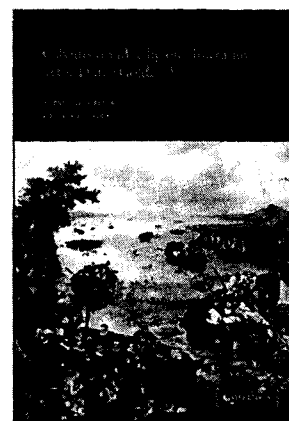
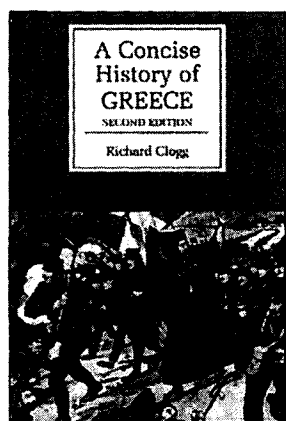
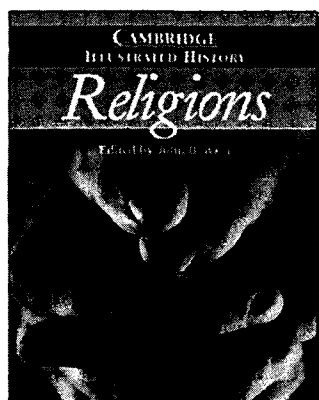
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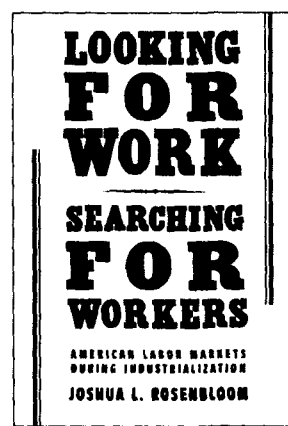
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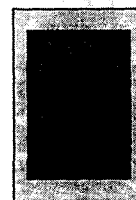
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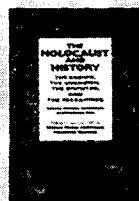
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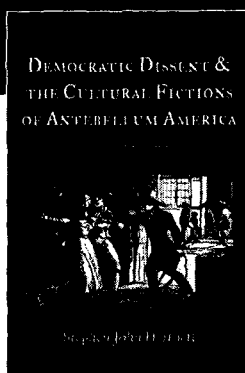
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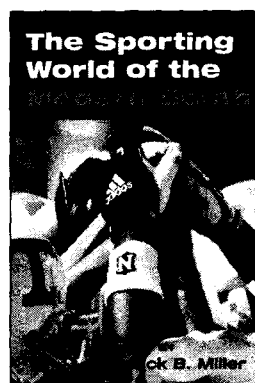
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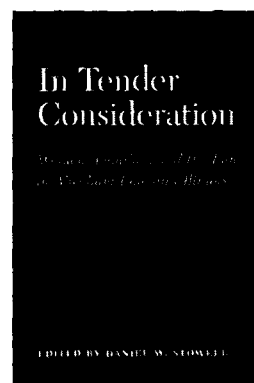


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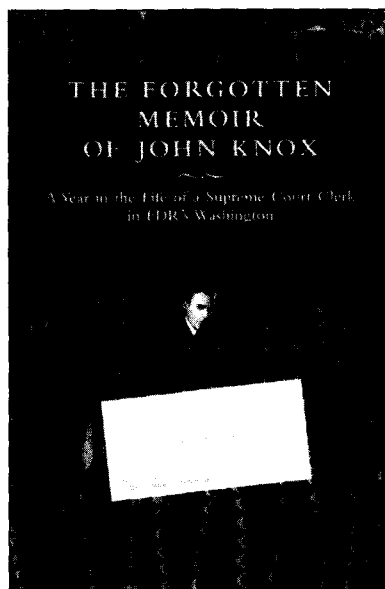
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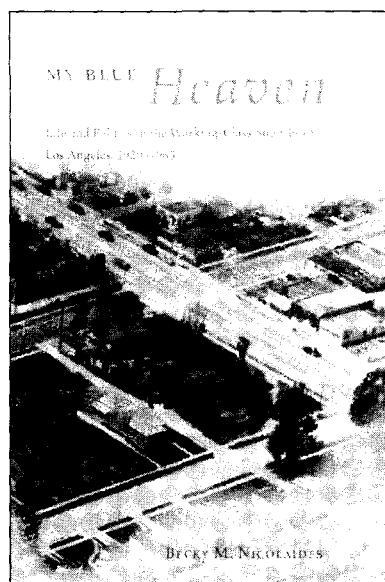
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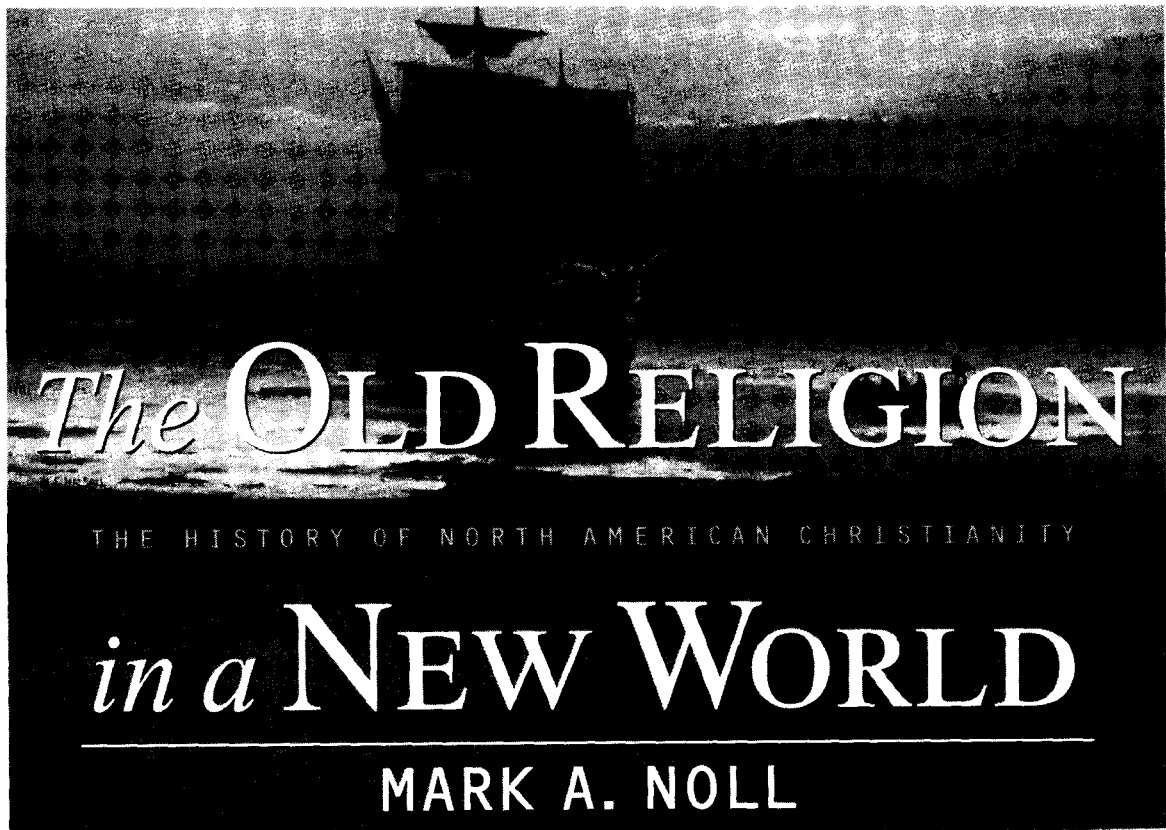
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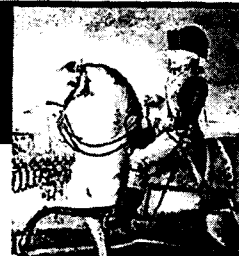
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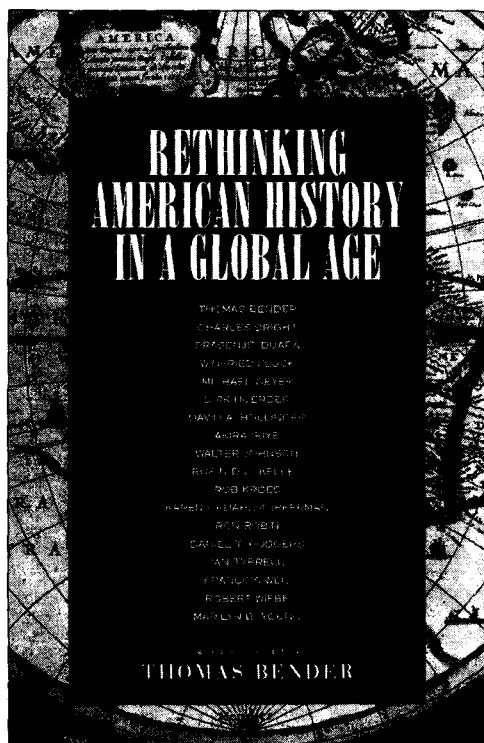
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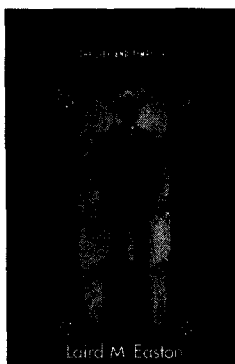
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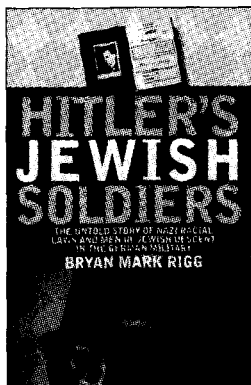
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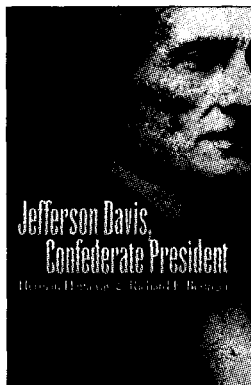
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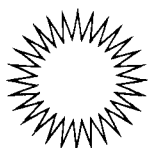
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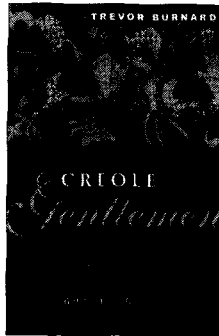
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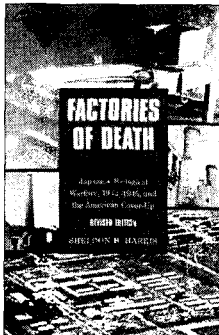
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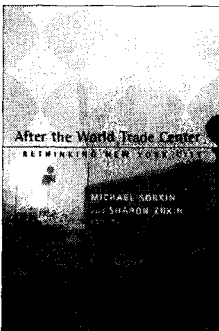
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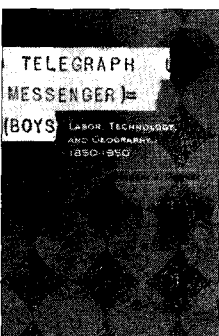
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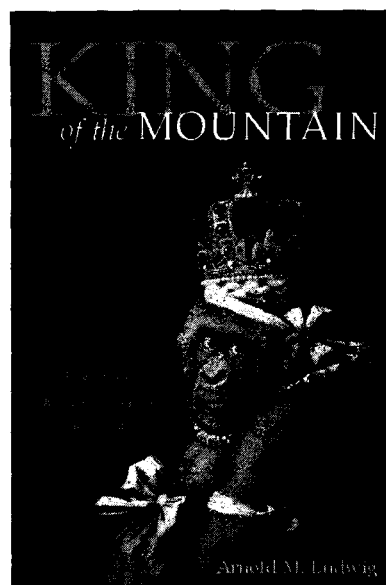
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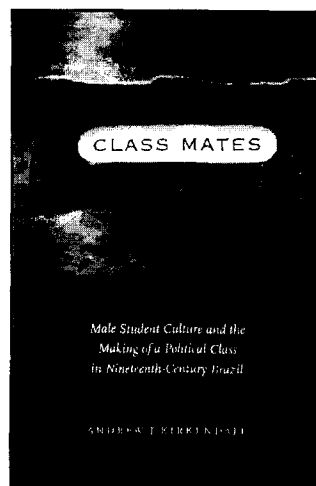
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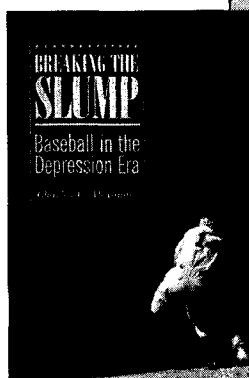
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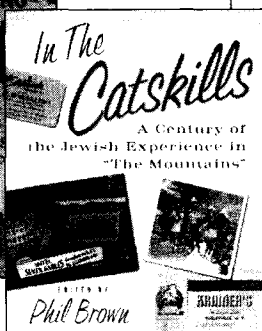
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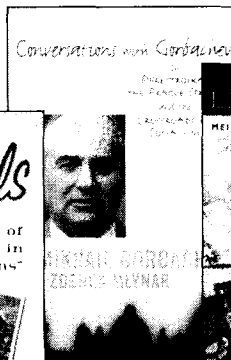
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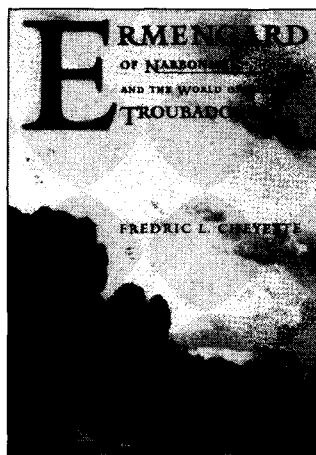
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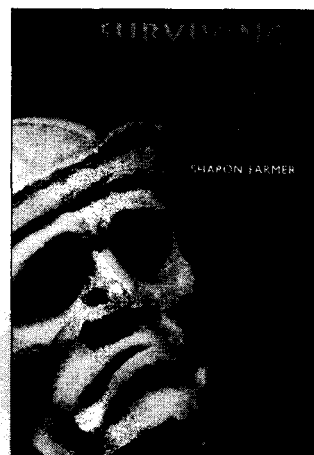


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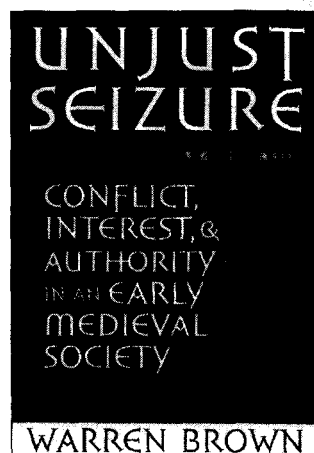
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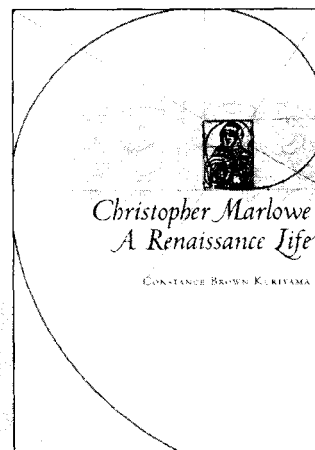


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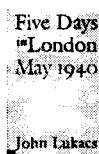
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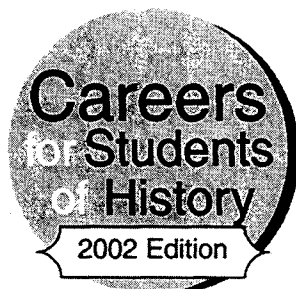
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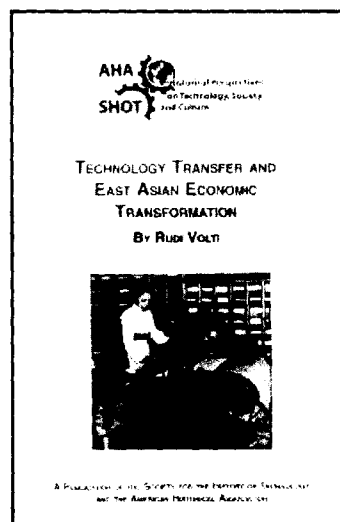
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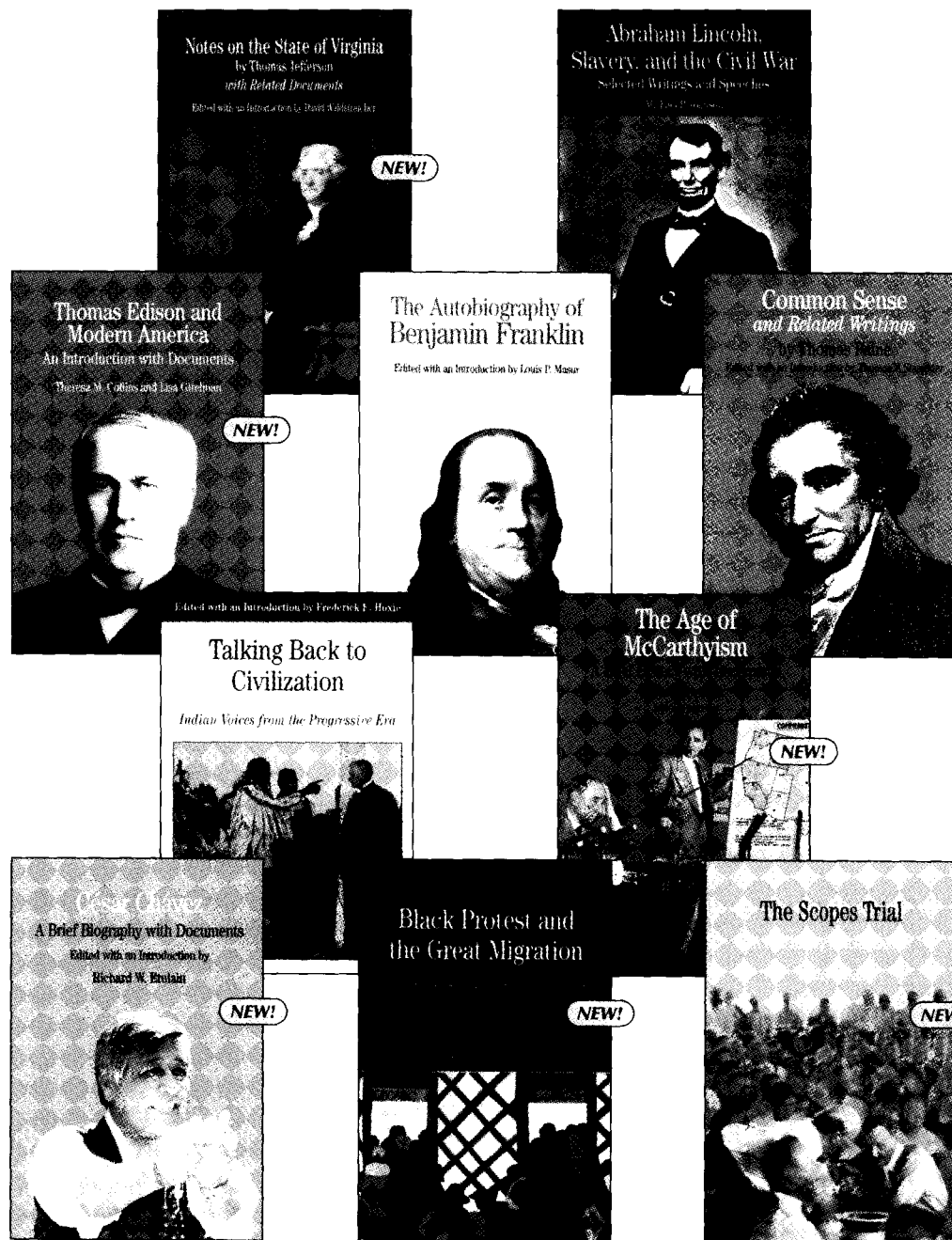
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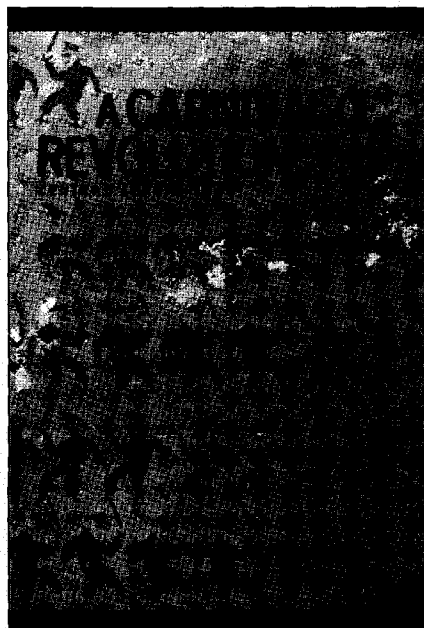
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